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George Warde - Verman.



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~~Celtic II F. 30~~
VER. CELI. III B. 57

RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI
SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER
THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

ON the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the Reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an *Editio Princeps*; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished ; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

Rolls House,
December 1857.

COGARH GAEDHEL RE GAILLACH.

THE
WAR OF THE GAEDHIL WITH THE GAILL.

amūm
laē corpe
amūm
Otenala
can let
ta dā oer
comoz xat
dofit na cē
lefe lama
lorcā m
ngaaan
T. gwend
riti ng
cet la n
chus ap
māhōi o
noqub
madma
di r 3ū
e core i



Specimen of the M.S.L (Book of Leinster)

THE
WAR OF THE GAEDHIL WITH THE GAILL,

OR

THE INVASIONS OF IRELAND BY THE DANES
AND OTHER NORSEMEN.

THE ORIGINAL IRISH TEXT,

EDITED, WITH

TRANSLATION AND INTRODUCTION,

BY

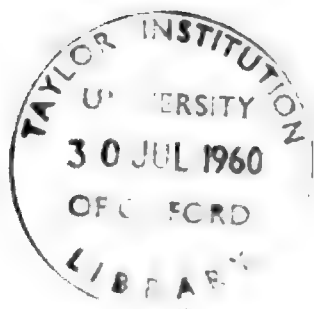
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INTRODUCTION.

INTRODUCTION.

Description of the Manuscripts.

THE following work has been edited from three Manuscripts, two of them unfortunately imperfect.

The first and most ancient of these consists of a single folio, closely written on both sides, in double columns. It is a leaf of the Book of Leinster, now preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. It contains the first twenty-nine sections only of the work : nevertheless, imperfect as it is, this fragment, for many reasons, is so important, that the Editor has thought fit to preserve it, with a translation, in the Appendix.

The Book of Leinster¹ is a *Bibliotheca*, or Collection of Historical Tracts, Poems, Tales, Genealogies, &c. It was written by Finn, Bishop of Kildare, or at least, during his lifetime, for Aedh Mac Crimhthainn, or Hugh Mac Griffin, tutor of Diarmait Mac Murchadha [Dermot Mac Murrough], the King of Leinster who was so celebrated for his connexion with the Anglo-Norman invasion² of Ireland, in the reign of Henry II.

The following note occurs in the lower margin of fol. 206 *b.* of this MS. It is in a hand closely resembling that in which the book itself is written, and certainly of the same century :—

“ Life and health from Finn, bishop [i.e., of Kildare³] to Aedh Mac Crimh-

¹ *Book of Leinster.* For a short summary of its contents, see O'Curry's Lectures, p. 187.

² *Invasion.* For this reason he is commonly called by the Irish who were not of his clan or his adherents,

Diarmait na nGall, or Dermot of the foreigners.

³ *Kildare.* This explanatory parenthesis is written in the original, as a gloss, over the word “bishop,” in the same handwriting as the note itself.

thainn, tutor [ṛṇḁḁḁḁḁ] of the chief king of Leth Mogha [i.e., Nuadhat¹,] and successor² [comṁḁḁ] of Colum Mac Crimhthainn, and chief historian of Leinster in wisdom and knowledge, and cultivation of books, and science and learning. And let the conclusion of this little history be written for me accurately by thee, O acute Aedh, thou possessor of the sparkling intellect. *May it be long before we are without thee. It is my desire that thou shouldst be always with us.* Let Mac Lonain's book³ of poems be given to me, that we may find out the sense of the poems that are in it, et vale in Christo,⁴ etc."

Finn, Bishop of Kildare died in 1160, according to the *Annals of the Four Masters*.⁵ He appears to have occu-

¹ *Nuadhat*. This explanation is also in the original, as a gloss, over the word Mogha. Diarmait claimed to be King of Munster, or Leth Mogha, i.e., Mogh's half, the southern half of Ireland, so-called from Eoghan Taidhleach, surnamed Mogh Nuadhat, or Nuadhat's slave. See O'Curry's *Battle of Magh Lena*, p. 3.

² *Successor*. This signifies that Aedh was abbot or bishop of Tirdaglass, now Terryglass, county of Tipperary; where was a celebrated monastery, founded by Colum Mac Crimhthainn, who died A.D. 548.

³ *Mac Lonain's book*. Flann Mac Lonain, a celebrated Irish poet, many of whose productions are still extant, died in 891.

⁴ *Vale in Christo*. The Editor has taken the liberty of altering a few words of Mr. O'Curry's translation of this curious entry (*Lectures*, p. 186); but the passage in italics he has allowed to stand, because although he believes Mr. O'Curry's reading of the original (App. lxxxiv) to be wrong, he is unable to correct it. It is very obscure in the MS., having been written upon an erasure, which has caused some of the letters to be blurred or blotted; the words which Mr. O'Curry prints cian no ṛḁḁḁ ḁḁ (?) hṁḁḁḁ, appear to the Editor to be cian ḁḁ; ceṛṇ ḁḁ ṛḁḁḁ hṁḁḁḁ, of which he can make no sense. It will be observed that the foregoing note does

not assert Bishop Finn to have been the scribe by whom the Book of Leinster was written. That he was so, is inferred by Mr. O'Curry from the great similarity of the handwriting of the note to that of the text; and Finn, if not the writer of the MS., was probably the writer of the note. The "little history," or historic tale, alluded to, if we suppose it to be that to which the note refers, ends imperfectly at the bottom of folio 206 b. The next leaf begins in the middle of a sentence having no connexion with what went before; and the defect is of long standing, for the old paginations, made in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, take no notice of it, the next folio being marked 207. The page to which the foregoing note is appended contains the story of the Progress of Tadhg, son of Cian, son of Oilill Olum, into Meath, or the Battle of Crinna. See O'Curry, *Lect. App.* lxxxix, p. 593; Keating (in the reign of Fergus Dubhdedach); O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 331-2. The words of the note "Let the conclusion of this little history be written for me," appear to intimate that the "little history" was unfinished when the note was written; and the inference is, that it never was completed.

⁵ *Four Masters*. Finn, it will be observed, calls himself "bishop," not bishop of Kildare, which is a subsequent insertion. This is an evi-

pied that see since 1148, in which year his predecessor, O'Dubhin, died; but he was a bishop when the foregoing note was composed, and therefore the portion of the book to which it relates must have been written between the years just mentioned, if not before.

Of Aedh Mac Crimhthainn, the Irish Annals have unfortunately preserved no record; but if he was tutor to King Diarmait Mac Murchadha (who was born in 1110), he must have lived very early in the twelfth century.

It will be observed that the foregoing note is written in a strong spirit of partisanship, the writer asserting boldly the claim¹ of his chieftain, Diarmait, to be the chief King of Leth Mogha, that is, of Leinster and Munster, the southern half of Ireland; and the same spirit appears in another place, fol. 200 *a.*, where a hand much more recent

dence of antiquity, the establishment of territorial dioceses being then recent, and the titles derived from them not having as yet come fully into use. This prelate assisted at the Synod of Kells in 1152, according to Keating, who calls him (as in some copies) "son of Cianain," but other copies read "son of Tighernain." The Four Masters call him Finn Mac Gormain, and the Dublin Ann. Inisfall. (A.D. 1160) Mac Gormain, without any Christian name. Ware has "Finan (MacTiar-cain) O'Gorman." This is, no doubt, an error for Finn Mac Cianain O'Gormain, and is an attempt to reconcile the authority of Keating with that of the Four Masters. But the Four Masters call him Mac Gormain, not O'Gormain; there is no inconsistency in his being Mac Cianain, or son of Cianan, and also Mac Gormain. At that time Mac Gormain had come to be assumed as a patronymic or family name, instead of the more correct form O'Gormain. See O'Donovan, *Topogr. Poems*, p. liii, note (433). We have another instance of this in King Der-

mod, who is called Mac Murchadha or Mac Murrogh, from his grandfather, although he was the son of Donnchadh, and ought therefore to have been O'Murrogh. *Topogr. Poems*, p. xlvii, n. (393), and p. l, n. (405). See his genealogy in O'Donovan's note, Four M., A.D. 1052, p. 861. O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, p. 438.

¹ *Claim.* The same claim is made in another place in this MS. (fol. 20 *a.*) in an addition to a list of the kings of Leinster, in which Diarmait is thus spoken of—"Diarmait mac Donnchada mac Murchada .xlvi. Ocuir ba ri Lethi Mogha uile eirde, ocuiri Míde eirde. U éc i Páirna, iap inbuaio onsta ocuiri athriú, in .xlvi. anno aetatis rúae. "Diarmait, son of Dunchadh, son of Murchadh [reigned] 46 [years]. And he was king of all Leth Mogha and also of Meath. He died at Ferns after the victory of Unction and Penance, in the 61st year of his age." This note is in a hand more recent than that of the MS., and was written probably in 1171, the year of King Diarmait's death.

than that of the MS., has written in the upper margin, the following strong expression¹ of grief:—

“[O Mary!] It is a great deed that is done in Erinn this day, the kalends of August. Dermot, son of Donnchadh Mac Murchadha, King of Leinster and of the Danes,² was banished by the men of Ireland over the sea eastward. Uch! Uch! O Lord! what shall I do.”

The event thus so pathetically lamented took place in the year 1166.³ We know not who it was that so recorded his despair; but the note is evidence that this book, to which the name of “Book of Leinster” has been given, was written in the lifetime of Dermot Mac Murrough, and was, most probably, his property, or that of some eminent personage amongst his followers or clansmen, before the English invasion.

These circumstances are important, as proving beyond all reasonable doubt, that the copy of the present work which this MS. once contained,⁴ and of which only a single folio leaf remains, must have been written in the twelfth century, and the original must therefore have been still earlier. The author mentions no event later than the battle of Clontarf, A.D. 1014, and was probably a contemporary and follower, as he certainly was a strong partizan, of King Brian Borumha, who fell in that battle. The MS. of which we are now treating was, therefore, written certainly before 1166, and probably within the century after the death of the author of the work.

This MS.
denoted by
the letter
L.

The editor in the notes upon the first twenty-eight chapters or sections of the text, has distinguished the various

¹ *Expression.* See the original Irish in O'Curry's Lectures, *Append.* No. lxxxv. The first words, “O Mary,” are now so obscure in the MS. that they can only be considered as a conjectural restoration suggested by Mr. O'Curry.

² *Danes.* Meaning the Danes of Dublin.

³ *Year 1166.* See *Four Masters*. The foregoing note gives us the additional fact that Dermot fled on the 1st of August.

⁴ *Contained.* The Book of Leinster is now very imperfect. The Editor found eleven of the original folia of it at St. Isidore's College, Rome. They were probably lent to Colgan, in accordance with a practice which has proved injurious to many of our Irish MSS. They contain some of the works of Aengus the Culdee, and also the Martyrology of Tallaght, wanting November and the first sixteen days of December, by the loss of a leaf.

readings of this MS.¹ by the letter L. It exhibits several peculiarities of spelling, interesting to the philological student of the Celtic languages; but it has not been thought necessary to notice all these, as the whole of this valuable fragment has been preserved in the Appendix².

The second Manuscript employed in forming the text of the present work, is also a fragment, although a more considerable one, and is likewise preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. We have called this the Dublin MS., and its readings are marked D. in the notes.

This copy was found about the year 1840, by the late eminent scholar, Mr. O'Curry, bound up³ in one of the Seabright MSS., formerly in the possession of the celebrated antiquary, Edward Llwyd. There is nothing except the appearance of the MS. and its handwriting to fix its age; but judging from these criteria we cannot be far wrong in supposing it to have been written about the middle of the fourteenth century.⁴ It is imperfect both at the beginning and at the end: wanting from the first to the fifth chapters inclusive, at the beginning, and from the middle⁵ of chapter cxiii. to the end of the work. There are also some intervening defects, arising from a

¹ *This MS.* The initial letter, B., p. 2, is an exact fac-simile of the initial with which this MS. begins.

² *Appendix.* Some few examples of the peculiarities alluded to are given, p. 223, note 3. They may, probably, be regarded as characteristic of the old Leinster dialect of the Irish language.

³ *Bound up.* It occurs in the MS. H. 2, 17, and was described by Dr. O'Donovan in his unpublished Catalogue of the Irish MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, under the date of Jan. 1840. But this fragment was undoubtedly first identified, as con-

taining the long lost Danish wars, by Mr. O'Curry, who says (*Lectures*, p. 232), "Of this tract I had the good fortune, some sixteen years ago, to discover an ancient but much soiled and imperfect copy in the Library of Trinity College." The Lecture in which this statement occurs was delivered June 19, 1856.

⁴ *Fourteenth century.* Mr. O'Curry says, "The ancient fragment must be nearly as old as the chief events towards the conclusion of the war." *Ibid.* This is certainly a mistake.

⁵ *Middle.* See p. 199, line 9 from bottom.

II. The Dublin MS. denoted by the letter D.

Its age.

loss of leaves in the MS. A list¹ of these defects is given below.

The orthography of this MS. is far from correct. It omits almost uniformly the eclipsed letters, and those which are quiescent or dropped in ordinary pronunciation: a circumstance which frequently causes considerable difficulty. To enable the reader more easily to understand what is meant, some examples, selected almost at random, are given below in the note.² They are evidence of an impure orthography, and of a period when the language was in its decline.

III. The Brussels copy, denoted by the letter B.

The third MS. is a paper copy preserved in the Burgundian Library, Brussels, which has the advantage of being perfect. It is in the handwriting of the eminent Irish scholar, Friar Michael O'Clery, by whom it was transcribed in the year 1635. This appears by the following note at the end:—

Ar leabhar Conconnacht i Dálag do rēcriobh an bpatair boet Micheló Clery an corp ar an rēcriobhadh ro, hi cconueint na bpatair i mBaile Tighe Farannain, a mí Márta na bliadna ro 1628, ocup ro rēcriobhadh an corp ro lar an nbpatair céona i cconueint Dúin na nGall, a mír Nouember na bliadna ro 1635.

Out of the book of Cuconnacht O'Daly, the poor friar Michael O'Clery wrote the copy from which this was written, in the convent of the friars in Baile Tighe Farannain, in the month of March of this year 1628; and this copy was written by the same friar in the convent of Dun-na-nGall [Donegal], in the month of November of this year 1635.

¹ List. Part of chap. xxx. and xxxi. (see p. 35) is wanting in D., also from the second line of ch. xxxiii. to the seventh line of ch. xxxvii. (pp. 39-43). Again, from the last two lines of ch. lvi. (p. 85) to line 5 of ch. lxi. (p. 92); from the middle of ch. lxvii. (p. 111) to the middle of ch. lxix. (last line of p. 115); ch. lxx. (p. 117) to line 7 of ch. lxxii. (p. 119); and from ch. lxxvi. (p. 133) to the middle of ch. lxxx. (line 1, p. 141).

² Note. The omission of r is very common, as in *ratatin* for *ratatin*;

racill for *rapail*; *eo* for *reo*; *ag-bail* for *ragbail*; *optu* for *portu*; *bail* for *bpail* or *bapail*; *ro negna* for *ro rnegna*; *imagur* for *impagur*; *etatar* for *fetatar*; *acrom* for *racrom*; *negair* for *rnegair*. The omission of *o*, as in *riobair* for *riobair*; *man* for *oman*. The omission of *t*, as *rentucur* for *rentucur*; *canb* for *catanb*; of *b*, as *munatur* for *mbunatur*; *aragur* for *baragur*; and of *m*, as *cunig* for *cummig*. Some other instances are mentioned in the notes.

From this we should, perhaps, infer that Michael O'Clery made two copies of the tract on the Danish Wars, one in March, 1628, in the Convent of Baile-Tighe Farannain (now Multyfarnham, in the county of Westmeath), "out of the Book of Cuconnacht O'Daly;" and another, probably taken from his former copy, in November, 1635, when he was in the Convent of Donegal. This latter transcript is the book now in the Brussels Library, which has been used in forming the text of the present work, whenever the Dublin MS. was defective. Its various readings are distinguished in the notes by the letter B.

The Book of Cuconnacht O'Daly is now unknown; but its owner or compiler was probably the same who is described by the Four Masters, as a chief bard¹ or historian, and a native or resident of Lackan, in Westmeath. He died, according to the same authorities, at Clonard, in Meath, A.D. 1139. Lackan² is close to Multyfarnham, and it was natural that the book, compiled by its great bard, should be preserved in the neighbouring Franciscan Abbey. From these facts it seems probable that the Book of Cuconnacht O'Daly was a "Bibliotheca," or a collection of historical documents, transcribed in the early part of the twelfth century, and therefore of about the same date

Book of Cu-
connacht
O'Daly.

¹ *Chief bard.* *Arvoolath lé ban.* *Four M.* at the year 1139. For the situation of Lackan, see Dr. O'Donovan's note, *Four M.* at A.D. 746, p. 349. The genealogy of Cuconnacht O'Daly will be found in the "Historical Sketch of the family of O'Daly," prefixed to Aenghus O'Daly's *Tribes of Ireland*, edited by Dr. O'Donovan. *Dublin*, (John O'Daly) 1852.

² *Lackan.* In the gloss on the *Felire* of Aengus, at June 28 (Brussels copy), the situation of Lackan is thus described: *Leacuin annm an tempuill Cruimne pé taobh Buailte* [for *mBuile Tighe*] *Farannain.* "Lackan is the name of the church of S.

Cruimmin, near Buailte Farannain." The abbey of Multyfarnham continued in the possession of Franciscan friars, notwithstanding the suppression, and in 1641 was the head quarters of the Confederate Roman Catholics. See Cox, *Hib. Angl. ii.*, *App.* p. 41. This occasioned the dispersion of the friars; but within the present century a convent has been re-established there, and buildings erected in the ruins of the ancient house. See Sir H. Piers's account of Westmeath, in Vallancey's *Collectanea*, i., p. 68. The abbey of Donegal also continued in the possession of the friars until the times of Cromwell, but is now in utter ruin.

as the Book of Leinster, of which we have already spoken. It follows that the original of the Wars of the Danes and Irish, which was copied into these collections, must have had some celebrity before the year 1139, when O'Daly died, and was therefore, probably, composed before the end of the preceding century.

Michael
O'Clery's
copy.

Michael O'Clery, the transcriber of the Brussels MS., was a lay brother of the order of St. Francis, and is celebrated as having been the chief of the compilers of the great Chronicle known as the Annals of the Four Masters. His original Christian name¹ was *Tadhg*, Teague or Teige, and he was commonly called *Tadhg an tsleibhe*, or "Teige of the Mountain," before he took the name of *Michael* in religion.

Liberties
taken with
the original
MS. from
which he
transcribed.

In his transcript of the Danish Wars, he has modernized the spelling, and has probably introduced other more serious deviations from the text of O'Daly's MS. He intended his copy for the use of his contemporaries, and therefore, perhaps, deemed himself at liberty to adopt the modern orthography and other grammatical peculiarities which would be to them most intelligible. This circumstance no doubt has greatly diminished the value of his manuscript, especially as we cannot be certain whether his departure from the ancient original was confined to such minor alterations.² It was unfortunately the custom of Irish scribes, to take considerable liberties with the works they transcribed. They did not hesitate to insert poems and other additional matter, with a view to gratify their patrons or chieftains, and to flatter the vanity of their clan. It is to be feared, that for the same reason, they frequently omitted what might be disagreeable to their patrons, or scandalous to the Church; thus

¹ *Christian name.* For an account of this distinguished antiquary, see O'Donovan's Introduction to the Four Masters, and O'Curry's Lectures.

² *Alterations.* See p. 83, where O'Clery has substituted an "etc." for

the words "for the good of the souls of the foreigners who were killed in the battle:" which words, taken in connexion with the context in which they stand, are certainly very obscure. But they occur in the Dublin MS.

they were unconsciously guilty of anachronisms and various mistakes, which have the effect of throwing discredit upon the works so transmitted to us, as disproving apparently their claim to antiquity.

Evidence of such interpolations is abundantly afforded by a comparison of the three MSS. employed in this edition of the Danish Wars. The ancient MS. in the Book of Leinster, although a mere fragment, is of great importance in this point of view. It proves, for example, that the lists of the Kings¹ of Ireland and Munster in the Brussels MS. are an interpolation. The original work gave only the names of the King of Ireland and of the contemporary King of Munster, in whose times the pirate fleets first made their appearance. In the Brussels MS. there is inserted after this, a full list of both series of kings during the whole period of the Scandinavian invasions. We find also passages given as marginal notes in the older MS., which are received into the text, and sometimes, perhaps, misunderstood,² or incorrectly transcribed, in the later copy. But the O'Clery MS., notwithstanding these defects, is of great value. It is certainly an independent authority. It contains four poems which are not in the Dublin copy. Three of these are in the form of a dialogue between Mathgamhain³ and Brian, and the fourth is said to have been the composition of "Mathgamhain's blind bard." They are evidently interpolations made by some transcriber who was attached to Brian's party. The first (p. 63) is an apology for Brian's difficulties, when, as we are told, his followers were reduced to fifteen; and it contains a gentle censure of Mathgamhain for being "too quiescent" towards the foreigners. The second (p. 77) celebrates the victory of the Dal Cais over the foreigners, at Sulcoit. The third (p. 81) attributed to "the poet," who is not named, cele-

Evidence
of interpo-
lations in
the MSS.

Interpolations
in
the MS. B.

¹ *Kings*. See chaps. ii., iii., and Append. A, p. 221.

² *Misunderstood*. See the note ¹, p. 222. Compare also p. 8, note ⁴.

³ *Mathgamhain*. This name is pronounced *Mahûn*, or *Mahoon*, the accent being on the last syllable. *Dal-Cais* is pronounced *Dal-Cash*.

brates the defeat of the Danes of Limerick : and the last (p. 97), by Mathgamhain's "blind bard," is an elegy, not without spirit, on the treacherous murder of that chieftain.

Interpolations in the MS. D.

On the other hand, the Dublin fragment contains some passages of considerable length, both in prose and verse, which are not in the Brussels copy. For example, the poetical address¹ from Gilla-Comhgaill O'Slebhain, urging Aedh, or Hugh, O'Neill to join King Maelsechlainn against Brian ; the description² of the march of Brian's army to Clontarf, with the arrival of the auxiliaries Fergal O'Rourke, and his followers ; the bombastic account of the enemy's forces and their arms, as contrasted with Brian's troops³; and the combat of Dunlaing of the Liffey, who is said to have been defeated and beheaded by Fergal O'Rourke⁴ in this battle, although the Annals of Ulster and the Four Masters give a different account of his death.

Various readings.

In noting the various readings detected by a collation of the MSS., the editor has taken no notice of mere differences of spelling except in some rare instances. Irish orthography, in the twelfth century, was so unsettled, and, indeed, is still so unsettled, that the same word is frequently written by the same scribe in different spellings on the same page. To note all such variations would have swollen the work to a size out of all proportion to the value of the information so collected.

¹ *Address.* See ch. lxxiii. p. 121. Giolla Comhgaill O'Slebhain, or Ua Slebhene, died in 1031, according to the Four Masters, who call him "chief poet (pradh-ollam) of the North of Ireland." The date of his mission to O'Neill, here alluded to, was 1002 or 1003.

² *Description.* Chap. lxxxix., p. 155.

³ *Troops.* Chap. xcvi., p. 171.

⁴ *Fergal O'Rourke.* Chap. ci., p. 177. It is worthy of note that B. (O'Clery's copy) omits everything connected with Fergal and his presence in the battle: neither is he mentioned by the Four Masters, who naturally followed the authority of O'Clery, who was one of them.

The Author and Age of the Work.

The *Cogadh Gaedhil re Gallaibh*, or "Wars of the Gael with the Gaill," that is to say, of the Irish with the Norsemen, has been frequently quoted by Keating. It was known also to Colgan; and the Four Masters have occasionally transferred its very words to their pages. It is mentioned also by Mac Curtin¹ and O'Halloran,² who cite it as in their time an accessible authority of which the original was well known. But for many years all copies of it were supposed to have perished, until the discovery of the Dublin MS. by Mr. O'Curry, in 1840. Soon afterwards it was ascertained that another copy was preserved at Brussels, together with some other Irish MSS. of great interest. The Editor accordingly went there in August, 1848, and made a full collation of the Brussels copy, with the Dublin MS., transcribing all that was necessary to supply the deficiencies of the latter. Afterwards, through the influence of the Earl of Clarendon, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, he obtained from the Belgian Government a loan of this and some other MSS., and in 1853 caused a complete copy of it to be made by Mr. O'Curry for the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. These transcripts have been carefully collated in forming the text of the present edition.

The work known to Keating, Colgan, and the Four Masters.

Collation of the Brussels MS. by the editor.

Transcript of it by Mr. O'Curry.

The work has external as well as internal evidence of antiquity. Its author, as we have seen, was a contemporary and strong partizan of King Brian Borumha. It exhibits many traces of the political feelings engendered by the intestine dissensions of the Dal Cais, and

Evidence of antiquity.

¹ *Mac Curtin*. "Discourse in Vindication of the Antiquity of Ireland:" Dublin, 4^o, 1717, p. 171, 175, 181, et passim. In p. 204, he says, "*Coga Gall le Gaoidhealuibh* is the only best

authority for any thing relating to the Danish wars in Ireland."

² *O'Halloran*. "Hist. of Ireland," vol. ii., p. 153. 4^o, Lond. 1778.

their contest for sovereignty with the Clann Colmain,¹ in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Copies of it were preserved in the historical collections made by eminent antiquaries in the early part of the twelfth century. The author makes no use of the era *Anno Domini*, but dates from the reigns of the Kings of Ireland and Munster; sometimes also from local events² in the provincial history of Ireland.

Its author,
said to be
Mac Liag.

Dr. O'Connor³ asserts without hesitation that the author of this work was Mac Liag, whose death is recorded by the Four Masters, at the year 1015 (the true date being 1016), in these words:—

“Mac-Liag, i.e., Muirheartach, son of Cucheartach, chief poet (*ard-ollamh*) of Ireland at that time, died.”

In the Dublin Annals of Innisfallen, at A.D. 1016, the same event is thus recorded:—

“Mac-Liag, i.e., Muirheartach beg, son of Mael-ceartach, chief poet (*ard-ollamh*) of Ireland, died in [the island called] Inis-an-Gaill-duibh, in the Shannon.”

No ancient
authority
for this.

But the editor has not discovered any ancient authority for attributing this work to Mac Liag⁴. The Four Mas-

¹ *Clann Colmain*. See Geneal. Table II., Append. B., p. 242. The kings of Ireland, Maelseachlainn I. and Maelseachlainn II., were the hereditary chieftains of the Clann Colmain, or descendants of Colman mór, son of Diarmait, King of Ireland, A.D. 544, of the Southern Hy Neill. See pp. 131 and 181.

² *Local events*. See ch. iv., p. 5; ch. xiv., p. 15; ch. xxiii., p. 23; ch. xxvii., p. 29. O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, Pref. p. [40], is of opinion that the vulgar Christian era was not used in Ireland until after the year 1020.

³ *Dr. O'Connor*. In his list of the ancient authorities quoted or employed by the Four Masters in the compilation of their Annals, Dr. O'Connor thus speaks of the present work:—“XLVIII.

Cocadh Gall la Gaoidhil, Bella Alienigenarum cum Hibernia. Auctore Mac Liago Scriptoris sæculo xi. Vide iv. Mag. ann. 1015.” *Rer. Hib. Scriptt.*, vol. i. *Epist. Nuncup.*, p. lvi.

⁴ *Mac-Liag*. The Four Masters, immediately after the words above quoted, give the first and the last quatrains of verses composed by Mac-Liag. In the former of these he calls himself “Muirheartach beg, son of Mael-certaich;” and O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, p. 334, tells us that he was of the family of O'Conchearta of Lig-gna-thaile, in Corann, a territory which included the barony of Galeng, or Gallen, in the county of Mayo, together with the barony of Luighne, now Leyney, and the present barony of Corann, in the county of Sligo. Mael-

ters make no mention of its author. Mac Curtin and O'Halloran, who have quoted it by the Irish title it still bears, are silent as to the author's name. Even O'Reilly,¹ in his list of Mac Liag's works, omits the *Cogadh Gaedhil re Gallaibh*. Colgan had a copy of it, the same most probably which is now in the Brussels Collection. He

Colgan
makes no
mention of
the author.

certaigh and Cucertaigh seem to have been used as synonymous for the family name of the poet; and Mac Liag was, probably, not his Christian name, but an appellation given to distinguish him from the many others of the family who were named Muirheartach, or Moriarty. For the same reason he appears to have been called Muirheartach beg, or *the little*. His tribe name, Mael-certaigh, signifies the devoted servant of, tonsured in honour of Certach; and Cu-certaigh, the hound, or dog of, that is, the faithful servant of, *Certach*, who was, no doubt, one of the many saints of that name. There was a saint Mac Liag, descended from Colla Uais, King of Ireland in the fourth century, (*Martyrol. of Donegal*, 8 Feb.); and the Christian name Gilla-Mic-Liag, or servant of Mac Liag, was used in the eleventh century. The Four Masters mention the death of Mac Conmara Ua Mic Liag, or grandson of Mac Liag, A.D. 1048; and the Annals of Ulster record the death of Cumara mac mic Liag, or son of Mac Liag, whom they call *Ard ollamh Erenn*, or chief poet of Ireland, and who seems to have succeeded his father, the bard of Brian Borumha, in that office. Hence it appears that Mac Mic Liag and O'Liag had come to be used as surnames to denote this particular branch of the family. Besides the Book of the Danish Wars, now published, Mac Liag is said to

have written a Life of Brian Borumha, and a book of the Battles of Munster. They are quoted by Mac Curtin as three distinct works, and as extant in his time; that is to say, at the beginning of the last century. Dr. O'Connor refers to Mac Curtin for the existence of these books, and therefore was probably not himself acquainted with them. *Rer. Hib. Scriptt.*, vol. i. *Proleg.* part ii. *Elenchus*, p. 7. Probably the Book of Munster Battles may be the same as the *Leabhar Oiris agus annala ar cogthaibh agus ar cathaibh Erenn*, "The Book of Antiquity and Annals of the Wars and Battles of Ireland," which O'Reilly says he had in his possession, and which he tells us, although it professes to treat of the "wars and battles of Ireland," is in reality confined to the battles of Munster. *Trans. Ibero-Celtic Society*, p. lxx. It is now in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy. The late James Hardiman, *Irish Minstrelsy*, vol. ii., p. 361, sq., has published some extracts from this book in the original Irish, which prove, beyond a doubt, that the work must have been of a much later age than that of Mac Liag, or that if it was by him, the phraseology and language must have been greatly modernized by its transcribers. The specimens of it printed by Mr. Hardiman are in a dialect of Irish which cannot be older than the seventeenth century.

¹ O'Reilly. *Trans. Ibero-Celtic Society*, p. lxx. *Dublin*, 1820.

has given the following account¹ of it, in which, however, he says nothing of its author :—

"I have a full history written of these wars of Ireland, which in the vulgar tongue is called *Cogadh Gaoidhel re Gallaibh*, i.e., Wars of the Irish with the foreigners; in which from A.D. 812, when (as Eginhard, or some other author of the same age, in his Life of Charlemagne, says) 'The fleet of the Northmen invaded Ireland, the island of the Scoti; and after a battle with the Scots, an innumerable multitude of the Northmen was destroyed, and in an ignominious flight returned home.' Almost every year afterwards we read of fresh battles and conflicts of the Irish with the Danes and Northmen, until the year 1012 or 1013 [*read* 1014], when, in a great battle fought on the plain of Clontarf, near Dublin, with very great slaughter on both sides, the strength of each was so irreparably weakened, that neither people has since been able, even to the present day, to recover its original strength and power. For there fell in that battle the principal chieftains and nobles both of the Irish and Northmen, with the far-famed King of Ireland himself, Brian Borumha, or Boromæus; who, says Marianus Scotus, on Good Friday, 9 Kal. Maii, was slain, his hands and mind intent on prayer to God."

Keating
does not
name the
author.

Keating also, at the commencement of his history of the invasions of the Northmen, in the reign of Aedh Oirnidhe, quotes² the *Cogadh Gall re Gaedhiolaibh* under that name, as his principal source of information, and tells us that his narrative is only an abridgment of that work. He says nothing, however, of its author. Can it be believed that these eminent authorities could all have been ignorant of the fact that the work had been composed

¹ *Account*. "Extat apud me integra historia de his bellis Hibernice conscripta, quæ vulgari sermone *Cogadh gaoidhel re gallaibh*, i.e. bella Hibernorum cum alienigenis, nuncupatur; in qua ab anno Christi 812, quo (inquit Eginardus, vel alius author ejusdem sæculi, in vita Caroli magni,) *Classis Nortmannorum Hiberniam, Scotorum insulam, aggressa; commisso pralio cum Scotis, innumerabilis multitudo Nortmannorum extincta est, et turpiter fugiendo reversi sunt*: singulis pene annis leguntur nova prælia et conflictus Hibernorum, cum Danis et Normannis, usque ad annum Christi 1012, vel 1013, quo ingenti prælio, in

campo de *Cluain-Tarbh*, juxta Dublinium commisso, cum summa utriusque partis clade, mutuas vires ita irreparabiliter debilitarunt, ut neutra gens, in hunc usque diem, pristinam recuperaverint potentiam vel vires. Occubuerunt enim in eo prælio præcipui et Hibernorum et Nortmannorum Principes et Proceres, cum ipso longè celebri Hiberniæ Rege, Briano *Boromhe*, seu Boromæo; qui, inquit Marianus Scotus; ipso *Parasceve Paschæ feriæ, 9 Calendas Maii, manibus et mente in Deum intentus, necatur*." Actt. SS., p. 106, col. 2, n. 3.

² *Quotes*. O'Connor's Transl., p. 418. O'Mahony's Transl., p. 495.

by Mac Liag, the "chief poet of Ireland," the bard of King Brian himself, or, knowing this, could have concealed a circumstance so important to its authenticity? And if Keating, the Four Masters, and Colgan were ignorant of its authorship in the seventeenth century, how did Dr. O'Connor, in the nineteenth, acquire the information on the subject¹ which enabled him to attribute it so dogmatically to Mac Liag?

Mac Liag died, as we have seen, in 1016, two years only after his master, Brian. He had, therefore, it may be said, but a short time to compile this work, which is brought down to the year of the battle of Clontarf, in which Brian fell. But it was surely not impossible, that in two years a diligent and well read author should have composed such a history. He might have had the earlier part of it written and lying by him long before. Neither is it a conclusive argument that a stanza of poetry of which Mac Liag is himself said to have been the author, is quoted² in the book. This may have been one of the interpolations which we know were introduced into later transcripts. Or the author himself may have quoted one of his own poems, naming himself, which is not unusual, in the third person. It may be fairly urged, however, that if the transcribers had believed Mac Liag to have been the author of the prose narrative, whether they had found the poetical quotation in the original MS. or not, they would scarcely have passed over the opportunity of saying so.

There are one or two other apparent indications of a more recent date, which may be properly noticed here. One of these is that the Danes are made to speak *English*. This would have been a natural mistake enough for an Irish author of a period subsequent to the twelfth century, who was not well versed in Teutonic languages. The English were generally, and indeed are still very com-

Not impossible that Mac Liag may have been the author.

Apparent indications of a more recent date.

¹ *On the subject.* Dr. O'Connor gives no authority for his statement. His words are quoted above, p. xx, note 2.

² *Quoted.* This stanza (four lines) is introduced by the words, "of which Mac Liag said." See p. 95.

monly called in Ireland by the same name of *Gaill*, or foreigners, which was given to the Norsemen. But the mistake, however natural, could not have been committed *before* the English invasion, and therefore, if the words are really English, and were so written by the original author, they would be evidence against the early date of the work. But this is by no means certain. We are told (p. 175), that "Plait, son of the King of Lochlainn," having been challenged by Domhnall Mac Emhin, a Scottish chieftain, to single combat, cried out at the head of the troops on the following morning, "*Faras Domhnall*," which the Irish historian translates into his own tongue, *Cait ita Domhnall*, Where is Domhnall? *Faras*, however, may be an attempt to represent the pronunciation of the Danish *Hvar er*, although it certainly looks more like the English *Where is*. In another place (p. 203), we read that when the Earl Brodar, after the battle, rushed into Brian's tent, one of his followers cried out, "King, King." Brodar, seeing that Brian had been at prayers, answered, "No, No ; but prist, prist." These words are apparently English ; nevertheless the original Danish may have been translated into English, by modern transcribers. The portion of the narrative in which the words occur, exists only¹ in the Brussels MS. ; and it is not improbable that O'Clery, transcribing in the seventeenth century, and familiar with the English language, may have written *king* for *kónge*, *prist* for *prestr*, and *no* for *né* ; or else that all this may be an interpolation. These considerations render it impossible to regard this argument as absolutely conclusive against the early date of the work.

The O'La-
teans of
Munster.

There is another difficulty. Brian's servant, or personal attendant, who was with him during the battle

¹ *Exists only*. That is to say, the Brussels MS. is the only one which contains the portion of the narrative in which these seemingly English words now occur. The extract from Mac

Liag's Life of Brian, printed by Mr. Hardiman, *Minstrelsy*, ii. p. 364, although it gives the same account of the death of Brian, says nothing of these supposed Danish or English words.

(see p. 197), is said to have been named *Latean*, and it is added, "from whom are [descended] the O'Lateans still in Munster." It is clear that the original author, if he had written when Latean, the ancestor of this family, was alive, could not possibly have thus spoken of his descendants; but a clause of this kind is just the sort of interpolation¹ that a scribe, living at a later period, when the family of O'Latean had multiplied, would have naturally introduced, forgetting the anachronism of which he thereby made his author guilty.

On the whole we may conclude that, although the work in its present form is modernized and interpolated, the original of it was nevertheless undoubtedly ancient.² There is no evidence to prove that its author was Mac Liag, the bard of the Dal Cais, in the court of King Brian Borumha. But its author was either himself an eye-witness of the battle of Clontarf, or else compiled his narrative from the testimony of eye-witnesses. He was certainly, as we have already observed, a partizan of king Brian.

That the work was compiled from contemporary materials may be proved by curious incidental evidence. It is stated in the account³ given of the Battle of Clontarf, that the full tide in Dublin Bay on the day of the battle (23rd April, 1014), coincided with sunrise; and that the returning tide at evening, aided considerably in the defeat of the enemy.

It occurred to the Editor, on considering this passage, that a criterion might be derived from it to test the truth

¹ *Interpolation.* The parenthesis, "from whom are the O'Lateans still in Munster," is not in the extract from the "Life of Brian," printed by Mr. Hardiman, *Ibid.*, p. 364. This adds some probability to the conjecture that the parenthesis in question is an interpolation.

² *Ancient.* In chap. xlii., p. 55, a poem by Cuan O'Lochan, "the poet and chief sage (oUam) of Erin and Alba," as he is there styled, is quoted. This poet, according to the Irish An-

nals, died in 1024, ten years after the Battle of Clontarf. He was chief poet or bard in the court of King Mael-seachlainn, or Malachy II. See Dr. O'Donovan's *Introd. to the Book of Rights*, p. xlii. *sq.* The fact, therefore, that some of his verses are quoted is no objection to the antiquity of the present work; the verses may have been composed many years before his death.

³ *Account.* See chap. cvii., p. 191 *infra.*

of the narrative, and of the date assigned by the Irish Annals¹ to the Battle of Clontarf. He therefore proposed to the Rev. Samuel Haughton, M.D., Fellow of Trinity College, and Professor of Geology in the University of Dublin, to solve for him this problem:—"What was the hour of high water, at the shore of Clontarf, in Dublin Bay, on the 23rd of April, 1014?" The Editor did not make known to Dr. Haughton the object he had in view in this question, and the coincidence of the result obtained with the ancient narrative, is therefore the more valuable and curious.

Calculation
of the hour
of high
water at
the battle
of Clontarf.

Dr. Haughton communicated the particulars of his calculation to the Royal Irish Academy in May, 1861, in the following words² :—

"From twelve o'clock, noon, of the 23rd April, 1014, to the noon of the 12th December, 1860, allowing for the change of style and leap years, there were 309,223 real days.

"The synodical period of the moon is 29·530588715 days, and new moon occurred on the 12th December, 1860, at 47·6 minutes after noon. Multiplying the length of the synodical month by 10472 months, we find

$$29\cdot530588715 \times 10472 = 309244\cdot325 \text{ days.}$$

From which, subtracting the number of days from 23rd April, 1014, to 12th December, 1860, or 309,223 days, we find

$$21\cdot325 \text{ days, or } 21^d 7^h 48^m.$$

¹ *Annals*. The Annals of Ulster give the date A.D. 1014, and thus describe the chronological criteria of the year: "Kal. Jan. 6th feria, Luna 26;" that is to say, the 1st of Jan. fell on Friday (or the Sunday letter was C); and the epact, or age of the moon on the 1st of January, was 26. The chronicle then adds, "Hic est annus octavus circuli decemnovalis" [i.e., the Golden number is 8] "et hic est ccccc et lxxxii, ab adventu sancti Patricii ad baptizandos Scotos. Feil Ġrugor rian mte, ocuf mincawc i rampacō i rīn bliaō-annrī, quod non auditum est ab antiquis temporibus." The Irish words have been entirely misunderstood by Dr. O'Connor. The correct translation of them is this: "The feast of St. Gregory [12th March] fell after Shrovetide, and little Easter [the 1st Sunday after Easter] fell in Summer [i.e., after the 1st of

May] in that year." All these criteria point out the year 1014, in which Easter fell on the latest day possible, viz., 25th April; therefore Shrove Tuesday, called by the Irish, *init*, (Welsh, *ynyt*), i.e., *initium jejunii*, was the 9th March, and "little Easter," or Low Sunday, the 2nd May; the same late Easter had not happened before since A.D. 482. The dates in the Annals of the Four Masters, at this period, are a year short, so that their 1013 answers to A.D. 1014. Dr. Dasent, "Story of Burnt Njal" (Introd. vol. i. p. cxv.), speaking of the date of this battle, states that it took place on "Good Friday, the 18th April, 1014;" but the 18th of April in that year was Palm Sunday. The true day of the battle was Good Friday, 23rd April, 1014.

² *Words*. Proceedings, Royal Irish Academy, vol. vii., p. 496.

“ It follows from this calculation that new moon occurred at

April,	23 ^d 0 ^h 47.6 ^m —1014, A.D.
Minus	21 7 48

Or, at	1 ^d 16 ^h 59.6 ^m —April, 1014, A.D.
----------------	---

i.e., at 5 o'clock on the morning of the 2nd April.

“ Therefore full moon occurred at

April,	1 ^d 16 ^h 59.6 ^m
Plus	14 18 21.6
	<hr/> 16 ^d 11 ^h 21.2 ^m

Therefore the astronomical, or true full moon, occurred at 21 minutes past eleven at night of the 16th April, 1014.

“ Calculating by the established rules, the calendar or ecclesiastical full moon occurred on the 18th April, 1014 (Sunday), which would therefore make Easter Day fall on the 25th April, and make the 23rd April, Good Friday, agreeable to the traditions of the Battle of Clontarf.

“ I shall now show that the calculation of the tides makes it quite certain that the date 1014 falls in with all the physical circumstances related of the battle.

“ It appears from the calculation that I have given already that

The age of the moon at noon on the 23rd April, 1014, was 21.292 days, or 21^d 7^h nearly.

“ The tide was therefore a neap tide, and the moon in her third quarter.

“ From the Academy's observations [on the tides round the coast of Ireland], it appears that on such a day of the moon's age, at the spring equinox, the tide at Kingstown is full at

5^h 22^m in the morning,

from which it follows that the tide along the Clontarf shore, when not obstructed by embankments and walls, could not have differed many minutes on the 23rd April, 1014, from

5^h 30^m A.M;

the evening tide being full in at

5^h 55^m P.M.

The truth of the narrative (see p. 191), is thus most strikingly established. In the month of April, the sun rises at from 5^h 30^m to 4^h 30^m. The full tide in the morning therefore coincided nearly with sunrise: a fact which holds a most important place in the history of the battle, and proves that our author, if not himself an eye-witness, must have derived his information from those who were. “ None others,” as Dr. Haughton observes, “ could have invented the fact that the battle began at sunrise, and that the tide was then full in. The importance of the time of tide became evident at the close of the day, when the returned tide prevented the escape of the Danes from the Clontarf shore to the North bank of the Liffey.”

Summary of the Contents of the Work.

The work
divided into
two parts.

We may now proceed to give a more particular account of the contents of the present work, which divides itself into two parts. The first part ends with the chapter numbered¹ XL., and contains an account in chronological order, or what is meant to be so, of the arrival of the "fleets" of the Norsemen in different parts of Ireland, especially the southern or Munster district. The second part, from chap. XLI. to the end, is devoted to the history of the Dal Cais, or Munster Chieftains, and particularly to the achievements of their great hero, Brian, his usurpation of the throne of Ireland, for such it was, and his death in the celebrated Battle of Clontarf.

Resembles
the Scan-
dinavian
Saga.

The story is told very much after the manner of the Scandinavian Sagas,² with poems and fragments of poems introduced into the prose narrative. The style is inflated

¹ *Numbered.* The editor has taken the liberty of prefixing these numbers to the paragraphs or chapters of the work for the convenience of reference; they are not, of course, in the MSS.

² *Sagas.* It may be questioned whether the Saga literature was not an imitation, on the part of the Northmen, of the historical tales and bardic poems which they had found in Ireland. Many such productions, of undoubted antiquity, are still extant in the Irish language. In the Book of Leinster, a MS. written, as we have seen, before the middle of the twelfth century, there is a curious list of Romantic tales, which, as we infer from those of them that are still extant, were exactly similar to the Sagas of the Northmen. Mr. O'Curry has printed this interesting list, with a translation (*Lectures*, Append. No. 1, lxxxix, p. 584). They amount in all to 137; and must, of course, be all of greater antiquity than this catalogue of them written in the twelfth cen-

tury. We cannot be wrong, therefore, in assuming that such tales were popular with the Irish in the tenth and eleventh centuries at latest. But we learn from Snorro Sturleson (in the Preface to his *Heimskringla*) that "The priest Are hinn Frode [or the Wise], son of Thorgila, son of Gellis, was the first man who wrote down in the Norse language narratives of events both old and new." Are hinn Frode was born in Iceland, in 1067, and lived to 1148, or as some think 1158. This was about the time when the above-mentioned list of Irish historical tales was compiled, and Are hinn Frode only followed the practice which had before his time prevailed in Ireland. The reader may see specimens of these tales in the "Battle of Magh Rath," or Moira, published, with a translation and notes, by Dr. O'Donovan, for the Irish Archaeological Society; the "Battle of Magh Lena," with the "Courtship of Momera," edited by Mr. O'Curry, for the

and bombastic, dealing largely in alliterative epithets and words of synonymous meaning, for which it is almost impossible to find equivalents in the English, or perhaps any other language.¹

The love of alliteration appears in the very title of the work, *Cogadh Gaedhil re Gallaibh*, "The wars of the Gaedhel with the Gaill," or of the Irish with the Foreigners. *Gall* was in all probability a name given to all strangers who spoke a foreign language, and were therefore at first confounded with the Galli,² or Gauls, the foreigners best known to the aboriginal Irish. Cormac's Glossary³ tells us that pillar stones were called *Gall*, because they were first erected in Ireland by the Galli, or primitive inhabitants of France. After the twelfth century the name of Gall, as we have already observed, was given to the English; and the Highlanders of Scotland employ it

The word
Gall, or
Galli.

Celtic Society: and several others in the publications of the Ossianic Society. It is evident that Ireland had the priority over the North in this species of popular literature; and it is worthy of note that, both in the North and in Ireland, the Saga or historic Tale was in the vernacular language of the people, not in the Latin of the monasteries. They were read at public entertainments, as well as at the fireside, and their popularity accounts for the remarkable love of historical lore, as well as the singular knowledge of the legendary history of their country, which was once characteristic of the Irish peasantry.

¹ *Language*. The Irish bards and historians, of the period to which this work belongs, appear to have considered it a great beauty in style to heap together synonymous words beginning with the same letter. For examples of this alliteration, see p. 56: *darmnaid dein diulang directea; gamanraid gerata gasta galaigh gnimaig gairgbeoda; croda comnerta comcalma; lonna letarracha luchtmara; brotha brigi baji beodachta*; etc.

² *Galli*. See Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 633, col. 2.

³ *Glossary*. See Stokes's ed., p. 23. Cæsar, B. G., i. 1, seems to say that *Gallus* was the Roman pronunciation of *Celt*, which word, as some think, is *Gaedhel*; but if so, it would follow that the Irish used the Roman pronunciation of the name of their own nation, to denote foreigners. The derivation of Gall, from γαλα, milk, given in Cormac's Glossary, in consequence of the milk-white complexion of the Gauls, is of course absurd; but it shows that the word was understood to mean *Gaul*, and that it is, in fact, *Gallus*. The German *Wälsch*, generally used to designate the Italians, but applied also to anything foreign, seems a cognate word. Giraldus Cambrensis tells us that the Anglo Saxons gave the name of Wales to the country of the Britons, from a word in their own language, which signified *foreign*. *Descript. Cambriae*, i. c. 7. *Gal*, or *Gelyn*, pl. *Galon*, in Welsh is "an enemy." In Irish, *Gaill* is the nominative, and *Gall* the genitive, plural.

in the same way to denote the Lowlanders. It was evidently the generic name which included all strangers; and the compound term Gall-gaedhel¹, was given to the descendants of mixed parents, the Scandinavian Irish, who had lapsed into paganism, or, having been brought up among the then heathen Norsemen, were never under Christian instruction.

Two distinct parties of Scandinavians mentioned.

In the commencement of the work the author distinguishes between two distinct parties of Scandinavian invaders; the first are termed "azure Gentiles," but in the older MS. *Lochlanns*; the second are called "Danars,"² or Danes. No inference can be drawn from the word *gormglasa*, translated "azure," applied to the former. It signifies literally blue-green, a pale and greenish blue: *glaucus*. In the account afterwards given of the Battle of Clontarf, it is applied to those of the Northmen who wore plate armour;³ the term can scarcely be regarded as intended to be a characteristic of the *azure Gentiles* as distinguished from the *Danars*, for it is omitted in the older MS., and is elsewhere applied⁴ to the Gaill or

¹ *Gall-gaedhel*. O'Flaherty (*Ogyg.*, p. 360) thought that these were the inhabitants of the smaller British islands—Orkneys, Hebrides, Man, &c., which the Irish called *Insi-gall*, or "Islands of the foreigners." The Four Masters also (A.D. 1154, p. 1113) speak of the Gall-Gaethela of Aran, Cantire, Man, and the coasts of Scotland. *Galloway* is a corruption of *Gall-gaethela*. And there is no doubt that this mixed race constituted a large proportion of the inhabitants of these islands. But they were also in Ireland. The "Fragments of Annals," published by the Irish Archæol. and Celtic Society mention them as settled in Munster, and especially in the county of Tipperary, p. 138-41, and describe them as "a people who had renounced their baptism, and they were usually called Northmen (*Normannaigh*), for they had the customs of Northmen, and had been fostered by them; and although

the original Northmen were bad to the churches, these were far worse, in whatever part of Erin they used to be." The fact of their apostacy, however, is not noticed by the Four Masters, nor by the Annals of Ulster; although their existence is often recognised. See *Four Mast. and Ann. Ult.*, from 854 to 856.

² *Danars*. Ch. i., p. 3. Observe here the alliteration, "ó genntibh, gormglasa, gusmara;" "ó danaraibh doilge, durchroideacha;" and see note ⁶, p. 2.

³ *Armour*. See p. 203.

⁴ *Applied*. See p. 159, where we have "Danar dana, durcraidecha; anmargaich [for *Danmarcaich*, the D omitted,] anbli, allmaria; Gaill gormglasa, gentlidi." In both cases the epithet *gormglasa*, "blue or azure," seems to have been selected, principally because its initial letter was *g*; and was therefore equally applicable to *Gaill* and *Gentile*.

foreigners in general. But two distinct nations of the Gaill are here undoubtedly described. They are elsewhere distinguished as white or fair-haired, and black or dark-haired foreigners, the Danes being the dark,¹ and the Norwegians, including, perhaps, Swedes, the white race. The term Lochlann seems used to denote the country of the white foreigners, although not perhaps with entire uniformity.² The word is supposed to signify Lake-land,³ a name which, if we understand the term Lake to include *fiords* or arms of the sea,⁴ would well describe the coast of Norway. The two nations are represented as hostile to each other, and battles⁵ between them not unfrequently took place. But it is to be regretted that our author does not always very clearly distinguish between them in his descriptions of their devastations in Ireland. We cannot even be sure that the name *Dane* is not sometimes given to the Norwegians. The word *Dane* in later times was certainly used to signify pirate, robber, a cruel and ferocious barbarian, without distinction of nation.

The date of the Scandinavian invasions is defined at the beginning of the following work by the reigns of the Kings of Ireland and Munster; and an interpolator adds a complete list of all the kings⁶ who were "in Cashel" and "in Tara," during the whole period from the first arrival of the strangers to the Battle of Clontarf. The pirates, we are told, appeared when Airtri, son of Cathal, was

Date of
the Scan-
dinavian
invasions.

¹ *Dark*. Thus the Danes are called "Black Gentile Danara," and the other race "White Gentiles," p. 19. See also p. 27.

² *Uniformity*. The name Lochlanners is used as distinguished from Danes, in the MS. L. (App. A., p. 221), and see also *Fragments of Annals*, p. 115, sq.

³ *Lake-land*. So Dr. O'Brien says in his dictionary: but he would apply the word to the black as well as to the white foreigners. The Irish translator of Nennius seems to use the word Lochland to denote Germany. *Irish Nennius*, p. 84. Mr. O'Mahony, in his

translation of Keating, p. 493 n., endeavours to prove Lochlannach to be equivalent to Laplander; but his reasons, although ingenious, are not satisfactory.

⁴ *Arms of the sea*. The word has frequently this signification in Ireland, e.g., Loch Foyle, Loch Swilly, Belfast Lough, Loch Carman (Wexford), Loch Lurgan (Galway), &c.—all arms of the sea.

⁵ *Battles*. See p. 27, and *Fragments of Annals*, p. 117.

⁶ *The kings*. See p. 3-5, and note *, p. 4.

King of Munster, and Aedh Oirnidhe, was King of Ireland. This latter sovereign began his reign, according to O'Flaherty's¹ chronology, in the year 797, and Airtri, of Munster, died at the beginning of the ninth century.

Testimony
of the Irish
and Welsh
Annals.

The Annals of Ulster, however, mention the first inroad of the Northmen at their year 794, which coincides² with A.D. 795, or two years before the reign of Aedh Oirnidhe. Their words are:—

794. *Lopcaro Rechrainne ó Genn-
tíð, ocuf a rcpun do corcparó
ocuf do lomparó.*

794. The burning of Rechru by
Gentiles, and its shrines were broken
and plundered.

The Four Masters repeat the same statement under their year 790, which Dr. O'Donovan³ corrects to 795. And so also the Welsh Chronicle,⁴ known by the name of *Brut y Tywysogion*, or "Chronicle of the Chieftains," has a corresponding record, under the year 790, equivalent also to A.D. 795:—

*Deg mlyned a peduar ugein a seith
cant oed oet Crist pandeuth y pagan-
yeit gytal y Iwerdon.*

Ten years with fourscore and seven
hundred was the age of Christ when
the pagans first went to Ireland.

Three MSS. add, "ac y distrywyd Rechrenn," "and destroyed Rechrenn⁵."

¹ *O'Flaherty's Chronology*, Ogyg., p. 433. Some remarks on the reigns of these kings will be found in Appendix B.

² *Coincides*. The Ulster Annals date from the era of the Incarnation, not from the Nativity, so that their years are all one less than A.D. or the era of the Birth of our Lord.

³ *Dr. O'Donovan*. *Four Mast.*, vol. I., p. 397.

⁴ *Chronicle*. Attributed to Caradoc of Llancarvan, *Monumenta Histor. Britan-
niæ*, p. 843. (Reprint for the Master of the Rolls, by the Rev. J. Williams ab Ithel, p. 9).

⁵ *Rechrenn*. This name has been given to more than one of the smaller islands near the coast of Ireland. There was a Rechru in Dalriada, now Raghery or Rathlinn island, off the

coast of Antrim, which Colgan (*Tr. Th.*, p. 509, 510) thought was the Rechru here intended. He is followed in this by Archdall, *Monast. Hib.*, p. 12. Dr. O'Connor was of the same opinion. But Dr. Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 164 n., gives some reasons for thinking that Rechru of Bregia, now Lambay (i.e., Lamb-ey, or Lamb island), is intended. This island is situated on the coast of the county of Dublin, in the antient district of Magh Bregb or Bregia. Rechru is the correct name, as we learn from Adamnan (*Vit. Columb.* i. 5), *Rechruinn* being the genitive and also the accusative case. For an account of the Rechru of Dalriada, see Reeves (*Eccles. Antiq. of Down and Connor*, p. 288 sq.), who notices other islands called Rechru, *ib.*, p. 292.

Another form of the *Brut y Tywysogion*, called the Gwentian Chronicle,¹ of Caradoc of Llancarvan, has the following record of the same event, at the same year, 795:—

Y daeth y paganiaid duon gyntaf i ynys Prydain o wlad Denmarc, ac a wnaethant ddrygau mawr yn Lloegr, wedi hynny daethant i Forganwg, ac yno lladd a llosgi llawer, ond o'r diwedd gofu'r Cymry arnynt au gyrru i'r mor gwedi lladd llawer iawn o honnynt, ac yna myned i'r Werddon lle y diffeithiasant Rechreyn a lleoeddd eraill.

The black pagans first came to the island of Britain from Denmark, and made great ravages in England; afterwards they entered Glamorgan, and there killed and burnt much; but, at last, the Cymry conquered them, driving them into the sea, and killing very many of them; from thence they went to Ireland and devastated Rechreyn and other places.

Here, under the same date, we have the same fact, with the additional information (not found in the other Welsh chronicles) that the party of "black pagans," who were the first of their nation to land in Ireland, had previously been defeated in Glamorganshire, and after their defeat there by the Cymry, had sought the coasts of Ireland and devastated Rechru.

We may, therefore, safely² adopt the year 795, on the

¹ *Gwentian Chronicle*. Published in Welsh in the *Myryrian Archaeology*, and recently with a translation by Mr. Aneurin Owen, by the Cambrian Archaeological Association.

² *Safely*. It is stated (p. 67 *infra*) that Corc, son of Cas, son of Ailioll Olum, was "the man who first routed the foreigners." If this were so, the Scandinavians must have been in Ireland at the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century. But this is an erroneous reading, as is shown in the note on the passage; the person intended was Corc, son of Anluan, who must have lived about A.D. 800 (see Append. B., Geneal. Table III., No. 18). Dr. O'Connor was of opinion that the first appearance of the Norsemen in Ireland was A.D. 747, in which year, according to his mistranslation of a passage in the Annals of Ulster, Arascach, abbot of Muc-inis, was

"drowned by the foreigners." In his version of the Annals of Ulster, *Rev. Hib. Scriptt.* iv., p. 92, he translates "Dimersio Arascachi abbatis insulae porcorum ab alienigenis," and in his *Ann. quat. Magistror.* (*ib.* iii., p. 268), he renders the same words "Araagachus abbas Mucinensis ab alienigenis demersus." Mr. Moore, *Hist. of Ireland*, Vol. IV., p. 2, improves upon this, and by a most ludicrous blunder, assuming the island spoken of to be the Rechru mentioned above, translates Dr. O'Connor's Latin thus, "The Annals of Ulster refer to A.D. 747, the date of this attack upon Rechru by the Danes, and record, as the first achievement of these marauders, the drowning of the Abbot of Rechru's pigs." But the Annals of Ulster at 747 make no mention of Rechru or of Danes; and instead of the abbot's pigs, record the drowning of the abbot himself.

united authority of the Irish and Welsh Annals, as the real date of the first appearance of Scandinavian pirates in the Irish seas. It is true that they had landed some years before¹ in England, as we learn from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; and our author makes their arrival in Ireland somewhat later. There is not, however, any inconsistency. The year 795 is given in the Annals as the year in which the foreigners plundered the island of Rechru, an event of which the present work makes no special mention. Our author evidently speaks of their landing on the mainland of Ireland, when he dates the beginning of their invasions from the reigns of Aedh Oirnidhe, King of Ireland, and of Airtri, King of Munster. They seem to have attacked at first the islands in which were Monasteries, possessing some wealth; and when they found that the spoils of these establishments were obtained

See Dr. O'Donovan's note on this passage, *Four Masters*, A.D. 743, p. 345. The real name of this island (which is in Loch Derg) was *Mucinis Riagail* or *Regail*, "Hog island of Riagal," or St. Regulus. Dr. O'Connor divided Riagail or Re-gail, into two words, and not recollecting that the Irish name for the foreigners was *Gaill*, with a double *l*, not *gail*, he translated "ab alienigenis," assuming *ria*, or *re*, to be a preposition. The passage in the Annals of Ulster records only the fact, that the abbot of *Muc-inis-Riagail* was drowned, without any mention of Danes or foreigners.

¹ *Years before*. See the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 787, where the arrival of three ships on the coast of Dorsetshire is recorded as the first landing of the Northmen in England. They are said to have come from "*Hærethalande*," which Mr. Thorpe, in the Translation accompanying the reprint of this Chronicle for the Master of the Rolls, says was in Norway. *Hirotha*, or *Irruaith*, is the Irish name for Norway.

They are immediately afterwards called Danish ships, "*Scipu Daniscra manna*." In 793 we have a record of the destruction of "God's church at Lindisfarne," by heathen men; and in the following year the devastation of Northumberland by the heathen, and the plunder of Egferth's monastery at Donemuth, now Wearmouth. At the same year the Annals of Ulster (793=794) have the record "*vastatio omnium insularum Britanniae gentilibus*." In 795 they plundered Hy, (now corruptly Iona), according to the Bodleian Annals of Inisfallen, where the date given is 781; but as this is said to have been two years before the death of Donchadh, King of Ireland, the true date must have been 795. In the same year, according to the same authority, the foreigners burned the islands of Inis Muiredhaigh (Inish-Murry, co. of Sligo,) and Inis-bofinn, (co. of Mayo). But these outrages ought, perhaps, to be dated 807, at which year the burning of Inish-Murry is recorded in the Annals of Ulster.

with little or no resistance, they returned again in greater force, and attacked the mainland. In 798 there was an invasion of the Isle of Man by the "Gentiles," who burned Inispatrick, now Holm Peel, or Peel island, and plundered the country. On their return they took "spoils of the sea," (which probably means the spoils of the Hebrides and other islands) "between Erinn and Alba." These events are described in the *Annals of Ulster*,¹ in the following words:—

Combuirio inipe Patraice ó
Sennatib, ocuḡ boḡime na cuic to
bneit, ocuḡ ḡeḡin Daḡonna to
bḡḡeacó toaib, ocuḡ inḡeḡa
maḡa toaib cene, eirḡ Erinn ocuḡ
Alban.

The burning of Inis-patrick by the
Gentiles, and cattle plunder of the
country was borne off, and the shrine
of Dachonna was broken by them, and
the spoils of the sea [taken] by them
also, between Erinn and Alba.

Our *Annals* make no mention of inroads upon the mainland of Ireland until the year 807, which was the tenth year of King Aedh Oirnidhe, and is probably the date intended by our author as the commencement of the Scandinavian wars.

On the whole O'Flaherty's² arrangement of these events may be accepted as most consistent with the records preserved in the Irish *Annals*, and in the present work. The pirates began their devastations on the islands off the coasts of Scotland and Ireland, in the year 795, which was the 25th year of Donnchadh, son of Domhnall, King of Ireland. Three years afterwards, A.D. 798, in the first year of Aedh Ornidhe, they plundered Inis-patrick of Man, and the Hebrides; in 802 they burned I-Columcille, and again in 806 plundered the same island; but, perhaps, not then without resistance, for sixty-eight of the monastic society of the island were slain.³ The next year, 807, they

O'Flaherty's
chronology
of these
events.

¹ *Annals of Ulster*. At A.D. 797 (=798). *Four M.*, A.D. 793 (=798). Dr. O'Donovan understood the Inispatrick here mentioned, of the island so called, on the coast of Dublin. But the mention of the shrine of Dachonna, who was bishop of Man, proves that Peel, on the west of the isle of

Man, formerly called *Insula Patricii*, is intended. See Colgan, *Actt. SS.* (ad 18 Jan.), p. 59. *Chronicle of Man*, by P. A. Munch, p. 23, *Christiania*. 1860.

² O'Flaherty's *Ogyg.*, p. 433.

³ *Slain*. *Annals of Ulster*, 801, 805.

"Familia Iæ occisa est a gentilibus, id est lxviii." See also *Four Masters*.

entered for the first time the mainland of the west and south of Ireland, and having burned the island of Inismuredhaigh, or Inishmurry, off the coast of Sligo, they advanced inland as far as Roscommon.¹ In 812 and 813 we find them in Connacht and Munster, and they suffer more than one defeat from the native chieftains; finally in 815, according to the chronology of O'Flaherty (or more probably, as we shall see, about 830), Turgesius, a Norwegian, established himself as sovereign of the foreigners, and made Armagh the capital of his kingdom.

The present work speaks chiefly of the South.

The present work, however, takes cognizance chiefly of the depredations of the Norsemen in the southern half of Ireland. Camas ó Fothaidh Tire, was the first place at which they landed. Immediately after, Inis Labhrainn² and Dair-inis were burned by them, and they were defeated with great slaughter by the Eoghanacht of Loch Lein, now the Lake of Killarney. There is a Dair-inis in the bay of Wexford, called Dair-inis Caemhain, which was plundered by the Danes,³ A.D. 820. But Dair-inis, or "Oak Island," was a name given to more than one⁴

¹ Roscommon. Ann. Ult., 806.

² Inis Labhrainn. This was an island probably at the mouth of the river anciently called *Labrainne*, which, as Dr. O'Donovan conjectures (*Four Mast.*, at A.M. 3751 note) was the same as that now called *Casan Ciarraighe*, or *Cashen river*, county of Kerry. The Eoghanacht of Loch Lein were a tribe seated on the east of the Lake of Killarney, barony of Magunihy, county of Kerry. O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 328. See *Four Masters*, 807; Ann. Ult., 811, true date 812. They had their name from their ancestor Eoghan mór, son of Oilioll Olum, but were the immediate descendants of Conall Corc (4th in descent from Eoghan mór). See Append. B., Table IV., No. 6. *Camas ó Fothaidh Tire* was probably in the territory of Corca-Luighe, S.W. of the present county of Cork. See *Miscel-*

lany of Celtic Society, p. 43, 50-59; and *Four M.*, 813, 849, with Dr. O'Donovan's notes. *Camas* signifies a bend in a river. Keating calls it *Caoimh Inis ó bFothaidh*, or, according to other copies, *Caoimh Inis Uibh Rathaigh*; i.e., "Fair, or beautiful island, of O'Fothaidh," or "of Ui Rathaigh." If we adopt the latter reading this island would seem to have been off the coast of Iveragh, anciently *Ui* or *Uibh Rathaigh*, county of Kerry. These various readings prove that the exact situation of the place has been for many years uncertain or unknown.

³ Danes. See *Four Mast.*, A.D. 819, and O'Donovan's note.

⁴ More than one. See Archdall's *Monasticon*, p. 695; *Four Mast.*, A.D. 742; and O'Donovan, note ^d. See also the Index of Places to the *Martyrology of Donegal*, published by the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society.

island in various parts of Ireland; and it is evident that the Dairinis here mentioned must have been in or near the territory of the Eoghanacht of Loch Lein. None of these places are now known with any certainty. They were probably ecclesiastical establishments of no great wealth or importance; and having been totally demolished by the Scandinavian pirates on this occasion, their very names may have soon after perished.

This first group of invasions, terminated with the victory by the Eoghanacht of Loch Lein, which is dated in the year after the death of Diman¹ of Aradh, and ten years after the death of Airtri, King of Munster. The year A.D. 812 seems thus determined.

First group
of invasions
A.D. 807
to 812.

The next series of inroads is said to have begun in the second year of Fedhlimidh, son of Crimhthann, King of Munster, or about 822. The places plundered by this party of marauders are all, with two exceptions,² still well

Second
group A.D.
822.

¹ *Diman*. The text says that he was killed, or murdered. The Ann. Ult. (followed by the Four Masters) speak of his death only; an event which is dated by them 811, (for 810 of the Ann. Ult. and 806 of the Four Masters coincide with A.D. 811). In the former authority we read "Dimman Aradh-Muminensis anchorita vitam feliciter finivit." Diman was, therefore, an anchorite in Aradh of Munster, now the barony of Aradh or Duharra, county of Tipperary. The death of Airtri, son of Cathal, is not dated in the Annals, but is ascertained here, as the death of Diman is known. A difference of reading, however, causes some difficulty. The text (p. 5) makes the year after Diman's death or 812 to be the tenth *after* (απὸν ec, for ιαπὸν ec) the death of Airtri. Therefore Airtri died 802. The MS. L. (p. 222) reads the tenth year *before* (πρὲν ec) the death of Airtri. Therefore Airtri died 822. The discrepancy was probably caused by the insertion

of the reign of Tuathal, son of Airtri (*secundum quosdam*, as the Book of Leinster qualifies it), between his father Cathal and Fedhlimidh, son of Crimhthann. The legitimacy of this reign was disputed; and the transcribers of our author wrote *after*, or *before*, according to their opinion on this question, giving the earlier date to the death of King Airtri, in order to make room for the reign of his son. But the later date is more probable, for we find Feidhlimidh in occupation of the throne in 823 (Ann. Ult. 822). Perhaps 802 may be the date of Tuathal's usurpation, and 822 the date of Airtri's death. See Append. B.

² *Two exceptions*. Inis Temhni and Rosmaelain are the exceptions. Inis Temhni, or Inis Doimbhli, called also Inis Uladh, "because the Ulstermen inhabited it" (Mart. Donegal, 1 Dec., p. 325), is probably the island in the expansion of the Suir, near Waterford, now called "Little Island." See Dr O'Donovan's Four Masters, A.D. 960,

known, namely, Cork, Inis Temhni, Begere, or Begery Island in Wexford harbour, Cloyne, and Ros-maelain. The barren rock called Scelig Michil, or St. Michael's Rock, the abode of a solitary named Etgall or Edgall, was invaded by them, and as they probably found nothing else to take, they carried off its only inhabitant, who appears to have died soon after in captivity. The death of Etgall of the Scelig is dated by the Annals of Ulster 823 or 824. Keating says that the invaders on this occasion were White Lochlann, or Norwegians. Their devastations seem to have been made along the coast from Cork to Wexford Bay. It was probably on their way back that they entered Skellig-Michael¹ (now the Great Skellig, off the coast of Kerry), and carried away the hermit, Etgall.

Invasion of
the North
of Ireland
A.D. 823
or 824.

The next invasion mentioned was in the north of Ireland. Bangor, the celebrated monastery of St. Comhgall,² was burned, the shrine of the saint broken, the bishop of the monastery slain, with its learned men and clergy, and the *Magh* or plain laid waste: but according to another reading,³ Magh-bile, or Movilla, in the county of Down, was laid waste. This act of sacrilege is dated "four years after the death of Aedh, son of Niall, at Ath-da-Fert." This must be Aedh Oirnidhe, son of Niall Frassach, King

p. 681 n. The Martyrology of Donegal [4 July, p. 187] describes the situation of Inis Doimhle as "*between Ui Ceinnselaigh [county of Wexford] and the Deisi [Waterford].*" This agrees very well with the situation of Little Island, at the mouth of the Suir. Ros-maelain is called in L. Rosniallain, and by Keating Rosmaolaidhe; it is called also Rosgiallain, and Roskellian, and is now perhaps Rostellan, a parish in the barony of Imokilly, county of Cork.

¹ *Skellig-Michael*, or St. Michael's Rock. It was common, from the fifth century, to dedicate such rocks to St. Michael the Archangel. The word Skellig or Skerry is of Scandinavian

origin. *Sker* is "*Scopulus maris.*" The text says that Etgall escaped, but afterwards died of starvation *with them* (p. 7). A possible explanation of this contradiction is suggested, p. 223, n. 1.

² *St. Comhgall*. He was the patron saint of Dalaradia; born A.D. 517. The Four Mast., at 822, and Ult. 823, attribute to him a prophecy in which he foretells the destruction of his shrine on this occasion. Fleming, *Collect. Sacra*, has published his life, p. 303. See also Reeves's *Eccl. Antiq.*, p. 269.

³ *Reading*. See p. 6, n. 6. "The burning of Maghbile with its oratories by the Gentiles" is recorded by the *Ann. Ult.* at 824.

of Ireland, who died, according to the Annals of Ulster,¹ at a place called Ath-da-ferta ["Vadum duarum virtutum,"—the Ford of the two miracles], in Magh Conaille,² or Conaille Muirtheimhne, a district nearly co-extensive with the county of Louth. The fourth year after the death of Aedh Oirnidhe coincides with A.D. 823 or 824.

Our author then returns to Munster, and records an invasion of Ui Ceinnselaigh, the territory inhabited by the descendants of Enna Cennselach, who was King of Leinster in the middle of the fourth century. This district coincides nearly with the present dioceses of Leighlin and Ferns, in the counties of Wexford and Carlow.³ By this fleet were plundered Tech Munnu (St. Munna's house), now Taghmon, in the county of Wexford; Tech Moling (St. Moling's house), now St. Mullins,⁴ on the river Barrow, county of Carlow; Inis Teoc, now Inistioge,⁵ a small town on the river Nore, county of Kilkenny; and the whole district of Ossory, where they were met by a spirited resistance, and lost 170 men. They demolished Dundermuighe [Fort of the oak plain], now Dunderrow, or Dundarro, near Kinsale; Inis Eoghanain, now Inishannon, on the river Bandon; Disert Tipraite, a place not now known; and Lismore. Cill Molaisi, or the Church of St. Molaise, now Kilmolash, five miles S.E. of Lismore;

Invasions
in the
South.

¹ *Ulster*. A.D. 818 (=819). Keating, for "at Ath da Fert," reads *i Cath da Ferta*, "in the battle of Da Ferta." No such battle or place is known; and it is curious that Keating makes both Aedh Uariodnach and Aedh Oirnidhe to have been killed in the battle of Da Ferta; *O'Mahony's translation*, pp. 468, 498. This looks suspicious, and proves that there has been some mistake or confusion.

² *Magh Conaille*. The words of the *Ann. Ult.* are "Mors Aedha mic Neill juxta Vadum duarum virtutum, .i. as Oth da Fertu, in Campo Conaille." For the situation of Campus Conaille, Magh Conaille, or Plain of Conall,

see O'Donovan, *Book of Rights*, pp. 10, 11, n. 21, 166.

³ *Carlow*. See *Book of Rights*, p. 208, n.

⁴ *St. Mullins*. St. Moling Luachra erected a monastery there A.D. 632. Archdall, *Monast.* p. 39. The Four Mast., at 888, speak of "the foreigners of Teach Moling," from which it appears that a permanent settlement of "foreigners" had been made there before the end of the ninth century.

⁵ *Inistioge*. See Archdall, *Monast.* p. 359. This place is in Ossory, and was perhaps the first ecclesiastical establishment which was attacked in the district.

Cluain-ard Mobeoc,¹ and Lann Leri,² were burned. Another party of the pirates plundered Cenn Slebhi [read Cill-Shleibhe], now Killeavy, or KILLSLEVY, near Newry; and another, or the same party, plundered Sord of Columcille, now Swords, near Dublin. Daimhliag Cianain ["the stone church of St. Cianan"], now Duleek,³ county of Meath; Slane, in the same county; Cell-uasaille⁴ ["Church of St. Auxilius"], now Killossy, or Killashee, near Naas, county of Kildare; Glen-da-loch, in the county of Wicklow; Cluain Uamha, now Cloyne, county of Cork; and Mungairit, now Mungret, county of Limerick, were all plundered.

Plunder
of the
Churches
in the
interior.

From the wide range of these devastations, it is probable that they were committed by more than one body of invaders, landing simultaneously in different parts of Ireland. The majority of the places named are in Munster, but some are near Dublin, or in the counties of Meath, Kildare, Louth, and Wicklow. Our author gives no date to these depredations, and they are for the most part unnoticed⁵ by the Annals; but they probably took place

¹ *Cluain-ard Mobeog, or Mobeocog.* The high lawn of St. Mobeoc, or Mobeococ, i.e., in the simpler form of the name St. Becan. See note ¹⁰, p. 7. This place is now Kilpeacon, county of Limerick.

² *Lann Leri*, now Dunleer, in the county of Louth; *Lann* [church], having been changed to *Dun* [fortress], at an early period. Dr. Reeves has identified this place with the modern Dunleer by irresistible evidence, from the Primatial Registers of Armagh, and other authorities. Archdall (*Monast.*, p. 722), and O'Donovan (*Four Mast.*, A.D. 740 n, and A.D. 826), as well as Colgan, supposed it to be the place now called Lynn, in Westmeath; and for this there is the authority of the Scholia on the Felire of Aengus, at 18 June. But the Re-

gisters of Primates Fleming [1415] and Octavian [1497] speak of the church of SS. Brethan and Frethan at Dunleer, in the diocese of Armagh, and these were manifestly SS. Baothan and Furadhran, the patron saints of Lann Leri [*Mart. Doneg.*, 18 June]. Lynn, in Westmeath, could never have been in the diocese of Armagh.

³ *Duleek.* See *Ann. Ult.*, A.D. 831; *Four M.*, 830; Archdall, *Monast.*, p. 533.

⁴ *Cell-uasaille.* The reading *Orllasaille* in the text (p. 7) is an evident mistake of the MS.

⁵ *Unnoticed.* The *Ann. Ult.* record "an inroad upon Ossory by the Gentiles," A.D. 824; and the *Four Mast.* notice a plundering of Lismore, 831; of Duleek, 830 (*Ult.* 831); Glendaloch, 833 [really 834]; and Mungret, 834 [835].

between the years 824 and 835. It is evident that the pirates had now found their way to the ecclesiastical establishments at considerable distances from the sea coast in the interior of the country. The monasteries and churches were the reputed depositories of wealth, the centres of civilization, and of resistance. They were, therefore, the great aim of the plunderers. On this occasion, as our author tells us, "the greater part of *the churches of Erin*"¹ were attacked.

Luimnech, by which name was then known the great branch of the Shannon from the present city of Luimnech, or Limerick,² to the sea, was next occupied by the pirates, who plundered the neighbouring country, namely, Corcobhaiscinn,³ Tradraighe,⁴ and the lands⁵ inhabited by the Ui Conaill Gabhra, or descendants of Conall Gabhra. This tribe, under the command of their chieftain, Donnchadh (or Donadhach),⁶ who was also head of the Ui-Fidhghente, assisted by Niall,⁷ son of Cennfaeladh, gave battle to the foreigners, and defeated them at a place called Senati, Seannad, or Shanid,⁸ in the barony of Lower Connello, county of Limerick.

Occupation of Limerick.

¹ *Erinn*. See chap. vii., pp. 8, 9.

² *Limerick*. The city seems to have been founded by the Danae. See O'Donovan's *Circuit of Muirchertach MacNeill*, line 130, n.

³ *Corcobhaiscinn*. A district represented by the baronies of Moyarta, Clonderalaw, and Ibrickan, county of Clare. See *Book of Rights*, p. 48, n.

⁴ *Tradraighe*. A territory east of the river Fergus, in the same county, whose name survives in that of the parish and rural deanery of Tradry. O'Donovan's *Four Masters*, A.D. 1054, p. 867, n.

⁵ *Lands*. Now the baronies of Upper and Lower Connello, county of Limerick.

⁶ *Donadhach*. So he is called by the *Four Mast.* (833 and 834) and by the *Ann. Ult.*, 834 (=835), which

was the year of his death. See *Gen. Table*, V., No. 20, and *Pedigree of O'Donovan*, *Four Mast.*, pp. 2435-6.

⁷ *Niall*. Chieftain of Ui Cairbre Aebhda. This Niall succeeded Donadhach as chief of Ui Fidhghenti in 835, and died 846, *Ann. Ult.*, 845. The descent of all the tribes here mentioned will be found in *Gen. Table*, V., p. 249.

⁸ *Shanid*. A defeat of the foreigners by the Ui Conaill Gabhra, under the command of Donnchadh or Dunadhach, is recorded by the *Annals of Ulster*, the *Four Masters*, and the *Chronicon Scotorum*, under the date 834; but Senati or Shanid is not mentioned by them. The exact place so called was probably a little south of the present town of Shanagolden, where, in later

Invasion
under
Turgesius.

"After this," our author says, came "a great royal fleet into the North of Ireland," commanded by Turgeis, or, Turgesius, "who assumed the sovereignty of the foreigners of Ireland," and occupied the whole of *Leth Chuinn*, or the northern half of Ireland. In addition to the party under the immediate command of Turgesius, three "fleets," probably in connexion with him, appeared simultaneously. One of these took possession of Lough Neagh, another of Louth, anchoring in what is now the bay of Dundalk, and the third having, as it would seem, approached Ireland from the west, occupied Lough Ree.¹

Its Chrono-
logy.

The chronology of this invasion is fixed by means of the particulars recorded. Armagh was plundered three times in the same month. This, the annalists all say, was the first plundering² of Armagh by the gentiles, and is assigned to the year 832.

Turgesius
usurps
Armagh.

Afterwards, but it is not said immediately afterwards, Turgeis "usurped the abbacy of Armagh," and Forannan, the real abbot, or bishop, and *chief comharba*³ of Patrick, was driven out; he fled to Munster, carrying with him the shrine of St. Patrick, and continued in exile four years, "whilst Turgeis was in Armagh, and in the sovereignty of the North of Ireland." We afterwards find⁴ that, when in Munster, and probably in the territory of the Martini⁵ of Munster, Forannan was taken prisoner

times, a castle was built by a branch of the Fitzgeralds of Desmond, whose family cry was *Shanid a boo* (*Seannaro a buaró*), or "Shanid in victory," i.e., vanquished, to celebrate the seizure of the ancient district by its Anglo-Norman proprietors. This castle, therefore, most probably occupied the site of the ancient Senati.

¹ *Lough Ree*. An expansion of the Shannon between Athlone and Lanesborough.

² *Plundering*. *Ann. Ult.*, 831 (=A.D. 832). The Four Masters make the same statement at their year 880,

that Armagh had never been plundered by strangers before.

³ *Chief Comharba*. As there were coarbs or successors of Patrick in other churches, his successor at Armagh was distinguished as "Chief Coarb."

⁴ *Find*. See c. xiii., p. 15.

⁵ *Martini*. See p. 15. This people were a tribe of the Belgæ or Firbolgs, of whose territory, Emly, in the co. of Tipperary, was the capital. *B. of Lismore*, fol. 172, b.a. (quoted by O'Curry, *Battle of Magh Lena*, p. 76, n.). Their name is written also Mairtine and Muirtine. The place Cluain Co-

by the Norsemen of Limerick, who carried him off to their ships, having broken the shrine of Patrick. In the same year Turgesius was made captive by Maelseachlainn, then king of Meath, and drowned in Loch Uair, now Lough Owel, near Mullingar, county of Westmeath.

This event, our author takes care to date accurately. ^{Date of his death.} It occurred, he says, "the year before the drowning of Niall Caille," king of Ireland, and "the second year before the death of Feidhlimidh, son of Crimhthann," king of Munster. These criteria indicate¹ the year A.D. 845.

The two facts here made known to us—for which the ^{Duration of his} present work is the only authority,—that the duration of ^{dynasty.} Forannan's exile was four years only, and that he returned to Armagh immediately upon the death of Turgesius—enable us to ascertain the duration of this dynasty with tolerable certainty. Turgesius was recognised by all the foreigners then in Ireland as their sovereign. Having fixed his head-quarters in the North, he attacked Armagh, where it is evident that he must have met with some resistance. The sacking of the town thrice in one month seems to prove that he did not obtain possession of it until after a second and a third assault. And, as he probably lost no time in seeking to become master of a place so important, we may fairly infer that the date of this event is the date also, or very nearly so, of his arrival in the North of Ireland. For nine years afterwards, he seems to have remained content with his secular possession of the country, or unable to overthrow the power of the ecclesiastical authorities. It was not until the year 841 that he succeeded in banishing the bishop and clergy, and "usurped the abbacy," that is to say, the full authority and jurisdiction in Armagh and in the North of Ireland. From these considerations we

mairdi, from which Forannan was carried off to Limerick, although now forgotten, was probably in this territory.

¹ *Indicate.* Niall Caille was drowned in the river Caille or Callen, A.D. 846; and Feidhlimidh died 847. See *Ann. Ul.*, 844, 846.

infer that the entire duration of the tyranny of Turgesius cannot have been more than about thirteen¹ years, from 831 or 832 to his death² in 845.

Dissensions
of the Irish
chieftains
in the 9th
century.

The times immediately preceding the arrival of Turgesius and his followers were remarkable for internal dissension amongst the Irish chieftains. An old feud had existed for more than a century between the north and south of Ireland, owing to the pretensions of the kings of Cashel or Munster to be kings of all Ireland; and Feidhlimidh, son of Crimhthann, the Munster chieftain, at the period of which we speak, had prosecuted this claim with great pertinacity. About A.D. 840, he seems to have obtained a temporary submission from Niall Caille, the sovereign of the O'Neill

¹ *Thirteen.* Not *thirty*, as Giraldus Cambrensis makes it (*Topogr. Hib. Dist. iii., c. 42*), whose authority has been followed by Keating (O'Mahony's translation, p. 505) and by O'Flaherty (*Ogyg.*, p. 433). These authors suppose Turgesius to have been in Ireland seventeen years before the plundering of Armagh; and, therefore, to have arrived in 815. The authentic Irish annals make scarcely any mention of Turgesius, until they record his death. The *Chronicon Scotorum*, which has probably preserved part of the lost portion of Tighernach, first notices him at the year 845, where mention is made of his having erected a fort (*Dún*) at Loch Ree, from whence he plundered Connaught and Meath, and his being drowned the same year in Loch Uair. The present work contains more full notices of him than any other Irish authority. The thirty years assigned to him have, therefore, no other foundation than the testimony of Cambrensis; and O'Flaherty's date is only a conjecture, in order to reconcile that testimony with the Irish annals.

In p. 9, the arrival of Turgesius is said to have been *after* the defeat of the foreigners by the Ui Conaill Gabhra,

at Shanid. If so, the battle of Shanid must have been before A.D. 832, which all the annals agree in giving as the date of the first plunder of Armagh. Perhaps the battle mentioned in the annals, at 834, may have been a second battle under Donnchadh, chieftain of the Ui Conaill; and it is worth noting that the clause of the present work in which Donnchadh is mentioned seems to have been an interpolation, as it is added in the margin, and not in the text of the older MS. See note, p. 8, and App. A., p. 224.

Ussher makes Forannan to have been expelled from Armagh the same year in which Turgesius was drowned, and gives 848 as the date in his *Index Chron.* Lanigan has adopted this mistake, *iii.*, p. 276, *sq.* But neither of these authors had access to the present work.

² *Death.* The romantic story of his death, told by Cambrensis, (*Topogr. Hib.*, *Dist. iii.*, cap. 40), is not found in any old Irish authority, although Keating repeats it. See note ⁶, p. li. It is evidently an imitation of the story of Hengist's treacherous banquet to Vortigern, as recorded by Nennius, c. 47.

race, and to have been recognised as King of all Ireland.¹ Although he was himself an ecclesiastic, abbot and bishop, as well as king of Cashel, he did not hesitate, in the prosecution of his political designs, to plunder the most sacred places of the northern half of Ireland, and to put to the sword their monks and clergy. In 826, and again in 833, he had spoiled the Termon lands or sanctuary of Clonmacnois; on which last occasion he slew many of the religious, and burned the Termon up to the very doors of the principal church. He had treated in the same way the celebrated Columban monastery of Durrow. In 836 he took the Oratory of Kildare by force of arms from Forannan of Armagh, who seems to have found refuge there with his clergy, and exacted from him a forced submission.² In 840, Armagh was burned "with its oratories and its cathedral;" the Four Masters say "by the foreigners," which may have been so, for it was in 841, as we have seen, that Turgesius "usurped the abbacy;" but the Annals of Ulster make no mention of the Norsemen, and seem to leave it doubtful³ whether this outrage was not com-

¹ *All Ireland.* See Dublin Ann. of Inisfallen, at 840. Hence Giraldus Cambrensis is not wrong when he calls Feidhlimidh King of Ireland, *Topogr. Hib. Dist.*, iii, c. 36, 44. The submission of Niall, is recorded by the Bodleian Ann. Inisfallen. A.D. 824, 826 [but we must add 13 years to these dates]. See O'Donovan's *Book of Rights*, Intro., pp. xv., xvi. Dr. O'Donovan does not seem to have observed that the Annals of Ulster and the Four Mast. support the statement of the Ann. of Inisfallen. At 839 (which is 840) both say that Feidhlimidh, after plundering Meath and Bregia, *rested* at Tara, *comto-veirto* (Ult.) or *conveirto*, *settled*, *consedit*. As Tara had long before ceased to be a royal residence, this can only mean that Feidhlimidh had caused himself to be recognised as King of Tara, i.e., King of Ireland.

² *Submission.* It is probable that after this submission of Forannan and his clergy, Feidhlimidh went to Armagh, where, as we are told by an authority quoted by Dr. O'Donovan (*Book of Rights*, Intro., p. xvi., n.)—"he remained a whole year, during which he preached to the people every Sunday." In other words, he usurped the authority of the rightful bishop, and set an example which the Norsemen were not slow to follow.

³ *Doubtful.* The words of the Annals of Ulster at 839, are "The burning of Ard-machæ with its oratories and stone church [*ṛaimliacc*]. Feidhlimidh, king of Munster, plundered Meath and Bregia, so that he rested at Tara." For the meaning of the word *Daimliacc*, see Petrie, Round Towers, Transact. R. Irish Acad., vol. xx., p. 141, sq. The Chron. Scoto-

mitted by Feidhlimidh, who (as they tell us in the same sentence) plundered Meath and Bregia, and took possession of the royal seat of Tara, in other words, of the throne of Ireland. Be this, however, as it may, Feidhlimidh, in 846, plundered once more the Termon of Clonmacnois, and the next year¹ died of a disease which was supposed to have been miraculously inflicted, in punishment of his sacrilege, by Saint Kieran of Clonmacnois himself.

Contests
among the
clergy.

About the same period, that is to say, during the first half of the ninth century, there were also disputes and contests amongst the clergy themselves, at Armagh especially. The succession of abbots or bishops there, was interrupted by these feuds; the Annals differ as to the order and time of each prelate's incumbency. Eoghan Mainistrech,² and Airtri, son of Conchobhair, the immediate predecessors of Forannan, were in continual warfare. Airtri was in alliance with Feidhlimidh,³ of Cashel, and had the support of Cumasgach, son of Cathal, lord of the Oirghialla, who was his half brother; Eoghan, on the

rum, although it mentions at 840 the plunder of Meath and Bregia by Feidhlimidh, and his "resting at Tara," takes no notice of the burning of Armagh.

¹ *Next year.* It will be borne in mind that the Annals of Ulster are always one year, and the Four M., in this place two years earlier than the true dates, as given above. The plunder of Clonmacnois in 846, is recorded by the Four M. at 844; but is omitted by the *Ann. Ult.* The sacrilegious life of this plundering bishop-king did not hinder his being regarded as a saint after his death. His festival was observed on the 28th Aug. See *Mart. of Donegal*, p. 129; Colgan, *Triad. Thaum*, p. 186, n. 54. The *Ann. Ult.*, in recording his death, call him "optimus scriba et anchorita." If the latter years of his life were spent in retirement and penitence, there must

be some mistake in the date assigned to his death: it is probable that he may have retired from public life, struck by conscientious scruples, and devoted his declining years to religion. If so, the date usually assigned to his death may have been really the date of his monastic profession.

² *Eoghan Mainistrech.* "Eugenius de Monasterio," i.e., of Monaster-boice. He had been "Lector" or *ferleighinn* of that monastery. For the story of the contests between him and his rival, see Four M., 825, *Ann. Ult.*, 826, 830.

³ *Feidhlimidh.* In 822 [823], we are told "the law of Patrick was promulgated in Munster by Feidhlimidh, son of Crimhthann, and Airtri, son of Conchobhair, bishop of Armagh." *Ann. Ult.*, and Four M., A.D. 822.

other hand, appears to have been countenanced by Niall Caille, afterwards King of Ireland, whose confessor or "spiritual adviser" he had been. In 826 or 827, Cumasgach drove Eoghan forcibly from Armagh, and put Airtri into his place. The same year Cumasgach was defeated and slain, at the battle of Leith-cam, by Niall Caille; and Eoghan recovered his bishopric, in which he continued for nine years afterwards, upheld, as the Four Masters tell us, "by the power of Niall Caille," who, as they observe, although he had not yet succeeded to the throne of Ireland, was "powerful in Ulster." In 829 or 830 the abbacy¹ of Armagh seems to have been usurped by Suibhne, son of Fairnech,² who died after being in possession for two months. The following year Eoghan was plundered, and his cattle carried off or killed, by Conchobhair, son of Donnchadh, king of Ireland, who appears at that time to have been in alliance³ with Feidhlimidh of Cashel. Similar contentions existed between Forannan, the prelate whose place was usurped by Turgesius, and Diarmait, who is usually accounted his successor. Their contest must have lasted during their whole lives, for they both died in the same year.⁴

It was not wonderful that these dissensions should have suggested to Turgesius the expulsion of the contending parties, for the purpose of taking the power into his own hands. He seems to have had in view a higher object than the mere plunder which influenced former depreda-

Apparent
object and
policy of
Turgesius.

¹ *Abbacy*. The abbot of Armagh, in the phraseology of the Annals, frequently signifies the bishop; the two offices being, at this time, usually, although not always, combined, and the abbacy being regarded as the higher in point of jurisdiction.

² *Fairnech*. "Alias MacForannain," *Ann. Ult.*, 829; *Four M.*, 829.

³ *Alliance*. The same year Feidhlimidh was aided by Conchobhair in the

plunder of Magh Breh and Magh Lifé. *Ann. Ult.*, 830. Five years before, they had held a conference at Birr, in which they appear to have made some sort of alliance. *Four Mast.*, 825.

⁴ *Same year*. "Duo heredes Patricii, i.e., Forannan scriba et episcopus et anchorita; et Diarmait, sapientissimus omnium doctorum Europæ, quieverunt" *Ann. Ul.*, 851, *Four Masters*, 851.

tors of his nation. He aimed at the establishment of a regular government or monarchy over his countrymen in Ireland, the foundation of a permanent colony, and the subjugation or extermination of the native chieftains. For this purpose the forces under his command, or in connexion with him, were skilfully posted on Loch Ree, at Limerick, Dundalk Bay, Carlingford, Lough Neagh, and Dublin. He appears also to have attempted the establishment of the national heathenism of his own country, in the place of the Christianity which he found in Ireland. This may be the significance of his usurpation of the "abbacy" of Armagh. This may also be the meaning of the pretended prophecies,¹ quoted by our author, and attributed to the celebrated saints and prophets, Berchan, Columcille, Ciaran (or Kieran), and Bec-mac-De.² These prophecies are, no doubt, palpable forgeries. But the fact that they were forged indicates the popular belief in a special contest between the Christian institutions of the country and the heathenism of the new comers. The common topic of them all is a complaint of the outrages committed by the invaders upon the churches and monasteries of Ireland.

Turgesius attempts the subjugation of all Ireland.

Turgesius was not satisfied with the full supremacy he had acquired in the north of Ireland. He aimed at the extension of his power by the conquest of Meath and Connaught, as a step to the subjugation of the whole country; for this purpose he appears to have gone to Loch Ree,³ to take the command in person of the "fleet," which had been stationed there. From this central position he plundered, as our author tells us, the principal ecclesiastical establishments of Connaught and Meath, namely, Clonmacnois in Meath; Clonfert of St. Brendan, in Connaught; Lothra, now Lorrha, a famous monastery founded by St. Ruadhan,

¹ *Prophecies.* See chaps. ix., x., pp. 8-13.

² *Bec-mac-De*, or Mac Degadh. A celebrated prophet, whose name occurs in the Irish Calendars at Oct. 12.

Martyrol. of Donegal, p. 273. He is said to have flourished in the 6th century. See O'Curry's Lectures, p. 399, sq.

³ *Loch Ree.* See chap. xi., p. 18.

or Rodan, in the county of Tipperary; 'Tir-da-glas,'¹ now Terryglass, in the same county; Inis-Celtra, an island on which were seven churches, and all the other churches of Loch Dearg in like manner. This seems to prove that his object was the suppression of the ecclesiastical as well as civil authorities of the country, and the destruction of the Christian church. With this view he placed his wife, Ota, at Clonmacnois, at that time second only to Armagh in ecclesiastical importance, who gave her audiences, or, according to another reading,² her oracular answers, from the high altar of the principal church of the monastery.

In Connaught his arms appear to have had a full triumph, for our Annals,³ at the year 835, which is probably A.D. 838, mention a most cruel oppression of all the districts of Connaught, and soon after this, speak of the battle recorded by our author,⁴ in which Maelduin, son of Muirghes, heir apparent of the throne of Connaught, was slain. This, however, seems to have been just before the usurpation of the abbacy of Armagh, and the war in Connaught was, therefore, most probably conducted by his officers, not by Turgesius in person.

There had arrived almost annually during this period great reinforcements to aid the troops of Turgesius, and the number of the foreigners now in the island must have been considerable. A fleet of three score and five ships landed at "Dubhlinn of Ath-cliath,"⁵ about 837 or 838,

His success
in Con-
naught.

Reinforce-
ments
arrive at
Dublin.

¹ *Tir-da-glas*. Adamnan translates the name "Monasterium duorum rivorum." *Vit. Columbæ*, Lib. ii., c. 36. Ed. Reeves, p. 153, n. The identification of this place with the modern Terryglass is due to Dr. Reeves.

² *Reading*. See note 8, p. 13. The Scandinavian name of this lady was probably *Audr* or *Auda*. She is not mentioned, so far as the editor knows, in any of the Sagas.

³ *Annals*. "Vastatio crudelissima a gentilibus omnium finium Connach-

torum." *Ann. Ult.*, 835, *Four M.*, 835.

⁴ *Our author*. Chap. xi., p. 13. This battle is dated by the *Four M.*, 838, and by the *Annals of Ulster*, 837. The true date was 840.

⁵ *Dubhlinn of Ath-Cliath*. "Black-pool of the ford of hurdles," the ancient name of Dublin. This is probably the same invasion which the *Four M.* and *Ann. of Ulster* mention at 836, although they speak of two fleets of Northmen, of 60 ships each, one on

Battle in
Scotland.

and plundered Leinster and Magh Breg, or Bregia, the plain to the north of Dublin. The copy of this work in the book of Leinster¹ adds, that after the plunder of Leinster and Bregia, the Dalriadans, headed apparently by their king, Eoghanan, son of Aengus, went northwards from Dublin, and gave the Norsemen battle; but, as it would seem, with doubtful success, for Eoghanan himself was slain.² Whether this battle was fought in the Irish Dalriada (now the Route, county of Antrim), or in the Scottish Dalriada, now Argyle, is left uncertain by our author. But it is most probable that the Scotch district is intended. For, since the establishment of the independence³ of the Scotch and Irish branches of the tribe, the Irish Annals employ the name Dalriada, almost uniformly, to signify the Scottish colony. Moreover, Eoghanan was King of the Albanian Dalriada, and the Four Masters tell us that Goffraidh,⁴ son of Fergus, chief of Oriel, "went over to Alba, in 835 (A.D. 837 or 838), to strengthen the Dalriada, at the request of Cinaedh (or Kenneth) MacAlpinn." This may have been on the occasion of the invasion here mentioned, when Eoghanan lost his life; for the Annals of Ulster speak of the battle, at

the Boyne and the other on the river Liffey; "these two fleets," they add, "plundered and spoiled Magh Liphe and Magh Breg." See Dr. O'Donovan's note, *Four Mast.*, p. 454. The Four Masters, following the Chronicon Scotorum, tell us that this was "the first taking of Ath-cliaith by the Gentiles."

¹ *Book of Leinster*. See Append. A., p. 226. Magh Breg was the plain extending from the sea into the co. of Meath, between the rivers Liffey and the Boyne. Its ancient limits, on the side of Meath, are not very accurately known.

² *Slain*. See p. 13, note 12.

³ *Independence*. Viz., at the Synod

or convention of Drumcheatt, A.D. 590. "From this time forward," says Dr. Reeves, "the Irish Annals make occasional mention of the lords or chiefs of Dalriada, by whom they intend the Albanian princes; while the Irish territory is comparatively unnoticed, inasmuch as it was a mere sub-territory, of the kingdom of Ireland." *Eccles. Antiq. of Down and Connor*, p. 322.

⁴ *Goffraidh*. This must be the Scandinavian name Gothofred, and is a very early instance of the adoption of such names by the Irish, indicating the intermarriages which afterwards became very usual between the two people, notwithstanding their hostility.

the year 838 (=A.D. 839), as having been fought in Fortrenn,¹ or Pictland, a name sometimes used loosely to signify Scotland in general.

At this period our author says the sea seemed to vomit forth floods of invaders, so that "there was not a point of Ireland without a fleet." Nevertheless this statement probably refers, at least in the first instance, to Munster. For the places said to have been plundered by the newcomers are Bri-Gobhann,² in the county of Cork; Cill Ita and Cuil Emhni, by a fleet which landed in Ciarraighe Luachra, now Kerry³; and the Martini⁴ of Munster, a tribe seated near Emly, by the fleet of Limerick. On this occasion, as we have already⁵ seen, Forannan, the exiled bishop of Armagh, was made prisoner by the pirates of Limerick, and the shrine of Patrick was broken by them.

This was in 845; and in the same year Turgesius was arrested in his victorious course, and drowned⁶ in Loch

Reinforce-
ments in
Munster.

Turgesius
drowned.

¹ *Fortrenn*. "Bellum re gentibh for firu Fortrenn, in quo ceciderunt Eogunan mac Aengusa, et Aed mac Boanta; et alii pene innumerabiles occiderunt." *Ann. Ult.* See Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 390. Kenneth mac Alpinn succeeded his father, A.D. 838, and united the Picts to his kingdom, A.D. 842, thus becoming king of Alba or Scotland. See Usher, *Index Chron.*, and O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 481, where 858 is an error of the press for 838.

² *Bri-Gobhann*. "Hill of the Smith," now Brigown, an old Church, which had formerly a round tower, near Mitchelstown, co. of Cork. Cill Ita or Church of St. Ita, now Killeedy, is in the co. of Limerick. Cuil Emhni, is unknown, but was probably in the same district.

³ *Kerry*. Called *Ciarraighe*, from the descendants of Ciar, son of Fergus, king of Ulster, in the first century, and *Luachra* [of Luchair], from the mountain Sliabh Luachra, to distinguish it

from other districts inhabited by the Ciarraighe.

⁴ *Martini*. See above note 5, p. xlii.

⁵ *Already*. See p. xlii.-lii.

⁶ *Drowned*. The story of his death, as told by Cambrensis, is refuted by Lynch, *Cambrensis Eversus*, vol. iii., p. 287 (Kelly's edit.) and was disbelieved by Colgan, *Act. SS.*, p. 509, n. 4. But the legend was too tempting to be omitted by Keating. It is briefly this: Turgesius being enamoured of the daughter of King Maelsechlainn, it was arranged that she should receive him at a banquet, in an island in Loch Uair, where she appeared, surrounded by fifteen beardless youths in female attire. They carried arms, however, concealed under their garments; and when Turgesius, who had also fifteen attendants, advanced to embrace them, they suddenly drew their daggers and slew him with his followers.

Uair, by Maelsechlainn, then king of Meath, who soon afterwards succeeded to the throne of Ireland.

Is Turgesius to be found in Scandinavian history?

This may be the proper place for some observations on the attempts that have been made to identify the Turgesius of Ireland with some of the heroes of Scandinavian history.

His real name, Thorgils or Thorkila.

The name Turgesius or Turgeis, is evidently the Latin or Celtic form of Thorgils or Thorkils, which occurs so frequently in the northern Sagas; and the celebrated historian Snorro Sturleson¹ certainly regarded them as the same, for he tells us that Thorgils, the son of Harold Harfagr, was sent by his father with his brother, Frode, on an expedition to Scotland, Ireland, and Bretland, or Britain. They were the first of the Northmen, he adds, who took Dublin. Frode was poisoned there; and Thorgils, after a longer reign "fell into a snare of the Irish, and was killed." This proves that the historian intended, beyond all doubt, the Turgesius of Ireland. The allusion is evidently to the story of the youths, disguised as girls; and it is remarkable that Giraldus speaks of it, in the same language used by Snorro, as "a snare" laid for him, by which he lost his life.² From this it seems almost certain that Snorro had Cambrensis before him, and that he meant to identify his Thorgils with the Turgesius of Irish history.

Not the son of Harold Fair-hair.

It is evident, however, that Turgesius could not have been the son of Harold Harfagr, and that Snorro has erred by placing him nearly a century too late.³ The very mention of Dublin in Snorro's narrative is additional evidence of the anachronism; for, according to the unanimous testi-

¹ *Snorro Sturleson*. Heimskringla Saga, iii., ch. 37 (Laing's transl., i., p. 304).

² *Life*. Topogr. Hiberniæ, Dist., iii., cap. 37.

³ *Too late*. This conclusion has been drawn from the same reasoning, by P. A. Munch, *Det Norske Folks Historie* (Christiania, 1852), vol. i., p. 440; and by Maurer, *Die Bekehrung*

des Norwegischen Stammes zum Christenthume (München, 1855), Band. i., p. 73. See also Langebek I., p. 518, n. (a.) The reign of Harold Harfagr is usually dated 861 to 931. If he had had a son old enough to command an expedition to Ireland in 831, he must have been considerably more than 100 years of age when he died, in 931.

mony of the Irish Annals,¹ it was in 837 or 838 that Dublin was first taken by the foreigners, who erected a fortress there in 841 or 842. This was too soon for any son of Harold Harfagr; but it was within the period of the domination of Turgesius, who, according to every account, must have been slain, whilst Maelseachlain was still king of Meath, and, therefore, before the year 846, when that chieftain became king of Ireland.

It has been suggested² also that Turgesius may have been the king of Denmark and Norway, who is usually known by the name of Ragnar Lodbrok, or Hairybreeks. The history of this personage is full of fabulous and even contradictory adventures, insomuch that some have maintained that there were two of the name, and others solve the difficulty by denying the existence of Ragnar Lodbrok altogether, except in the legends of romantic history. This latter hypothesis, however, is scarcely consistent with the place he holds in Scandinavian genealogy, and he is not the only chieftain of his age and nation whose story has been interwoven with fable. His date³ agrees sufficiently well with the chronology of the reign of Turgesius, and there are some other very curious coincidences. Saxo Grammaticus,⁴ for example, tells us that Ragnar, with his sons, after having spent a year in England, in-

The occupation of Dublin.

Suggestion that Turgesius was the same as Ragnar Lodbrok.

Ragnar invaded Ireland according to Saxo.

¹ *Annals*. Chron. Scotorum, 837. Four Masters, 836.

² *Suggested*. This suggestion is due to Charles Haliday, esq., of Dublin, who kindly communicated to the editor the materials of a learned and valuable paper on the Irish Norsemen, which, it is hoped, may soon be published. In this able paper Mr. Haliday supports the identity of Turgesius with Ragnar Lodbrok, by some very acute and ingenious arguments. Dr. O'Donovan (*Fragments of Annals*, p. 124, n.) has suggested the same identity, but the editor happens to know that he borrowed the opinion from Mr. Haliday.

³ *Date*. The limits of Ragnar's

reign are variously assigned. Torfæus dates the beginning of his reign from 809 to 815, and his death from 841 to 865. *Ser. Reg. Dan.*, p. 389. Heinsfeld makes him reign from 818 to 865. Lysehandler, 812 to 841. Svaning, 815 to 841. See Langebek, *Rer. Dan. Scriptores*, I., p. 268. The *Annales Islandici*, have 812 to 845; placing his death in this latter year.

⁴ *Saxo Grammaticus*. *Histor. Dan.* lib. ix., p. 459, ed. Müller, *Hafn*, 1839. "Cumque ibidem [scil. at Norwich, after having vanquished Hella] annum victor explesset, consequenter, excitis in open filia, Hyberniam petit, occisoque ejus rege Mel-

vaded Ireland, "killed its king, Melbricus, and took Dublin, a city then full of barbarian wealth." Now, it is curious, that the Irish Annals at a date which answers to 831, mention an inroad of "Gentiles" upon the district of Louth, when *Maelbrihte*, king of the Conaille, and his brother, Cananann, were taken prisoners by them, and carried to their ships.¹ It seems highly probable that the Melbricus of Saxo was the Maelbrihte of the Irish historians, and, if so, that Ragnar Lodbrok was the leader of this party. The year 831 was, therefore, the date of his appearance in Ireland; but 832, as we have seen, was the year in which Turgesius invaded the north of Ireland, and plundered Armagh three times in one month. Here then is a coincidence, which, as far as it goes, would seem to identify the tyrant, Turgesius, with Ragnar Lodbrok. It is true there are discrepancies in the narrative, which shake the certainty of this conclusion. There is no mention of Dublin in the Irish accounts, and the first occupation of Dublin was some six or seven years later. Saxo says that Melbricus was killed, whereas the Annals speak only of his having been made prisoner. But he may have been made prisoner, and afterwards been put to death. There is, therefore, no real contradiction; and so also Turgesius, although he did not take Dublin in 831, did certainly occupy it as a garrison a few years afterwards.

Difficulties
in identi-
fying him
with
Turgesius.

The serious difficulty, however, is, that Ragnar Lodbrok, according to Saxo's account, is said to have remained in Ireland for one year only; nor was he slain in Ireland, as Turgesius was, but returned to his native land to prosecute further conquests. These may indeed be all fabulous variations of the history. A tradition that Lodbrok was slain in Ireland certainly prevailed in the north. It

Northern
tradition
that
Ragnar
was slain
in Ireland.

brico, Duflinam, barbaris opibus refertissimam obsedit, oppugnavit, accepit; ibique annuo stativis habitis, mediterraneum fretum pernavigans, ad Hellesponticum penetravit, &c."

¹ *Ships*. See Ann. Ult., 830, Four M., 829. The Conaille were the

inhabitants of the district of Muirtheimhne, comprising that portion of the co. of Louth between Cuailgne (now the Cooley mountains) and the river Boyne. See the Editor's *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, p. 406.

is preserved in the chronicle of King Eric¹; and another Scandinavian authority asserts that he was put to death "by Hella, an Irish regulus,"² in the year 854 or 864.

Add to this that the text of the Icelandic Annals gives the year 845 as the date of Ragnar's death, thus coinciding remarkably with the date assigned in Irish history to the death of Turgesius. It must be admitted, however, that the argument from this coincidence is impaired by the various readings³ in other MSS. of those Annals.

It is not explained how Ragnar could have come to be known in Ireland under the name of Thorgils, unless we suppose him to have assumed that title as descriptive of his zeal for the god Thor, or possibly of his office, as high priest of Thor, when he usurped the "abbacy" of Armagh, and endeavoured to convert the Christian capital of Ireland into the head quarters of Scandinavian idolatry. But in the Sagas the name Thorgils seems to be in every instance employed as a man's ordinary name; we have no evidence of its having been used as a title of office, or to signify a high priest. And Turgesius may have equally represented the Scandinavian name *Trygve*.

Date of Ragnar's death, in the Icelandic Annals.

The change of name from Ragnar to Thorgila not explained.

¹ *King Eric*. Apud Langebek, *Rer. Dan. Scriptt.* tom. I., p. 156. "Tandem in Hibernia occisus est, et filii ejus fere omnes in diversis locis sunt occisi." The *Lodbrokar Quida* (*Stroph.* 16), represents Ragnar as having slain *Marstein*, "a king of Ireland," at Vedrafjord (Waterford). The historical authority of this poem is not great; but this passage seems evidence of the existence of a tradition that Ragnar had been in Ireland.

² *Regulus*. See *Cornel. Hemsfort, Series regum*; ap. Langebek I., p. 36. "Qui Regnerus ab Hella Hybernorum regulo captus, gravi supplicio afficitur, necatus in carcere anno 854, Fossius habet 865." This seems a version of the story, that Ragnar, being taken captive by Ella, king of Deira,

or Northumberland, was cast into a dungeon and stung to death by venomous snakes. *Islandskir Annal.*, p. 5. Turner's *Anglo Saxons* (2nd. edit.), i., 223. Lappenberg (Thorpe's transl.), ii., p. 30. Ella or Hella, may have been considered an Irish regulus, because in the ninth and tenth centuries the Scandinavian kings of Dublin were also kings of Northumbria; and the *snakes* may have been a bardic description of the *poignards* of King Mael-sechlainn's daughter and her followers; but there is anachronism as well as confusion in the story.

³ *Various readings*. Other MSS. of the Icelandic Annals, give the dates 838, 850, and 885. *Islandskir Annalar*, ed. Werlauff (*Hafn.*, 1847), p. 7.

The kings of Northumberland and Dublin were the descendants of Ragnar.

It is certain, however, that the chieftains who carried on the war in Northumberland from the middle of the ninth century, and who subsequently became masters or "kings" of Dublin, were sons¹ and descendants of Ragnar Lodbrok. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle mentions Ingvar or Ivar, and Ubba, as the leaders of the heathen army which was quartered at Thetford, and there gained a victory over king Eadmund, A.D. 870, in which "the king was slain, all that land subdued, and all the monasteries which they came to destroyed." This seems to have been the same army² which had settled in East Anglia in 866. The Ivar or Ingvar here mentioned, as we learn from the Icelandic Annals,³ was Ivar, surnamed Beinlaus, or the Bone-less, son of Ragnar Lodbrok, by his third wife, Aslauga,⁴ or Asloga, daughter of Sigurd Fofnisban. Ubba or Ubbo, was also a son of Lodbrok, but, as it would seem, illegitimate.⁵ His name does not occur in the Irish Annals; but Ivar is mentioned in the Annals of the Four

¹ *Sons.* See Lappenberg Hist. of England (Thorpe's transl.), ii., p. 30.

² *Army.* See Anglo-Saxon Chron. at the date mentioned above. Ethelweard, Chron. lib. iv., c. 2, A.D. 866.

³ *Icelandic Annals.* Hafniae, 1847, p. 5. The story is thus told. When the news of Ragnar's having been put to death reached his sons, who were then celebrating some public games, Ivar went to England. His brothers followed him soon after with great forces, slew Ella, and Ivar became king of England, i.e., of Northumbria. Saxo Grammaticus has the same story, but he makes the sons of Ragnar to have been in Ireland when the news of their father's death reached them; lib. ix., p. 461.

⁴ *Aslauga.* Landnamabok, p. 385. Their sons were Sigurd Ormr-i-auga (or Serpent-eye); Huitserk, K. of Reidgothia and Finland; Biorn Iarnsida (Ironside); and Ivar Beinlaus (the

boneless). They had one daughter, Ragnhilda.

⁵ *Illegitimate.* Saxo, tells the story of his birth, *Hist. Dan.*, lib. ix., p. 451. There is a passage in Asser's *Gesta Ælfridi*, or rather in some copies of it, at the year 878, which proves it to have been the popular belief that Hungar or Ivar, and Ubba were the sons of Ragnar Lodbrok; speaking of their banner called Reafan [the Raven] "illud vexillum quod Reafan nominant,"—he says, "dicunt enim quod tres sorores Hungari et Hubbæ, filie videlicet Lodbroki, illud vexillum texuerunt, et totum paraverunt illud uno meridiano tempore; dicunt etiam quod in omni bello ubi præcederet idem signum, si victoriam adepturi essent, appareret in medio signi quasi corbus vivens volitans: sin vero vincendi in futuro fuissent, penderet directe nihil movens: et hoc sæpe probatum est." *Monumenta Hist. Britann.* (ed Petrie), p. 481. Cf. *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, A.D. 878.

Masters as being in alliance with Cearbhall, or Carroll, king of Ossory, and the Gaillgaedhil, or apostate Irish, when they defeated the Cinel Fiachach,¹ in 856 or 857, in the county of Tipperary. In the same year, according to the Annals of Ulster, Ivar and Amlaf, or Olaf, gained a victory over Caittil Find² and the Gaillgaedhil in the territories of Munster. If these dates are correct, Ivar Beinlaus was in Ireland ten years before his first appearance in England; and it was from Ireland he conquered the kingdom of Northumbria.

The Earl Onphile is mentioned³ as a leader of the party of foreigners who were defeated, and Onphile killed, at Roscrea,⁴ the Irish having been assembled in great numbers at the fair which was held there on the festival of Paul and Peter (29th June), the same year in which Turgesius was drowned, A.D. 845.

Battle of
Roscrea.
A.D. 845.

Our author then gives a list of a great number of inva-

New
Invasions.

¹ *Cinel Fiachach*, or Kinelea, the inhabitants of the present barony of Moycashel, in Westmeath.

² *Caittil Find*. This seems to be the Scandinavian name Ketill, with the Irish addition of Finn, white. He is probably the same whose destruction with that of his whole garrison is mentioned, ch. xxiii., p. 23, of the present work. See p. lxxi, note 2.

³ *Mentioned*. See chap. xv., p. 15, and p. 227. The name of this chieftain, which, in some MSS., is written Oilfin, or Oilfinn (perhaps the Scandinavian Halfdane), does not occur in the Irish Annals, and the present work seems the only ancient authority in which the battle of Roscrea is recorded.

⁴ *Roscrea*. Keating (O'Mahony's transl., p. 546.) quotes a tract by Fingin or Florence MacCarthy, as his authority for the account he gives of this battle. This tract is a letter, the original of which is in the Library of Trin. Coll., Dublin, E. 3, 16. It is in

English, addressed to some nobleman who is called "your Lordship," but whose name does not appear. The passage referred to by Keating is as follows.—Speaking of the existence of markets and fairs as a proof of the ancient commerce of Ireland, MacCarthy says, "Such as when in the times when the Danes invaded that country, Counte Olfyn ledd 3,000 or 4,000 Danes from Limericke to ruffle or spoyle the fayre that was on St. Peter and Paule's day at Roscrea in Elie" [i.e., Ely O'Carroll, King's co., and part of Tipperary.—see *B. of Rights*, p. 78, n.]: "the number of buyers and sellers that were here came in armes against him, and overthrew and killed him and his forces." The letter is subscribed "your Lordship's most humble and faithfull to be commanded *Florentius Macartye*." It is not improbable that the present work may have been MacCarthy's authority for this notice of the battle of Roscrea.

sions to which he assigns no exact dates. The first of these was by a fleet of sixty ships, which appeared at the mouth of the Boyne, and plundered Bregia and Meath. The arrival of this fleet is dated by our Annals in the same year in which a fleet of sixty ships landed at Dublin,¹ and plundered the plains of Liffey and Bregia. But if our author intended the order of his narrative to be chronological, the sixty ships on the Boyne must have arrived in or after the year 845.

It seems scarcely necessary to do more than mention here the parts of the coast at which the several "fleets" are said to have landed, with the places noticed by our author as having been plundered by each party of invaders. They are as follow :—

Fleets at
Lough
Neagh and
Dublin.

A fleet settled on Loch Echach or Loch n-Echach [now Lough Neagh] and plundered all before them to Armagh. Another on the Liffey, and plundered Magh Breagh, "both country and churches."² Then came "a very great fleet" (ch. xvii.) to the south of Athcliath, or Dublin, which plundered the greater part of Ireland.

Monasteries
plundered
by the
fleet of
Dublin.

Our author gives the names of the principal ecclesiastical establishments that suffered from this invasion, but he evidently does not enumerate them in the order in which they were plundered. Hi Coluim-cille was probably attacked by the pirates on their way to Ireland. Inis-Muiredhaigh,³ an island off the north coast of Sligo, was

¹ *Dublin.* See chap. xii., and the note ⁵, p. xlix, *supra*.

² *Churches.* It is possible that this may be a duplicate entry of the arrival of the fleet mentioned, chap. xii. If not, we have three fleets spoken of as having landed at the same place, which plundered nearly the same district about the same time, viz.: 1. The fleet of sixty-five ships which landed at Dublin, and plundered Leinster and Bregia (chap. xii.) 2. The fleet of sixty ships which landed at the Boyne and plundered Bregia and Meath (chap.

xvi.): this fleet our author says came *after* the battle of Roscrea, i.e., after 845. 3. A third fleet, which settled on the Liffey (meaning, perhaps, the plain so called, not the river), and plundered Bregia (chap. xvi.)

³ *Inis-Muiredhaigh.* "Island of St. Muiredhach," first bishop of Killala, now called Inishmurray.—*Archdall, Monast.*, p. 635. If the pirates had come from Hi Coluimkille to Inishmurray, it is not likely that they would have gone round all the way to Dublin without landing; possibly, therefore,

not in their course from the Northern seas to Dublin, but it may have been plundered on their way home. It will be seen from the places¹ mentioned that this party of marauders had penetrated into the very heart of the country.

We have next (ch. xviii.) a list of the several ecclesiastical cells and monasteries plundered by a fleet which came to the south of Ireland². The pirates are said to have killed "Rudgaile, son of Trebtade, and Cormac,

Monasteries
plundered
by a fleet
from the
south.

the Ath Cliath (Hurdleford) where they are said to have landed, was not *Dublin Atha Cliath*, as it is called, chap. xii., p. 12, but *Ath Cliath Medraighe*, now Clarinbridge, at the eastern end of the bay of Galway. The Eiskir, or ridge of gravel hills which divided the northern from the southern half of Ireland, ("Leth Cuinn" from "Legh Mogha,") is terminated at its eastern extremity by Ath Cliath Dubhlinne, and at its western by Ath Cliath Medraighe. The ancient district, called Medraighe, was identical in extent with the present parish of Ballynacourty.—(See *Circuit of Muirchertach*, p. 47, note, and *O'Flaherty's West Connaught* by Hardiman, p. 41). However, when Ath Cliath is spoken of simply, without anything to distinguish it from other places of the name, Dublin is generally intended. The present town of Ballymote, in the barony of Corran, county of Sligo, was anciently *Ath Cliath an Chorann*; but as this is an inland town it could not have been the Ath Cliath here intended. There were many other places called *Ath Cliath* in Ireland.—*O'Donovan's Hy Fiachrach*, p. 171, n., 262, n.

¹ *The places.* These are *Daimhinis*, now Devenish island, in Loch Erne, county of Fermanagh; *Glendaloch*, in the county of Wicklow; *all Leinster*, as far as to *Achadh-ur*, (now Fresh-

ford, county of Kilkenny: see *Petrie, Round Towers*, p. 282, sq.); and to *Achadh-bo*, (now Aghaboe, Queen's county: *Archdall*, p. 588); and to *Liath Mochaemhoc*, (now Leigh, in the east of the parish of Two-mile Borris, in the barony of Eli-Fogarty or Eliogarty, county of Tipperary); and to *Daire-mor*, which the Martyrol of Donegal says was only a mile from Liath, (*May 20*, p. 135.) *The Life of St. Mochaemhoc*, (quoted *Four Mast.* 1014, p. 781, n.,) states that *Daire-mor* was "in regione Muminensium;" and Dr. O'Donovan identifies it with Kilcolman in the present King's county, which was indeed a part of the antient Munster, (*B. of Rights*, p. 79, n). But Kilcolman must have been more than a mile from Liath. The other places mentioned are *Clonfert-Molua*, now Kyle, near Borris-in-Ossory, Queen's county; *Roscre*, now Roscrea, county of Tipperary; *Clonmacnois*, King's county; *Saighir*, now Seirklerán, near Birr, King's county; and *Durmhagh*, now Durrow, the celebrated abbey of St. Columkille, barony of Ballycowan, King's county. It will be observed that every one of these places was the site of a remarkable ecclesiastical establishment.

² *South of Ireland.* The copy of this work preserved in the Book of Leinster says, to Limerick.

son of Selbach, an anchorite," of whom no mention has been found elsewhere.¹ But they met with a very decided opposition. They were "slaughtered" at Ard-Feradaigh by the Mumha Medhonach, or men of Middle Munster; and they were opposed by "the south of Ireland," that is to say, by the Eoghanacht Ua nEochaidh,² who were under the command of their chieftain, Donnchadh, son of Amhalgaidh, and of Clochna, (or as the Four Masters call him, Clothnia,) Lord of Corca-Laighe. The latter of these warriors, and probably both, were slain on this occasion, for the Four Masters record the deaths of both in the same year, 844 (really 845), without saying that they were killed in battle, although our author expressly tells us that Clochna was *slain* by the foreigners, and the MS. L. adds, after the mention of Donnchadh, the parenthesis,³ "it was at Cork he was killed." The battle of Ard Feradaigh, or Carn Feradaigh, as it is also called, a mountain in the south⁴ of the county Limerick, is dated by the Four Masters 836 (=838). This, with the date they have given to the deaths of the chieftains who commanded the troops of South Munster, sufficiently fixes the chronology⁵ of this invasion. It will be observed

¹ *Elsewhere.* The editor has not succeeded in discovering elsewhere the legend that Cormac, son of Selbach, was thrice set free by an angel, and thrice bound again. See p. 19.

² *Eoghanacht ua nEochaidh.* The descendants of Eochaidh, son of Cas, son of Conall Corc.—See Append. B, Table IV., No. 8, p. 248, and note ^a, p. 18. Their territory was originally the barony of Cinel-mBece, now Kin-elmeaky, county of Cork, but they afterwards encroached on the neighbouring districts.—See *Book of Rights*, p. 256, n. Corca-Laighe, the country of the Ui Edirsceoil or O'Driscolls, was nearly coextensive with the present diocese of Ross.—See *Miscell. of Celtic Soc.*, App. E., p. 87.

³ *Parenthesis.* See p. 19, n. ^a.

⁴ *South.* In the territory of Clu Maif. *Four Mast.* A.D. 822, p. 245, n. O'Donovan suggests that it may have been the ancient name of Seeftin, barony of Coshlea, county of Limerick, *Four Mast.*, A.M. 3656.

⁵ *Chronology.* If, however, we give any weight, as marks of chronology, to the words of our author, "there came *after this*," which he repeats at every record of a new invasion, there is some discrepancy between his chronology and that of the *Four Mast.*: for this latter authority dates the slaughter of the pirates at Carn Feradaigh 836, =838. These must, therefore, have been in Ireland before the death of Turgesius, which took place in 845,

that all the places attacked or plundered are in the south,¹ and in Munster.

Then follows (chap. xix.) a list of places plundered by "the fleet of Ath-Cliath," or Dublin. This was apparently the fleet mentioned in chapter xvii., which our author says landed at the south of Ath-cliaith and plundered the greater part of Ireland. He had interrupted his list of their depredations in the interior of Ireland to speak of the other fleet which had appeared in the south of Munster about the same time, and he now continues his account of the monasteries² plundered by the former party. In the course of his narrative he particularly mentions the death of Aodh, son of Dubh-da-Crich, who was comarb or successor of Colum Mac Crimbthainn, that is, abbot of Tirdaglass,³ and also successor of St. Fintan, in other words abbot also of Cluain Eidneach, or Clonenagh. This event is placed by the Annals of Ulster and by the Four Masters in the same year in which Turgesius was slain. The Ulster Annals agree with the statement of our author that the abbot Aodh was slain in the attack upon Dun-Masc; but the Four Masters⁴ tell us that he was taken

Additional
list of
places
plundered
by the
fleet of
Dublin.

whereas our author makes them the third fleet of invaders that arrived after that event. Compare chaps. xvi., xvii., xviii.

¹ *South*. These are *Scelig Michil*, the island of which we have already spoken (see p. xxxviii). *Inis Flainn*, or more correctly Inis Faithlenn, now Inisfallen, an island in the Lower Lake of Killarney; *Disert Domhain*, now unknown; *Cluain mér*, now Cloyne; *Ros Ailithri*, now Ross, county of Cork; and *Cenn-mara* (head of the sea), now Kenmare, county of Kerry.

² *Monasteries*. These are *Cilldara*, or Kildare; *Cluain Eidhnech*, now Clonenagh, the celebrated monastery of St. Fintan, in the Queen's county; *Cenn-Etigh*, now Kinnetty, King's county; *Cill Achad* now Killeigh, King's county; *Dun Masc*, [fortress of

Masc, an ancient chieftain.] then most probably ecclesiastical, now the rock of Dunamase, near Maryborough, Queen's county—(see Dr. O'Donovan's note, *Four Mast.*, 843); *Cennannus*, now Kells, county of Meath; *Mainister Buite*, the monastery of St. Buite or Boetius, now Monasterboice, county of Louth; *Daimhliac Cianain*, now Duleek (of St. Cianan); *Sord of Colum Cille*, now Swords, near Dublin; and *Finghlass-Cainnigh*, now Finglas, near Dublin, where there was a famous monastery, founded by St. Cainnech, or Canice, of Achadlibo, and of Kilkenny, in the 6th century.

³ *Tirdaglass*. See above, p. x, n^o.

⁴ *Four Masters*. The record of this event in the Annals of Ulster is this:
"Plunder of Dun Masc by the Gentiles, where was slain Aedh, or Aodh, son of

prisoner and carried off to Munster, where "he suffered martyrdom for the sake of God."

Arrival of
the Dubh-
gaill, or
Panes.

So far our author has chronicled the depredations of the White or azure Gentiles, that is to say the Norwegians, down to the end of the dynasty of Turgesius, for none of the invasions hitherto mentioned, so far as we can ascertain their actual dates, seem to have been much later than the death of that chieftain. He now proceeds (chap. xx.) to record the arrival of the *Dubhgaill*, Black Gentiles, Danars, or Danes, who contested possession of the country with the Finngall or White Gentiles.

They take
Dublin.

The Annals of Ulster and of the Four Masters tell us that this Danish fleet first came to Dublin in 852, where they plundered, after great slaughter, the fortress erected by the Finngall or Norwegians, and that there was soon afterwards a great battle between the two parties at Linn-Duachaill,¹ in which the Danes were victorious. The Norwegians or White foreigners then mustered a fleet of eight score ships and gave battle to the Danes at Snamh

Battle of
Carling-
ford.

Dubh-da Crich, abbot of Tir-da-glass and of Cluain Eidhneach, and where were slain Ceithernac, son of Cudinaisc, sub-abbot of Kildare, and many others." *Ann. Ult.*, 444. The Four Masters (843) have the following entry: "An army by the foreigners of Ath Cliath at the Cluana an Dobhair," [the plains round Killeigh, King's county,] "and the burning of the fort of Cill-achaidh" [Dr. O'Donovan has "the fold," an error of the press for *fort*, of Cill-achaidh, or Killeigh,] "and Nuadhat, son of Seighen, was martyred by them. The plunder of Dunmasc by the foreigners, where Aedh, son of Dubh-dacrigh, abbot of Tir-da-glas, and of Cluain-eidhnech, was taken prisoner; and they carried him into Munster, where he suffered martyrdom for the sake of God; and Ceithernac, son of Cudinaisc, prior of Cilldara, with many others besides, was killed by them, during the same plunder."

¹ *Linn Duachaill*: not Magheralin, county of Down, as O'Donovan once thought; *Circuit of Ireland*, note on line 35. He afterwards corrects the error, *Fragments of Annals*, p. 120. *Four M.*, 1045, p. 848, n. Linn-Duachaill was in the county of Louth, S.E. of Castle-Bellingham. It was on the banks of the river called Casan Linné, *Mart. Doneg.* (March 30, p. 91, comp. *Colgan*, Actt. SS., pp. 792, 793). This river is mentioned in the circuit of Ireland (*loc. cit.*) as a station south of Glen Righe, or the vale of Newry, and between it and Ath Gabhla on the Boyne. This does not describe the position of Magheralin, which is considerably to the north, and inland. Part of the name Casan Linné is preserved in the name Annaigassan [*Aon-ach g-Casain*, "Fair of Casan,"] a village at the tidal opening of the junction of the rivers Glyde and Dee; a much more likely place for a Danish

Aidhnech¹ or Carlingford. The contest lasted three days and three nights. The Danes gained the victory, and the Norwegians abandoned their ships. The Annals of Ulster mention the names of the two Norwegian leaders in this conflict, Stam, (or perhaps we should read Stain,) who escaped by flight, and Ierne who was beheaded.²

The "Fragments of Annals,"³ copied by Duaid or Dudley Mac Firbis, from a MS. belonging to Gilla-na-naemh Mac Egan, add the following very curious particulars to this narrative:—

Account of
this battle
in the
Mac Firbis
Annals.

The Lochlanns or Norwegians (we are not told where they were at the time, perhaps at Dublin,) perceive the approach of a fleet. Being uncertain whether it was friendly or hostile, they send out a swift ship to ascertain the fact. The strangers prove to be Danes; and the Norwegian ship is received with a shower of arrows from the nearest vessel of the enemy. A battle at sea ensues between the two hostile ships, in which the Danes are victorious, and the crew of the Norwegian ship are all

piratical settlement than Magheralin. There is a townland called *Linns*, in the parish of Gernonstown, which runs down along the sea to Annagassan Bridge. The Casan Linné was probably the river now called the Glyde, and Linn-Duachaill must have been at the united mouth of the Glyde and Dee. For this information the editor is indebted to Dr. Reeves.

¹ *Snamh Aidhnech*. This was the ancient name of the present Carlingford bay, which, however, is tautology; for the Scandinavian termination *ford* signifies "bay." The Four M. have the simple name *Cairlinn* frequently. *Karlinfordia* occurs in Giraldus Cambrensis. *Snamh* in Irish topographical names is a swimming place, a ford, narrow enough to be crossed by swimming, but too deep to be passed on foot. *Snamh Aighneac* is the reading of the Brussels Fragments of Annals p. 121; of the Four Mast.; Ann. Ult.; and L.; but the apparent differences

Eidhneach, Aidhneach, and Aigneach are only variations of spelling. See note ¹⁰, p. 19. The place is called *Snamh Ech* in the Mart. of Donegal, (2nd April, p. 93), which signifies "the horse swimming ford." Dr. Reeves has shown that the Danish settlement at *Snamh-aighnech* was near Caol-uisce or Narrow-water, at the head of Carlingford Lough. See his note on *Cillsnabha* (Itinerary of Father Cana.) *Ulster Journal of Archaeol.*, vol. ii, p. 45.

² *Beheaded*. "Stam [read Stain] fugitivus evasit et Ierne decollatus jacuit." *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 851=852. The Scandinavian names of these chieftains were probably *Stein*, or *Steinar*, and *Eirekr*.

³ *Annals*. Edited by Dr. O'Donovan from a MS. (not, however, the autograph of MacFirbis,) in the Burgundian Library at Brussels. (Printed for the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society—1860.)

slain. The Danes bring up their fleet to the shore, and in another battle kill thrice their own number, and decapitate every one of the slain. They take the ships of the Lochlanns with them to a port (probably Dublin, which the Annals represent as the scene of this first battle,) and carry off "the women, the gold, and all the property of the Lochlanns with them." "And thus," says the historian, "the Lord took away from them [*i.e.* from the Norwegians] all the wealth which they had taken from the churches, and sanctuaries, and shrines of the saints of Erin."

The vanquished collect great forces, and with seventy ships,¹ under their leaders Zain (Stain) and Iargna, make their appearance at Snamh Aighnech or Carlingford, where the Danes had stationed their fleet. The Norwegians or White Gentiles are victorious,² and the Danes abandon their ships. The Danish general, Horm, harangues his

¹ *Seventy ships.* The Four M., A.D. 850 [852], and Ann. Ult. 851, say 160. The chieftains here called Zain and Iargna are evidently the same who are called Stain and Ierne in the Annals of Ulster.

² *Victorious.* This seems at variance with the account given by the Ulster Annals and by the Four M. But the discrepancy is perhaps only apparent. For the Danes were ultimately victorious: and the only real difference is that the Annals have omitted the story of their having been at first defeated, and afterwards gaining the victory by the intercession of St. Patrick. This story was probably invented to blacken the Norwegians, whose depredations were especially directed against the churches and religious houses of Ireland, and who are, therefore, represented as having been punished by an intervention of Heaven. The Danes may have been vanquished in the first engagement, or else were made to have been vanquished to give greater eclat to their subsequent victory against superior numbers, "by the tutelage of St. Patrick," although they had not at

the time received Christianity. They are represented as still barbarous and brutal; supporting, on the bodies of the slain, the spits on which their meat was roasting. Nevertheless, the story of their vow to St. Patrick is not, in itself, incredible. The doctrine of tutelary saints, whose patronage was especially granted to certain territories, was so closely allied to the pagan notion of tutelary gods, that it readily commended itself to the heathen, who knew the Christianity of that age only by this prominent feature of it; and we can easily understand why ecclesiastics, living at the time of the Reformation, would naturally suppress the story of the Danes having purchased the patronage of St. Patrick, by sharing with him the spoils gained by their victory. Their general, Horm, Gorm, or Gormo, may have been possibly the same who was surnamed *Enske* or *Anglicus*, because he was born in England. This Gormo was ultimately converted to Christianity, which renders it the more probable that he may have suggested on this occasion the invocation of St. Patrick.

men; representing to them that they had everything to lose, and advising them to put themselves under the protection of St. Patrick, by promising to the saint "honourable alms for gaining victory and triumph" over enemies who had plundered his churches and outraged all the saints of Ireland. This advice was followed; and in the next engagement, although with very inferior numbers, the Danes gain the victory "on account of the tutelage of St. Patrick." The "treasures of gold and silver" in the camp of the Norwegians became the prize of the victors, together with "the other property, as well of their women and ships." Five thousand¹ "goodly born men," with "many soldiers, and people of every grade in addition to this number," were slain² in the engagement.

The arrival of another fleet in Ciarraighe³ is then recorded (ch. xx). They plundered "to Limerick and Cill Ita."⁴ If this be understood as including Limerick, this "fleet" was probably Danish, for we know that Limerick was already in the possession of the first comers, and was probably founded by them.

The county
of Kerry
invaded.

¹ *Five thousand.* This seems an incredible number. The Roman numerals ii. and u, might easily have been confounded.

² *Slain.* "Fragments of Annals," pp. 114-123. The historian adds, p. 125, that the Danes fulfilled their vow, and after the victory filled "a good wide trench with gold and silver to give to Patrick;" for he adds, the Danes were "a people who had a kind of piety, i.e., they gave up meat and women a while for piety."

³ *Ciarraighe.* The tribe name of the posterity of Ciar, son of Fergus, king of Ulster, by Meadhbh or Maud, queen of Connaught. There were several districts in Ireland, called Ciarraighe, where branches of this family had settled (see O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 276, but the principal of these tribes was the Ciarraighe Luachra, or Ciarraighe

of Mount Luachair, in the territory of O'Conor Kerry. This district is probably here intended, not only because the name occurs without any other designation, but also because the places mentioned as having been plundered, were all easily reached from the county of Kerry.

⁴ *Cill Ita:* now *Killeedy*, four Irish miles from Newcastle, co. of Limerick, the site of a once famous monastery, dedicated to St. Ita, in the spot called Cluain Creadhail, *Mart. Doneg.*, 15 Jan., p. 17. The other places mentioned are Imleach Ibhair, now Emly; Caisil of the Kings, now Cashel; the eastern Cechtraighe; and Liath Mo-coemhoc, of which we have already spoken; (see p. lix. note ¹). Cechtraighe (Cechtraighe, L.) is the name of a tribe now unknown. Perhaps we should read *Ciarraighe*.

Chronology
of these
events.

Our author adds, "It was in the time¹ of Feidhlimidh, son of Crimthann, that all these ravages were perpetrated." This remark, although it occurs in the ancient fragment of the present work preserved in the Book of Leinster, is probably misplaced. The Annals date the death of Feidhlimidh 847; and the arrival of the Danes, or the battle of Carlingford, 852, five years afterwards. Therefore we must infer either that the above chronological note ought to have been placed before the coming of the Danish ships, or else that the date assigned by the Annals to Feidhlimidh's death is erroneous.²

Victories of
the Irish
over the
invaders.

Having hitherto spoken of the ravages committed by the invaders, our author (chaps. xxi. xxii.) next gives a list of the defeats they had sustained from the native Irish: and here it is evident that he makes no distinction between the Danes and other foreigners; neither can we regard his narrative as containing a complete enumeration of these defeats, for many, of which he takes no notice, are recorded in the Irish Annals. At Eas-Ruaidh,³ now Assaroe, near Ballyshannon, county of Donegal, they were defeated by the Cinel-Conaill, the descendants of Conall Gulban (son of Niall, of the Nine Hostages), the original possessors of the district now called, from them, Tirconnell. This victory is dated⁴ 838. In Munster they were defeated at Loch Derg Dheire, now Lough Derg, by the Dal Cais.⁵ The Ui Neill, that is, the southern O'Neill, defeated them at Ard Breacain, now Ardbraccan, county of Meath. Earl Saxulf⁶ was slain by the O'Colgain; but the Four Masters and Annals of Ulster call him "Chief-

¹ *Time*. The word *peimip* in the text, p. 20, has been translated "reign;" but its more literal signification is *time, period*.

² *Erroneous*. See above, p. xlvii., note ¹, where it is suggested, on other grounds, that the date assigned to Feidhlimidh's death by our Annals is really the date of his monastic profession.

³ *Eas Ruaidh*: properly Eas Aedha

Ruaidh, the waterfall of Aedh the red. See *Four Mast.*, A.M. 4518.

⁴ *Dated*. *Four Mast.* 836, = A.D. 838.

⁵ *Dal Cais*, pron. *Dal Cash*, the descendants of Cas Mac Tail. See *Gen. Table III.*, No. 8, p. 247, and *O'Flah. Ogyg.*, p. 386. This victory is not recorded in the Annals.

⁶ *Earl Saxulf*. The ancient MS. L. reads "Earl Ralph."

tain of the Gaill," and tell us that he was slain by the Cianachta, meaning the Cianachta Bregh, a tribe¹ descended from Cian, son of Oilíoll Olum, king of Munster, and seated in Bregia, north of Dublin, where they occupied a district extending from the baronies of Upper and Lower Duleek to the Liffey. The death of Saxulf is dated by the Annalists² in the fifth year of Niall Cailne, or 838.

The next defeat mentioned is the battle of Sciath Nechtain, after an interval of ten years³ from the death of Saxulf. The leaders of the Irish forces were Olchobhar, king of Munster, and Lorcan, son of Cellach, king of Leinster. In this battle 1,200 of the Lochlainn chieftains or nobles were slain, together with the heir apparent or *tanist*, that is (*second*, or next in succession to the throne,) of the king of Lochlainn. The Four Masters tell us that this chieftain's name was Tomrair,⁴ which in other

Battle of
Sciath
Nechtain.

¹ *A tribe.* See O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.* p. 332. The Ui Colgan, or O'Colgan, seem to have been a branch of the Cianachta seated on the banks of the Liffey. There is, therefore, no contradiction.

² *Annalists.* Ann. Ult. and Four M. 836. — 838. The Dublin Annals of Inisfallen record the event thus: "837. Six score men of the Lochlainns were killed by the men of Bregia, and their chief, Saxulf, was slain by Cinaodh, son of Conall, and by the Connaughtmen." This should be Cinaodh, son of *Conaing*, who was chieftain of the Cianachta Breagh at the time. The mention of Connaughtmen seems a mistake of the compilers of these Annals. For *Conachta* we should read *Cianachta*.

³ *Ten years.* In the second year of Maelseachlainn I. *Four M.* 846; *Ult.* 847, = 848. Sciath Nechtain (*Scutum Nechtani*) was a place near Castle-dermot, county of Kildare.

⁴ *Tomrair.* The name Tomrair is, perhaps, the Scandinavian *Thormodr* [Thor's man.] which was a common name in Iceland. The Tomrair or Tomar here mentioned is spoken of as a Norwegian. But a Danish chief-

tain of the same name afterwards became celebrated at Dublin, and indeed Tomar or Thormodr seems to have become a sort of common title given by the Irish to all the kings of Dublin, who are called "chieftains of Tomar," *Book of Rights*, p. 40; the king of Dublin is called "Torc Tomar," i.e. "Prince Tomar," *ib.* p. 207. In Dr. O'Donovan's *Introd. to B. of Rights*, p. xxxvi. *seq.*, and *Four M.*, A.D. 846, p. 475, *n.*, we read of the ring of Tomar and the sword of Carlus [son of Amlaíb, *Four M.* 806,] which were carried off from Dublin by King Malachy II., in 994 (*Four M.*) The ring was, no doubt, one of those deemed sacred by the Northmen, and upon which oaths were sworn—*Anglo Sax. Chron.*, A.D. 876. It is possible (as Mr. Haliday has suggested) that the splendid gold ring, with a smaller one running upon it, now in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, is the identical ring of Tomar—the "holy ring" of the Scandinavian kings of Dublin. There was a wood, called Tomar's wood, between Clontarf and Dublin. See pp. 197, 199, of the present volume.

authorities is also written Tomhrar, Tomhar, or Tomar. King Olchobhar soon afterwards demolished Tulach-na-righna,¹ which seems to have been a fortress or settlement of the enemy, and they were all ultimately cut off by the men of Leth Mogha, or of Munster.

Minor
victories.

The other victories recorded may be more briefly noticed. They are, the battle of Caislen-glinni or Caisglinne,² under Maelsechlainn, king of Ireland, in which 700 were slain. The battle of Daire-Disiurt-Dachonna,³ by Tighernach, lord of Loch Gabhair,⁴ when 500 of the enemy fell. The battle of Dun-Maeltuli, in which their loss was twelve score, under Olchobhar, king of Munster, and the Eoghanachts⁵ of Cashel. Three hundred and sixty-eight of the Danes, it is not said where, were slain by the White Gentiles or Norwegians.⁶ Perhaps this may have been the result of the conflict between the seven score ships of the Danes that arrived about this time, "to contend with the

¹ *Tulach-na-Righna*. *Tulach-na-reena*, "hill of the Queens;" a place not now known, unless it be the hill now called Knockree, near Castledermot.

² *Caisglinne*. So read the MS. B., and Keating. Compare also *Battle of Moagh-rath*, p. 349. *Caislen-glinnie* signifies Glen-Castle; there are several places of the name: this one was probably somewhere in Meath, within the territory of the Clann Colmain. Perhaps this is the same battle which the Four M., 846, and Ann. Ult., 847, mention as having been fought at Forach, (now Farragh, near Skreen, county of Meath,) in which 700 were slain. See O'Donovan's note, Four M., l. c.

³ *Daire-Disiurt-Dachonna*. The oak wood of Disiurt-Dachonna, the wilderness of St. Dachonna, or St. Conna. This place was in Ulster (*Mart. Doneg.*, 12 April, p. 101), but Dr. O'Donovan had not identified it. Four M., 846, note.

⁴ *Loch Gabhair*. Now Lough Gower or Logore, near Dunshaughlin, county of Meath. The Four M. say that twelve score fell in this battle, which is also the reading of B. The Ann. Ult. read 1200. The numbers of slain in this and the next battle have evidently been transposed. See the various readings, p. 21, notes.

⁵ *Eoghanachts*. See Table IV., p. 248. Dun Maeltuli, "the fort of Mael-tuli" is probably in the county of Tipperary, but its exact site is now unknown.

⁶ *Norwegians*. B. reads "by the Ui Fidhghente," a tribe settled in the county of Limerick; (see Gen. Table V., p. 248, No. 6, and Book of Rights, p. 67, n.) But this reading is not probable, although Keating follows it. *Ui-prögenté* and *puro gente* might easily be confounded. There are also considerable variations in the MSS. as to the number of the slain. See ch. xxii., p. 21, n. 14.

foreigners that were in Ireland before them," and as the Four Masters and Ulster Annals tell us "disturbed Ireland between them."¹ At Inis-Finnic, now Inch, near Balrothery, county of Dublin, 200 were slain by the Cianachta, meaning evidently the Cianachta Breagh, in whose territory Inch was situated. The same tribe, in a month afterwards, gained another victory, in which they slew 300 of the enemy at Rath-Alton, or Rath-Aldain, now Rathallan, near Duleek, in the same territory.² This catalogue of victories is concluded by the battle of Rathcommair³ gained by King Maelseachlinn, and another gained by the Ciarriaghe Luachra, or people of Kerry, the exact site of which is not recorded.

The coming of Amlaibh, (Amlaff or Olaf,) "son of the king of Lochlainn," is the next event chronicled by our author. The arrival of this chieftain is dated ten years *before*⁴ the death of Maelseachlainn or Malachy I., king of Ireland, and therefore in the year 853.

Arrival of
Amlaff or
Olaf.

This was, beyond all doubt, the Amlaff, or Olaf Huita

¹ *Between them.* Four M., 847. Ann Ult., 848, really 849.

² *Territory.* The Four Masters make no mention of Inis-finnic, but record a slaughter of the foreigners in the East of Breagh, and in the same month, the battle of Rath-Aldain, at 850 [= 852]. Of the Cianachta Breagh we have already spoken, see p. lxvii.

³ *Rathcommair.* The word *Commair* or *Cumar* signifies the meeting of two or more rivers; and the Rathcommair here mentioned was probably a Fort at the confluence of the Boyne with some four or five small rivers at Cluain-Iraird, now Clonard, county of Meath. There is a *Cumar-tri-nuisce* (meeting of three waters) near Waterford (Four M., at 856); but it is more likely that the battle gained by Maelseachlainn was in his own territory.

⁴ *Before.* In the text (chap. xxiii.) we have translated "ten years after"

the death of Malachy: but the annals, Keating, and other authorities all seem to have read, or at least to have understood, as in the MS. L., *ne nec, before* the death of Malachy, instead of *an nec*, the reading of B. *after* his death. It is probable that *an*, in our author's dialect of Irish really did signify *before*. If so, the Editor in translating it *after* (assuming *an* to have been put for *an*), was under a mistake. See note ⁸, p. 22. The Four Mast. date King Malachy's death 860, but as they tell us that he died on *Tuesday*, Nov. 30, the Sunday letter of the year must have been C, which shows that the true year was 863.

If we adhere to the translation *after*, Olaf did not arrive until 873, and his exploits are dated in our annals twenty years too soon. This no doubt would diminish some chronological difficulties.

His
exploits.

(the white), of Scandinavian history, who was usually styled king of Dublin,¹ and was the leader of the Northmen in Ireland for many years. His exploits on his first arrival in Ireland are thus described:² The drowning of Conchobhar,³ son of Donnchadh. The overthrow of the Deisi at Cluain-Daimh,⁴ where all the chieftains of the Deisi were slain. The slaughter of the son of Cenn-

¹ *Dublin.* The *Landnamabok* (p. 106), gives the following account of this chieftain: "Olaf the White [Oleifr hinn Hvite] was the Pirate-King [Herkóngr] who was the son of King Ingialld, son of Helga, son of Olaf, son of Gudraud, son of Halfdan Whitefoot [Hvitbein], King of Upland. Olaf the White went as a pirate westwards, and seized Dublin in Ireland, and the Dublin-shire [oc vaun Dýflina á Irlandi oc Dýflinnarskirir] where he was made King." The name is written *Amhlaibh*, *Anlaff*, *Onlaf*, *Olaf* or *Olave*, *Auley*, *Auliff*. Thora, grandmother of Olaf the White, was the daughter of Sigurd Orm i augr [serpent eye], son of Regnar Lodbrok. The polygamy of the pagan Scandinavians, their very early marriages, and the early age at which they went forth to seek their fortunes in piratical adventures, may have reduced the length of a generation. But the reduction should be considerable to render it possible, assuming Lodbrok to have been slain in 845, for his son's great-grandson to be the leader of a piratical invasion of Ireland in 853. Supposing the average generation to be 20 years, Regnar Lodbrok would have been 80 years of age at the birth of Olaf the White.

² *Described.* Chap. xxiii., p. 23.

³ *Conchobhair.* He is called in the text "heir apparent of Tara," meaning not heir apparent to the throne of Ireland, but only to the chieftainship of the Clann Colmain, or of East

Meath. The *Four Mast.* (862=864) call him "the second lord that was over Meath;" and the *Annals of Ulster* (863=864) "half King of Meath." This alludes to the partition of Meath into two kingdoms by Aedh Oirnidhe in 802 (797 of the *Four M.*), to which Conchobhar, son of Donnchadh (afterwards King of Ireland) and his brother Ailill were appointed. King Aedh's object evidently was to strengthen himself by weakening the power of the Clann Colmain in Meath. At the time here spoken of, Lorcan, son of Cathal, was lord of one half of Meath, and Conchobhar of the other. Lorcan was blinded by Aedh Finnliath, still jealous of the Meath chieftains, and Conchobhar was drowned, as the *Four M.* tell us, at Cluain-Iraird (now Clonard) by Anlaff, lord of the Gaill. This Conchobhar was probably a grandson of King Conchobhar. He is called "son of Donnchadh" in the text, and also by the *Four M.*, the *Ann. of Ult.*, and the *Brussell's Fragments* (p. 157), as well as by Keating (reign of Aedh Finnliath). We must, therefore, reject the reading of O'Clery's MS. of the present work where he is called "Son of Cineadh." See Gen. Table II., p. 246.

⁴ *Cluain-Daimh.* This place is now unknown. The word signifies "Plain or Lawn of the Deer or Oxen." The Deisi Bregb, whose territory is represented by the two baronies of Deece, county of Meath, are probably intended.

faeladh,¹ king of Muscraighe Breoghain, and the smothering of Muchdaighren, son of Rechtabrat, in a cave. The destruction of Caitill Find,² (Ketill the White) and his whole garrison. This latter chieftain, judging by his name, was probably a Norseman; but some authorities call him Cathal; and we learn from the Annals of Ulster that his followers were the Gaill-Gaedhil, or apostate Irish. We are told also that the battle was in the districts of Munster; but no other clue is given to the position of the fortress of Gaill-Gaedhil to which this garrison belonged, which is not noticed in the Four Masters. His "destruction" in the Ulster Annals is dated 856, equivalent to 857.

The death of Maelgualai, son of Dungaile, king of Munster, his back being broken by a stone, is the next exploit of the Danes recorded by our author. Its date³ is 859. The next clause is obscure—"they were all killed by the men of Munster:" this seems to mean that the men of Munster, in other words the army of the king of Munster, notwithstanding the loss of its sovereign, gained a complete victory over the enemy; but are Ona, Scolph, and Tomar (see p. 23), the chieftains whose troops were cut off? Or are they Scandinavian leaders fighting on

Death of
Maelgualai,
King of
Munster.

¹ *Cennfaeladh*. This passage is so corrupt that it is difficult to guess at the original reading, especially as the Annals make no mention of these events. The son of Cennfaeladh is not named. See the various readings, note ^a, p. 22. For an account of the districts called Musc-raighe or Muskerri, see O'Donovan, *Book of Rights*, p. 42, n. O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 322. Muscraighe Breoghain was a part of the present barony of Clanwilliam, county of Tipperary.

² *Caitill Find*. Ware calls him Cathaldus albus; *Antiq.* p. 128, *Ed. 2da.*, and Cathal Finn is the reading of B. That name would be Irish; or an Irish spelling of the Norse name *Ketill*. The Dublin Ann. of Inisfallen

(857) call him *Cartan*, or *Carthan Finn*, a name which looks like the Scandinavian *Kiartan*. Dr. O'Connor (*Ann. Ult.*), although his text reads *Caittil find*, translates "de Cathaldo albo." In his edition of the Dublin Ann. Inisf. he omits the years 856, 857, 859, and part of 860. Mr. Robertson has suggested that the Caitill Finn here mentioned may have been the Ketill Flatnef (Flatnose), of Scandinavian history, *Scotland under her early Kings*, p. 44. But Caitill Finn is said by our author to have been killed on this occasion, 857, a fact that cannot be reconciled with the history of Ketill Flatnose.

³ *Date*. Four M., 857. *Ult.*, 858 really, 859.

the side of the Munster army, and therefore sharers in the victory¹? The fragment of this work in the Book of Leinster adds the name of Turgesius to the other three—which, if it be not a mistake, must intend a different Turgesius from the celebrated usurper of the See of Armagh. The whole of this passage, however, is evidently corrupt.²

Arrival of
Oisill or
Oisli.

We read next of the arrival of a chieftain³ whose name in MSS. of the present work is written Ossill, and Oisli, the true Scandinavian name having perhaps been *Ossur*, or possibly *Flosi*, as other spellings of the name such as Uailsi or Vailsi, lead us to conjecture. He is styled by our author “son of the king of Lochlann,” but he can scarcely be the same as the chieftain whose exploits, under the name of Auisli or Uailsi, are narrated by the Annals of Ulster and the Four Masters. For the Ossill of our author is represented as having fallen in a battle with the Irish in Munster, whereas the Uailsi of the Annals was slain by his own brethren.⁴

His defeat
and death.

Ossill, we are told, succeeded in plundering “the greater part of Ireland.” How long a time this occupied is not recorded; but his army was cut off with a loss of five hundred men,⁵ and he himself slain “by the men of Erin” in Munster. Some MSS. attribute this victory to the “men

¹ *Victory*. The reading of L. (see note ³, p. 23) favours the former of these interpretations.

² *Corrupt*. B. omits the names of the Scandinavian leaders altogether: and the words of the text, *ceopu 7c.*, “one hundred and three,” are obscure. The contraction, *7c.*, “et cetera,” was probably mistaken for “et c.” i.e. “and one hundred,” and *ceopu*, “three,” was made *Turgeis*.

³ *Chieftain*. Chap. xxiv. See note ¹⁰, p. 23.

⁴ *Brethren*. “Auisle tertius rex gentiliū (the other two being Olaf

and Ivar) dolo et parricidio a fratribus suis jugulatus est,” *Ult.* 866. From this hint the Brussels Annals make Amlaff, Imhar, and Oisle to be three brothers, and give a minute account of the murder of the last. *Fragments of Annals*, p. 171. In another place (see p. 33) our author records the murder by Amlaibh, of his own brother, who is there called *Oisill*. There appear, therefore, to have been two of the name.

⁵ *Five hundred men*. The MS. L. omits the number of slain.

of Munster," instead of to the men of Erin, the distinction being that the former phrase denotes the clansmen or troops under the command of the provincial king of Munster, and the latter the troops of the *Ard-Ri*, or chief king of Ireland.

Although our author in this place has given us no means of ascertaining the exact date of this event, which is not noticed in the Annals, he assumes it to be well known, and goes on to tell us that in the same year another chieftain, whom he calls Colphinn,¹ with the fleet of Dun-Medhoin, was destroyed at Cenn Curraig. The Irish pursued them, with slaughter,² from Cenn Curraig to Lismore, and many of them were killed by Rechtabrat,³ son of Bran, chieftain of the Deisi, whose territory is represented by the districts now called Decies, in the county of Waterford. A reference to this victory in another place (see ch. xxix.) enables us to assign it to the year 869.

The Earl Baethbarr or Badbarr (probably *Bodvar*), who escaped from this slaughter with many followers, reached Dublin in safety, but was there soon afterwards drowned, "through the miracles of Ciaran and Aedh Scannail,"⁴ whose monasteries or religious houses he had besieged. No notice of this chieftain occurs in the Annals. In the same year⁵ Earl Tomar was killed, and his death is attri-

Destruction of
Colphinn
at Kin-
curry, A.D.
869.

Death of
the Earls
Badbarr
and Tomar.

¹ *Colphinn*. Not mentioned in the Annals. The true name was probably *Kolbein*. Dunmedhon (Middle-fort) is now unknown. Cenn Curraig, now Kincurry, is a small village on the banks of the Suir, not far from Clonmel, but in the county of Waterford.

² *Slaughter*. The literal translation is "They were in their being slaughtered from Cenn Curraig to Lismore."

³ *Rechtabrat*. The death of this chieftain is recorded by the Four M. at 874=876.

⁴ *Scannail*. Ciaran was, of course, the celebrated St. Kieran of Clonmacnois: but no saint named Aedh Scan-

nail is mentioned in the Martyrology of Donegal, or elsewhere so far as the Editor knows. The MS. B. reads "Ciaran and Aedh and Sgandall." If we follow this reading the churches intended are probably those of St. Kieran, of Clonmacnois; of St. Aedh, or Moedhog [Mogue] of Ferns; and of St. Scannall of Aghaboe, who died 774 (=780) Four M.

⁵ *Same year*. It is difficult to give much weight to these chronological notes: for in this case Tomar or Tomrair is said by the Four Masters to have been slain in the battle of Sciath Nechtain, A.D. 847. See p. 21, and p. lxxvii. above.

buted to the vengeance of St. Brendan, whose church at Clonfert he had plundered three days before.

Battle of
Loch
Foyle.

"In that year" also, our author says, the victory of Aedh Finnliath, king of Ireland, was gained over the Danes at Lough Foyle: but this battle is dated by the Four Masters 864, which is 867 of O'Flaherty's corrected Chronology, and therefore not the year to which the same Annalists have assigned the battle of Sciath Nechtain.

Baraid
with the
Dublin
garrison
plunders
from
Leinster
to Kerry.

We next read of a Scandinavian chieftain named Baraid or Barith, (possibly *Bárdr*), who, "with Amlaibh's son, and the fleet of Ath-Cliath," meaning the Scandinavian garrison of Dublin, plundered Leinster and Munster until they reached Ciarraighe, the present county of Kerry.¹ "And they left not," says our author, "a cave under ground that they did not explore; and they left nothing from Limerick to Cork that they did not ravage." The Annals² speak of a plundering of the caves in the territory³ of Flann, son of Conang, king of Bregia in Meath, under "the three chieftains of the foreigners," Amlaibh, Imhar, and Uisli, with Lorcan, son of Cathal, king of Meath. But our author here speaks of the plunder of the sepulchral caves by the army under the command of Baraid and Amlaibh's son,⁴ in their expedition from Leinster to Kerry and from Limerick to Cork; we may therefore infer that these caves contained treasures of gold and silver buried with the dead, of which the Northmen had discovered the intrinsic value, and therefore made it a practice to plunder such monuments wherever they found them.

Emly and
Decies
plundered.

On this expedition the ecclesiastical establishment of Imleach Ibhair (now *Emly*) was burned, and the southern Deisi, now Decies in the county of Waterford, ravaged.

¹ *Kerry*. Ch. xxv., p. 25. So the MS. B. interprets, by reading *Ciarraighe Luachra*. See above, p. lxv., n.

² *Annals*. Ult., 862. Four M., 861.

³ *Territory*. See Dr. O'Donovan's note, Four Mast. 861, p. 496.

⁴ *Amlaibh's son*. He is not named. Perhaps he may have been Thorstein the Red, son of Olaf the White. The death of Carlus, who is called son of Amlaibh, is recorded by the Four M. at 866=868.

Two years before,¹ the same party had plundered Meath and Connaught, as far as Corcumruadh, (now Corcomroe, county of Clare,) and Leim Concullain,² or Loophead: but they were ultimately killed by "the men of Erin."

The foreigners, under the command of Ragnall's son,³ were slaughtered by Aedh Finnliath, king of Ireland, at a banquet given to their chieftain at Dublin. This seems to imply that treachery was employed: but, on this occasion, Ragnall's son escaped, for he was slain, as our author tells us (p. 27), in a battle which took place soon afterwards between the Fair Gentiles and the Black Gentiles, the former being apparently under the command of Barith, who was wounded in the engagement, and is probably the same who was called Baraid just before. The MS. L. adds that Barith was lame ever after from this wound, and that the Black Gentiles "after this," meaning apparently in consequence of Barith's victory, were driven out of Ireland, and went to Alba, or Scotland, where they gained a battle over the men of Alba, in which Constantine, son of Cinaedh, or Kenneth, was slain, and many others with him. This event must be dated⁴ A.D. 877. The editor

The foreigners slaughtered by Aedh Finnliath.

The Black Gentiles take refuge in Scotland, A.D. 877.

¹ Before. This chronological note is omitted in the Book of Leinster.

² Leim Conchullain. "The Leap of Cuchullain." The modern name *Loop-head*, is a corruption of *Leap-head*. It is called *Jölduhlaup*, "mare's leap," in the *Landnamabok*, p. 5.

³ Ragnall's son. Sigurd-Serpent-eye is called Ragnvald, or Regnald, on the authority of *Regn. Lodbr. Saga*, *Langebek* II., p. 272, n. f, and by *Saxo Grammaticus* (lib. ix., p. 450), who mentions *Regnald*, *Witserc* [or *Hvitserk*] and *Eric*, as the three sons of *Regnar Lodbrok* by *Suanloag* [same as *Asloga*] dr. of *Sigurd Fofniaban*. *Langebek*, however (*loc. cit.*), seems to have been of opinion that *Regnald* is to be distinguished from *Sigurd*, who, he says, was the fifth and young-

est of *Ragnar Lodbrok's* sons by *Asloga*—"Itaque Sigurdus Anguiculus quintus fuit filius, et ceteris fratribus junior." See p. lvi., *supra*, n. 4.

⁴ Dated. *Ann. Ult.* 876; O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 485. Robertson's *Scotland under her early Kings*, I. p. 48, n. The *Ann. Ult.* have the following record of this battle under their year 874, "*Congressio Pictorum fri Dubgalla et strages magna Pictorum facta est. Oistin mac Amlaiph regis Norddman-norum ab Albann per dolum occisus est.*" "A battle of the Picts with the black foreigners, and a great slaughter was made of the Picts. Oistin [Eysteinn or Thorstein], son of Amlaf, king of the Northmen, was treacherously killed by the men of Alba." In the next year we read "*Constantinus mac*

has not found elsewhere any notice of the miraculous bursting open of the earth under the men of Alba, which is said to have occurred on this occasion.

The forty
years' rest,
(A.D. 875
to 915,
circiter.)

A period of "rest to the men of Erinn," we are told,¹ followed this expulsion of the invaders, and their victory in Scotland. For upwards of forty years, counted back from the year before the death of Flann Sionna,² king of Ireland, and the accession of his successor, Niall Glundubh, the country is said to have remained "without ravage from the foreigners;" and the annals undoubtedly support this assertion. During this period of forty years we read of no new arrivals of the Scandinavian invaders. The settlements already made in Ireland at Dublin, Limerick, Lough Foyle, and elsewhere, continued; churches were occasionally³

Cinaedha, rex Pictorum [moritur]:" which seems as if the Annalist did not suppose him to have fallen in the battle. The Chron. Pictorum (*Pinkerton's Enquiry*, I. p. 495,) makes Constantine the victor, and says that Amlaibh (read son of Amlaibh?) was slain. The Landnamabok, p. 107, tells us distinctly that Olaf the White was slain in Ireland; but the date of his death is not recorded in the Annals.

¹ *Told.* See ch. xxvi., p. 27.

² *Flann Sionna.* The Annals have recorded that Flann Sionna died on Saturday, the 8th of the Kalends of June, A.D. 916. Calculating, therefore, forty years from the year before, we have A.D. 875 as the commencement of the forty year's rest.

³ *Occasionally.* A few instances may be mentioned, from the Four Mast. In 883 [886] Kildare was plundered by the foreigners, who carried off to their ships fourteen score men with the prior Suibhne and valuable property. In 885 [888] the abbot and prior of Cluain-Uamha (Cloyne) were slain by the Northmen. In the same year King Flann was defeated by the Gaill

of Dublin, and the bishop of Kildare with others slain. In 886 [889] Ard-Breccan, Domnach-Patraic, Tuilen, and Glendaloch were plundered by the Gaill. In 887 [890] Kildare and Clonard were plundered, and there was a slaughter of the foreigners by the Hi Ambalgaidh (the men of Tirawley), in which Elair [Hilary], son of Baraid, was slain. In 888 [891] a battle was gained by Riagan, son of Dunghal, over the Gaill of Port Lairge (Waterford), Loch Carman (Wexford), and Teach Moling, in which 200 foreigners were slain. In 890 [893] Armagh was plundered by the Gaill of Dublin, under the command of Gluniarain (comp. Ann. Ult. 893). In the following year Flannagan, lord of Breagh, was slain by the Northmen, and a battle gained by the Conailli, in which were slain Amlaph, grandson of Ivar, and Gluntradhna, son of Gluniarain, with 800 of their men. These examples will suffice to show that the forty years' rest recorded by our author was a rest from fresh invasions only, and is not to be understood as implying an entire cessation of hostilities.

plundered, and there were conflicts now and then between the foreigners and the native chieftains. But during the whole reign of Flann Sionna, son of Maelseachlainn, there appears to have been no new arrival of a foreign fleet, no invasion properly so called; and the outrages recorded are all of the nature of those minor feuds which were continually going on between the native tribes and chieftains themselves. It was not until 913 (916), and again in 915 ^{New fleets at Waterford, A.D., 916.} (918), the year before the accession of Niall Glundubh, that the arrival of new fleets in Loch-da-Caech, the harbour of Waterford, is mentioned,¹ after which numerous reinforcements continued to pour in. There had been a settlement at Waterford before, for which reason that harbour appears to have been chosen as the head-quarters of the new comers. Haconn, or Hakon, and Cossa-Narra are said to have been the leaders of the expedition that arrived just before the death of Flann Sionna. The names of these chieftains are not mentioned in the Annals, nor in any other authority known to the editor. They appear to have commenced at once the subjugation of Munster, but were defeated in three or four battles in Kerry² and in Tipperary. The Northmen of Limerick seem to have come to their assistance, but were defeated by the men of Connaught, and again by the men of Kerry and Corcobhaiscinn at the river Lemain, now the Laune near Killarney.

Next came a "prodigious royal fleet" of the Clann ^{The Clann Ivar.}

Keating speaks of a state of peace and prosperity, which he attributes to the wise rule of the celebrated Cormac Mac Cuillenain, king of Munster and bishop of Cashel (p. 519, *O'Mahony's Transl.*) But as Cormac reigned for seven years only, his reign can only be taken as a very small part of the forty years' rest, and other causes must have been at work to extend "the rest" for so long a period to the whole of Ireland.

¹ *Mentioned.* Ann. Ult. 912, 913.

Four M. 910, 912, 913 (really 913, 915, 916). See also *Fragments of Annals*, p. 245.

² *Kerry.* The battle in Kerry is recorded by the Four M. at their year 915=A.D. 916, the first year of Niall Glundubh. The names of Thomas of Cinn Crede, Rolt Pudarill, or Rolt and Pudrall, and Murail or Smurall, mentioned in the text, do not occur elsewhere, and are probably corrupt. See the notes pp. 27, 28.

Imhar, or children of Ivar, to Dublin (chap. xxvii.), and plundered the greater part of Ireland. But what follows in the text gives birth to considerable chronological difficulties, and is inconsistent with the limits already assigned by our author to the forty years' rest. It is evident that the remainder of this chapter is misplaced and belongs to an earlier period. The defeat of Flann Sionna by the Danes of Dublin, in the battle wherein fell Aedh, son of Conchobhair, king of Connaught, Lergus, son of Cronecan, bishop of Kildare, and Donnchadh, son of Mael-duin, abbot of Delga or Kildalky, is dated by the Four Masters, 885 (= 888); and the other events mentioned are all grouped round¹ that year. They are, in fact, the exploits of an earlier party of the clann Ivar, who had settled in Dublin and were in alliance with Cearbhall, son of Dunghal, chieftain of Ossory, and king of Dublin.

History of
the Danes
of Dublin.

To make this clear it will be necessary to call to mind some particulars of the history of the Danes of Dublin. That fortress seems to have been originally founded² as a trading and military station by the "White Gentiles," who had established themselves in Ireland before the coming of the "Black Gentiles," or Danes. The arrival of these latter invaders is dated 851. Their chieftain Olaf [the White] came, we are told, to levy rents and tributes,³ but finding opposition from the Scandina-

¹ *Grouped round.* It has already been suggested that there must be some corruption in the words "the year in which Maelsechlainn was killed," and that the year in which Maelfebhail, daughter of Maelsechlainn, died (Four M. 884=887) may have been intended (see note, p. 233). The plunder of Cluain Uamba [Cloyne] and the death of its bishop-abbot Fergal, son of Finachta, and its prior Uanan or Uamanan, is dated 885=888 (Four M.) The death of Donnchadh, son of Dubhdaboirenn, king of Munster, is also placed by the Four

M. in the same year (they do not say that he was killed); but they make no mention of the death of Sitric, or the burning of Lismore by the son of Imhar.

² *Founded.* See p. lxii. The Four Masters record the first taking of Dublin or Athcliath at 836 (838); and the erection of the fortress (longport) there 840 (842).

³ *Tributes.* Fragments of Annals, p. 125, 127. The Four Masters mention the first coming of the Dubhgall to Dublin, at 849 (851); and the first coming of Olaf, 851 (=853).

vians already in possession of the country, he left suddenly, probably to seek reinforcements. In 856 he returned to Ireland, and received the submission of all the foreign tribes.¹ At this time he probably obtained possession of Dublin, and is said to have been joined by "his younger brother, Ivar," who seems to have followed him on this occasion, or to have accompanied² him at his first coming to Ireland.

There was however another Ivar, the leader of a more considerable party, who, about four years later, invaded East Anglia, where he was met by Amlaff, from Scotland. This was most probably Ivar Beinlaus,³ son of Regnar Lodbrok, who is called by the Ulster Annals⁴ "Rex Nordmannorum totius Hiberniæ et Britanniae." He was the same Ivar who became king of Northumbria, and was the founder⁵ of the Scandinavian dynasty in that country, which was afterwards so closely connected with the Danish kings of Dublin. He appears to have arrived at the time when Amlaf, or Olaf the White, with Auisle [or Flosius] was in Pictland, with all the Gaill of Ireland and Scotland, where they "plundered all Pictland, and took Hostages."⁶ In this year (866), says Ethelwerd,⁷ the only

Arrival of
Ivar, king
of North-
umbria.

¹ *Tribes.* Fragments of Annals, A.D. 856, p. 135.

² *Accompanied.* See Fragments of Annals, p. 127. The Sagas, however, do not seem to have recorded any Ivar, brother of Olaf the White. It is possible that what is here said of his younger brother Ivar is a mistake, and that Ivar Beinlaus is intended. He is not called the brother of Olaf by the Ann. Ult. or by the Four M. There is confusion between the names Ingvar, Igwar, Imar, Ivar, Ifar, in the English as well as in the Irish Chronicles.

³ *Beinlaus.* Or the Boneless.

⁴ *Annals.* Ult. 872 (=873) which was the year of his death. Annal. Island, p. 5.

⁵ *Founder.* In *Olaf's Tryggvasonars*

Saga (c. 64, p. 117), *Kaupmanna*. 1825, (*Fornmanna Sögur*, vol. 1.), we are told that Ivar Beinlaus had no children, and was incapable of having any. But this, perhaps, signifies only that he had gone to England, and having never returned, there was no record of his children in the Scandinavian Chronicles. Thorkelin, Fragments of Engl. and Irish Hist. (*Nordymra*, p. 26), mentions Ingvar and Husta, two sons of Ivar by a concubine. In the English and Irish records he is evidently the ancestor of the Clanna Ivar or Hy Ivar, who were the kings of Northumbria and Dublin.

⁶ *Hostages.* Ann. Ult. 865 (=866).

⁷ *Ethelwerd.* Monumenta Hist. Brit., p. 512, E. Angl. Sax. Chron. 867.

English historian by whom the leader of the expedition is named, the fleets of King Ivar arrived, "advectæ sunt classes tyranni Igwares." The two chieftains uniting their forces crossed the Humber to York, and slew the kings Osbright and Ella¹; they remained a year at York,² and the next year (870 or 871) returned to Dublin from Scotland with booty³ and captives. Ivar died⁴ in 872 or 873, four or five years before the commencement of the forty years' rest chronicled by our author. In 875 Oistin or Eystein, (probably the same as Thorstein the Red), son of Amlaff, was slain *per dolum*, as the Ulster Annals say, in Scotland⁵; and in the same year, or the year before, Cearbhall (*pron.* Carroll), son of Dunghall, chieftain of Ossory, succeeded Ivar Beinlaus as king of Dublin,⁶ and

¹ *Ella.* Ann. Ult. 866; Anglo-Sax. Chron. 867; Lappenberg (Thorpe's transl.) ii., 33, 34.

² *York.* Anglo-Sax. Chron. 868-9.

³ *Booty.* Ann. Ult. 870 [871]. Amlaf's fortress (Longport) at Clondalkin had been burned by the Irish (865=868, *Four Mast.*), who gibbeted 100 heads of the slain; the next year his son Carlus fell in battle. These outrages probably excited his thirst for vengeance; and on his return in 870, he plundered and burned Armagh (*Four Mast.* 867=870). The A. S. Chron. expressly mentions Inguar (or Ivar) and Ubba as the chieftains who slew King Eadmund in 870. See above, p. lvi.

⁴ *Died.* Ann. Ult. 872; Ann. Inisf. (Dubl.) 873.

⁵ *Scotland.* Ann. Ult. 874; Robertson's Scotland under her early King's, I. p. 47.

⁶ *Dublin.* See the Genealogy of Cearbhall, *O'Donovan's Tribes and Territories of Ancient Ossory* [enlarged from Trans. Kilkenny Archæol. Soc. Dublin, 1851], pp. 11-13. This chieftain had formed an alliance with the Danes of Dublin soon after their

arrival; and indeed Thorstein, Olaf's son, was married to Thurida, Cearbhall's grand-daughter, by his daur. Rafertach, who had married the celebrated Eyvind Austmann, so called because he had come to the Hebrides from Sweden. In 856 (Four M.) really 857 or 858, we find Cearbhall in alliance with Ivar (probably the same who is called Olaf's brother), and they vanquished the Cinel Fia-chach (who seem to have had the Gaill Gaedhil of Leth Cuinn, or the northern half of Ireland, on their side,) in a battle fought in Aradh-tire, now the barony of Arra or Dunharra, county of Tipperary. Cearbhall then attacked Leinster, probably with a view to the possession of Dublin, and took hostages, amongst whom was Cairbre, son of Dunlang, heir apparent to the sovereignty of Leinster. The next year he attacked Meath, in alliance with Amlaff and Imhar (Four M.); but the Synod of Rath-aedhamac Bric, now Rath-hugh, in Westmeath, under the bishop of Armagh and the abbot of Clonard, made a temporary peace between the contending parties. It was in 865, according to

continued to be recognised as such until his death in 888. It is evident that during his reign the Scandinavian leaders had abandoned to him and their other followers the care of their colony at Dublin. His death seems to have created in the native chieftains the hope of obtaining possession of the fortress by the expulsion of the Danes; for in that very year Flann,¹ king of Ireland, joining his forces to those of the king of Connaught, and aided by the ecclesiastical authorities of Leinster, attempted the overthrow of the Danish dynasty of Dublin, but was defeated, as we have seen, with the loss of almost all his allies.

"Four years after this," adds our author, (meaning apparently four years after the death of Donnchadh, king of Munster, or A.D. 888, and the other contemporary events recorded in this chapter,) "the foreigners left Ireland and went to Alba with Sitriuc, son of Ivar."² This clause,

The Danes of Dublin leave Ireland for Scotland.

the *Ann. Ult.*, that Amlaff and Auisle went to Scotland, and plundered all Pictland. It is doubtful whether this event or the death of Ivar in 873 should be regarded as the occasion which enabled Cearbhall to make himself king of Dublin. His reign is not recognised by the *Irish Annals*, possibly because of its connexion with the Danish usurpation. It is a remarkable proof of the importance of Dublin as a Danish settlement that Cearbhall, king of Dublin, (*Kiarvalr ar Dyfflini á Irlandi*) is enumerated amongst the principal sovereigns of Europe at the period of the occupation of Iceland. *Landnám.* p. 4.

To the English historians Dublin was wholly unknown; it is mentioned but once in the *A. S. Chron.*, and then only incidentally, as the place to which the defeated Northmen retired after the battle of Brunanburg (937-8). Cearbhall's death is recorded by the *Four Mast.* 885 (=888); by the *Ann. Cambria*, 887; and by the *Brut y Tywysogion* in the same year.

¹ *Flann.* This prince was the son of Lann (or Flanna, as she is called, *Fragments of Annals*, p. 179), daughter of Dunghall or Dunlaing, lord of Os-sory, (and therefore sister of Cearbhall,) by Maelseachlainn, king of Ireland; after whose death, in 863, she married Aedh Finnliath, king of Ireland, the immediate predecessor of her son Flann—*Fragments of Annals*, pp. 129, 139, 157. She appears also to have had a son Cennedigh (or Kennedy) by Gaithin, lord of Leix, whether legitimately or not is not recorded. *Ibid*, pp. 157, 165, 173, 179. Aedh Finnliath had also married Maelmuri, (daughter of Cinaedh, or Kenneth mac Alpin), who was the mother of Niall Glundubh, and therefore probably Aedh's first wife—(Keating).

² *Sitriuc, son of Ivar.* Two chieftains, named Sitric, are mentioned in this chapter. One (styled "king of the foreigners," or as the *MS. B.* reads, "son of the king of the foreigners,") is said to have been killed with Donnchadh mac Dubhdabhoirenn, king of

however, does not appear in the MS. L, nor is the information it contains to be found in the Irish Annals. But it is remarkable that the Annals of Ulster, at their year 892 or 893, which is the fourth year after 888, mention a victory by the Saxons over the Black Gentiles with great slaughter, which was followed¹ by "a great internal dissension among the foreigners of Dublin, who divided themselves into factions, one part siding with the son of Imhar, and the other with Sichfrith the Earl." This dissension no doubt weakened the Dublin Danes, and the year noted by the Annals of Ulster, although not the exact date of their leaving Ireland, was perhaps the beginning of their loss of power. The exact year of their expulsion is given by the Four Masters 897, really 900, and by the Annals of Ulster,² 901 or 902. It appears that in that year a new attack was organized against the Danes of Dublin, headed by Maelfinnia, king of Bregia, and by Cearbhall, son of Muiregan, king of Leinster; the confederates succeeded in displacing the foreign garrison, who "escaped half dead across the sea," leaving behind them a great many of their

Munster, in 888; but there seems some confusion about him. L. calls him "*Siugrad*, son of Imar, king of the foreigners," p. 233; and the Ann. Ult. at 887 = 888, have "*Sicfrith mac Imar rex Nordmannorum a fratre suo occisus est.*" *Siugrad*, if the *u* be pronounced *v*, does not differ essentially from *Sicfrith*; the name is frequently used as identical with *Sitric* and *Sigurd*, even by Scandinavian writers. The other *Sitriuc* is spoken of as the leader of the foreigners who left Ireland, and went to Scotland, in 902. A third *Sitriuc* (if he be not the same as the first) is mentioned by the Ann. Ult. 895 (896): "*Sitriuce mac Imair ab aliis Nordmannis occisus est.*" Of him, most probably, at 893 (894), the same Annals say "*Mac Ivar*" (but without naming him) "came again to

Ireland." *Mac Imhar iterum vocum nEppenn.*

¹ *Followed.* It is not, however, said expressly that the one was the consequence of the other, although the two events are recorded in immediate juxtaposition.

² *Ulster.* The event is thus recorded by the Ulster Annals: "The banishment of the Gentiles from Ireland, i.e., from the fortress of Dublin, by Maelfinnia, son of Flannagan, with the men of Bregh, and by Cerbhall, son of Muirgan, with the men of Leinster, so that they left great numbers of their ships behind them, and escaped half dead across the sea wounded and broken." Comp. Robertson, *Scotland under her early Kings*, vol. i., p. 56, sq.

ships. The Four Masters add that they were afterwards besieged, and reduced to great straits, at Inis mac Nesain, now Ireland's Eye,¹ where they appear to have taken refuge on their way to Scotland. The Annals make no mention of their leader on this occasion; the present work is the only authority which tells us that he was Sitriuc, son of Imhair, apparently not the same as "Sichfrith the Earl,"² who is distinguished in the Annals of Ulster from "the son of Imhair" as having been the leader of the party opposed to him.

It appears then that the forty years' "rest," interpreted as a rest from fresh invasions, although it is not expressly mentioned in the Annals, is perfectly consistent with the events recorded by them; and that there was such a period of rest is incidentally confirmed by the circumstance mentioned in the Annals of Ulster, that in 877 (878), about three years after the commencement of the forty years' rest, the Scrinium, or shrine of St. Columcille, with his *minna* or precious things,³ were removed to Ireland "to protect them from the foreigners;" and the year before *i.e.*, 876 (877), as the same Annals⁴ inform us, Ruaidhri, son of Murminn [Mervyn], king of Britain or Wales, fled to Ireland to escape the Dubhgaill or Danes.

Ireland was therefore then regarded as a place of comparative safety; and the absence of fresh inroads during the long period of forty years, may possibly be accounted for by the hope of more valuable booty held out to the Northmen of Ireland, by the extensive depredations⁵ of their

¹ *Ireland's Eye*, antiently Inis Faithlenn, *Mart. Doneg.* (15 March). A small island north of Howth. *Eye* here is the Scandinavian *Ey*, insula, not the English *Eye*, oculus. Inis mac Nechtain, in the printed text of the Four M., is a mere error of transcription.

² *Sichfrith the Earl*. There was a Sigfried, Earl of Orkney, at this time.

³ *Precious things*. See Reeves's *Adamnan*, p. 315, sq.; *Ann. Ult.* 877; *Four M.* 875 (=878).

⁴ *Annals*. *Ult.* 876; *Four M.* 874. See also Keating (reign of Aedh Finnlíath).

⁵ *Depredations*. See Depping, *Hist. des expéditions des Normands et leur établissement en France*—(Livre III.) *Paris*, 1843. Biörn Ironside, son of Ragnar Lodbrok, is said to have been the leader in some of the earlier depredations of the Northmen on the Continent of Europe. *Ibid.* p. 135.

The forty years' rest, incidentally confirmed.

Its probable cause.

countrymen at that period on the Rhine, in France, Brittany, Italy, and other parts of the Continent of Europe, as well as in Great Britain.

Arrival of
Danes at
Waterford.

The reinforcements which came to the Danes of Waterford¹ are next mentioned, chap. xxviii. They are described as "innumerable hordes," under the command of Ragnall, grandson of Ivar, and of the Earl Ottir. This latter chieftain is not mentioned in the Annals, although they record at A.D. 916 (first year of Niall Glundubh) the arrival of Ragnall,² grandson of Ivar, to reinforce the foreigners already established at Waterford. In chap. xxxv. we have mention of an earl called Ottir Dubh, or the black, who came with 100 ships to Waterford, and put all Munster under tribute. We read also in the Annals of Ulster, A.D. 913, of a Barid, son of Ottir, who was killed in battle at the Isle of Man, by Ragnall, on his way to Waterford.³ Ottir, or Ottar, the father of this Barid, can scarcely have been the same Ottar the Earl, who accompanied Ragnall three years afterwards as his ally and joint commander of reinforcements to the Danes of Waterford.

Munster
plundered.

After some exploits⁴ of minor importance, this party of

¹ *Waterford*. Called in the text Loch Daccaech: the estuary or bay of Daccaech, for so the word Loch here signifies. See above, p. xxxi., n. Daccaech (according to the *Drimseanchus*) is the name of a woman. The Four M. first mention the settlement of Danes in Waterford at A.D. 912—*Ann. Ult.* 913.

² *Ragnall*. He is called king of the black foreigners, or Danes, by the Four Masters, 915; *Ult.* 916. At 913 (*Ult.*), and 912 (Four M.), we have mention of "a great new fleet of gentiles at Loch Daccaoch." We ought, perhaps, to infer from this that the reinforcements recorded in the text arrived between the years 913 and 916.

³ *Waterford*. The words are "Bel-

lum navale oc [i.e. *apud*] Manainn et ip̃ [inter] Barid Mac nOitir, et Ragnall ua Imair, ubi Barid pene cum omni exercitu suo deletus est." *Ann. Ult.* 913. Dr. O'Connor (*Rer. Hib. Scriptt.* iv. p. 247,) reads *Barid mac Noctir*, a mistake for Mac n-Oitir. Mr. Robertson (*Scotland under her early Kings*, i. p. 57,) has it "Barid mac Nocti." The Dublin MS. of the Ulster Annals has *Mac n-Oitir*, "son of Oitir," which is evidently the true reading.

⁴ *Exploits*. These were, the murder of Domhnall or Donnell, son of Donnchadh, heir apparent of Cashel, who was probably son of Donnchadh mac Dubhdabhoirenn, king of Munster (see App. B., p. 238); the plunder of Musc-

invaders divided themselves into three companies, one of which took up their station at Corcach,¹ the other at Inis-na-hEidhnighi, in Kerry, and the third at Glas-Linn. From these garrisons they plundered the whole of Munster, so that there was not a house left standing from the river,² meaning, perhaps, the Shannon, southward to the sea; and it is particularly mentioned that Gebennach, son of Aedh, king of the Ui Conaill Gabhra,³ was beheaded by them. A chronological note is added that this conquest of Munster took place in the year *before* the death of Flann Sionna. This ought perhaps to have been the year *after*,⁴ or A.D. 917.

A paragraph which stands in the text at the end of the next chapter,⁵ is obviously misplaced, and ought to come in here; all that intervenes belongs to an earlier period, and is evidently an interpolation.⁶ The paragraph alluded to records the flight or banishment of Ragnall and Ottir into Scotland, where they were defeated, and both chieftains slain by Constantine, son of Aedh. This battle, according to some English authorities, took place at Tynemore, or Tynemoor,⁷ in the year 918;

raighe [now Muskerry, co. of Cork,] and of Ui Cairpre, or Ui Cairpre Aebhdha, in the co. of Limerick. (*Book of Rights*, p. 77.)

¹ *Corcach*, now Cork; Inis-na-hEidhnighi, now Iny, in Kerry; Glas-Linn, (probably on the Shannon; see *Tribes and Customs of Hy Many*, p. 130, n.)

² *River*. The original word is *lu*, a stream, flood, or river, written also *li*, *liu*; (Welsh, *Llif*, the sea); probably cognate with *f-lu-men*, and with the Irish *li-nao*, to fill. It is also the name of the river Lee, which is generally written *laoi*, *O'Flaherty*, *Ogyg.*, p. 164. In this sense it has been taken in the translation, p. 31, and p. 234. But the district from the Lee to the sea southwards would be a very small portion of the country.

³ *Ui Conaill Gabhra*. See note, p.

31, and comp. *Book of Rights*, p. 76, n. The descent of this tribe is given App. B., *Genealog. Table V*. For the other chieftains slain, see p. 31, and note ².

⁴ *After*. We have already had occasion to notice the ambiguity of the phrase *pe nec*, which may signify *before* or *after* the death, perhaps according to the pronunciation of *pe*. See p. lxix, n. Flann Sionna died 8 Kal. Jun. 916. *Ogyg.*, p. 434. This chronological clause does not occur in the ancient MS. of the present work, and is therefore probably an interpolation.

⁵ *Next chapter*. See p. 35.

⁶ *Interpolation*. See p. 34, and n. ², p. 234-5.

⁷ *Tynemoor*. Innes, *Critical Essay*, App. 3. Simeon Dunelm. says, at Corbridge-on-Tyne, ii., c. 16.

Battle of
Tynemoor.

and the Annals of Ulster, at that date, give a more circumstantial account of it than is customary with them; but without saying where the battle was fought. They tell us that Ragnall was accompanied by two earls, Ottir and Gragaban,¹ with some others whom the annalist calls *og-tigherna*, "young chieftains." The North Saxons also were in alliance with "the men of Alba;" which circumstance seems to prove that Ragnall's object was to secure his right to the sovereignty of Northumbria, and consequently he was resisted. He divided his forces into four battalions—one led by his brother Godfrith, grandson of Ivar; one by the two earls; one by "the young chieftains;" and the fourth kept in concealment or ambuscade by himself. The united forces of Constantine and his Saxon allies soon routed the first three battalions, and "there was a great slaughter of the Gentiles round Ottir and Gragaban." Then Ragnall attacked the victors in the rear, and rendered the result of the battle doubtful; "for neither king nor *mormaer* [great steward or earl]" was slain by the Danes, and "night alone put an end to the conflict." In other words the battle was a drawn one.² It is not said in the Ulster Annals that Ragnall or Ottir, or any other of the leaders, was slain; but we infer that at least Ragnall, grandson of Ivar, whom they call "king of the Fingall and Dubhgall," survived; for they record his death three years after the battle,³ A.D. 921.

¹ *Gragaban*. 1m Ḡraggabain, "with Graggaban." It is evident that this is the name or surname of a man. He is not mentioned in the other Annals; but Simeon Dunelm. in his shorter Chron. (*Monum. Hist. Brit.* p. 686, B.) at the year 812, mentions this chieftain under the name of *Osvul Cracabam*, in these words, "Reingwold Rex, et Oter Comes, et Osvul Cracabam irruperunt et vastaverunt Dunblin" [Dunblain]. In Lappenberg's Hist. of England (Thorpe's ed. ii. p. 94) Cracabam is mistaken for the

name of a place. But it is a well known name or surname, and is supposed to signify *crow-foot*, indicating skill in augury. See Langebek, ii. p. 153, n.

² *A drawn one*. Ann. Ult. 917 (918). Dr. Reeves has given this passage in the original, and with a translation, *Adamnan*, p. 332, n. See a good account of this battle in Robertson's *Scotland under her early Kings*, i. p. 57, sq.

³ *Battle*. Ann. Ult. 920, al. 921.

The other events recorded in this chapter (xxix.), which, as we have said, are not in their chronological order, fall within the period which our author calls "the rest," that is to say, the forty years during which there were no fresh invasions of Ireland. These were "an extraordinary and indescribable slaughter of the foreigners at Dun Main,¹ in the west of Ireland," or, according to another reading, in the west of Munster. The Dun itself was demolished, and was therefore probably a fortress of the enemy; for the victors were the principal tribes of the south-west of Ireland, namely, the Eoghanacht of Loch Lein, or Killarney, under the command of their chieftain, Conligan,² son of Maelcron; the Ui Conaill Gabhra, of Limerick, under Flannabrat, or Flannery, grandson of Dunadach,³ their king; and the Ciarraighe, or men of Kerry, under their chieftain, Congalach,⁴ son of Lachtna.

Our author fixes the date of this great victory by telling us that in the same year the following events took place:—1. Colphinn⁵ was slain at Cenn Curraigh, and Baethbarr was slain at Dublin. 2. Amlaff plundered Lismore. 3. Foenteran, son of Drognean, chieftain of the Fir Muighi (now Fermoy), burned Amlaff's camp on the same night, in revenge for the plunder of Lismore. 4. After which Amlaff murdered⁶ his own brother, Osill, or Oislé. These calamities were brought upon the Danish chieftains by the miraculous vengeance of St. Mochuda,⁷ patron of Lismore, for their sacrilegious plundering of that sacred place.

¹ *Dun Main*. This place is not mentioned in the Annals. There is a Dunmaine in the west of Kerry. Dun-Medhoin is mentioned, p. 25, which is perhaps another spelling of the name.

² *Conligan*. This chieftain is not mentioned in the Annals, although the *Four M.* record the death of his father, Maelcron, at their year 837.

³ *Dunadach*. He died 833 (=835), *Four M.* See App. B., Genealog.

Table V., No. 20. Flannabrat was killed, A.D. 876 (=878). *Four M.*

⁴ *Congalach*. He is not mentioned in the Annals.

⁵ *Colphinn*. See chap. xxiv., p. 26, and p. lxxiii above.

⁶ *Murdered*. See Fragments of Annals, p. 171, and p. lxxii., *supra*.

⁷ *Mochuda*. Called also Carthach, from the name of his master, St. Cathach. See Mart. Donegal, 14 May, p. 127. His original name was Cuda.

Slaughter
of the
Gaill at
Dun Main

Contem-
porary
events.

Their date
deter-
mined.

Unfortunately, however, none of these events are mentioned in the Irish Annals, and therefore we are ignorant of their precise dates. But the next paragraph in our author's narrative enables us to supply this defect. He there tells us that this was the same year in which Aedh Finnliath, king of Ireland, with Conchobhair,¹ or Conor, king of Connaught, gained the battle of Cill Ua nDaighre² over "the Fair Gentiles," six years after the death of King Maelseachlainn, and therefore A.D. 869.

The battle
of Cill Ua
nDaighre
or Killi-
neer.

It appears from the curious account of this battle given in the Brussels "Fragments of Annals," that it originated in some insult offered to King Aedh Finnliath, by his nephew Flann,³ king of the Cianachta Bregh, who called to his assistance the crews of a fleet of Norsemen, at that time anchored at the mouth of the Boyne. He had also as his allies the men of Leinster, and thus was considerably superior in point of numbers to the king of Ireland. Nevertheless he was defeated with great slaughter, and beheaded. The chronicle⁴ represents the victory as due

¹ *Conchobhair*. See Dr. O'Donovan's note ^b, *Four M.* 866, p. 504.

² *Cill Ua n-Daighre*: now Killineer, near Drogheda. (See *Fragments of Annals*, p. 183, n.)

³ *Flann*. The Annals of Ulster (867) give the following account of this battle—"Bellum [battle gained] by Aedh Mac Neill, at Cill-ua-nDaigri, over the Hy Niall of Bregia and the Leinstermen, and over the great army of the Gaill, i.e. 300, or 900, or more. In which fell Flann, son of Conang, king of all Bregia, and Diarmait, son of Edirscail" [Driscoll], "king of Loch Gabhor" [Loch Gower or Lagore, near Dunshaughlin, co. of Meath] "et in isto bello plurimi Gentilium trucidati sunt. And Fachtna, son of Maelduin, *righdomhna* [heir apparent] of the North, fell in the heat of the

battle, et alii multi." Flann was the son of Conang, or Conall, king of the Cianachta (or posterity of Cian) of Bregia, by a daughter of Niall Caille, whose name is not preserved, and sister of Aedh Finnliath. To her the poem quoted in the text is ascribed; and see the other poems quoted by the *Four M.*, A.D. 866 (=869), on the battle of Cill-Ua-nDaighri, showing that the victory was considered at the time one of great triumph and importance.

⁴ *Chronicle*. *Fragments of Annals*, p. 181, sq. Before the battle, Aedh is represented as reminding his army that "it is not by force of soldiers that a battle is gained, but by the aid of God and the righteousness of the prince. Pride" (he adds) "and superfluous forces are not pleasing to God, but humility of mind and firmness of

to the piety and Christianity of King Aedh, who spared the men of Leinster after the battle, as being Christians, and turned his troops altogether against the Pagan Norsemen.

The events recorded in the next chapter (xxx.) are dated in the year "in which Niall-Glun-dubh became monarch of Ireland," or A.D. 916. At this epoch Sitric, grandson of Ivar, and brother of Ragnall of Waterford, of whom we have just spoken, came with another fleet and settled at Cenn Fuait.¹ From this place they plundered Leinster, and soon afterwards gained a great battle over the king of Leinster. Our author does not say where; but the Annals of Ulster and the Four Masters tell us expressly that the battle was at Cenn Fuait, which was probably somewhere near the coast of the counties of Kilkenny or Wexford. After their victory² they went northwards

Battle of
Cenn Fuait.

heart." Flann, on the other hand, avows to his followers that his sole object is ambition, "to gain the throne of Ireland or be killed." Again King Aedh exhorts his soldiers "Think not of flight, but trust in the Lord, who gives victory to the Christians;" and after the battle, "Beloved people spare the Christians, and fight against the idolaters, who are now routed before you." It appears, therefore, that the religious element had begun to make itself felt in the contest between the parties.

¹ *Cenn Fuait*: "Fuait's Head." This place, Dr. O'Donovan conjectures (*Four M.* 915, notes, p. 589, 560), is now Confey, in the county of Kildare, near Leixlip, (the Danish *Lax-lep*, Salmon Leap,) in the barony of *Salt* (*Saltus Salmonis*). But the Annals of Ulster, at 916 (*Four M.* 915), tell us that Cenn Fuait was *na n-uisce* *Leinster*, "in the East, or anterior part of Leinster;" and it must have been near the sea, as Sitric, "with his fleet," settled

there. A poem, quoted by the *Four M.*, seems to speak of the battle (if it be the same) as having taken place in "a valley over Tigh Moling," which may signify either Timolin, in the south of the county of Kildare, or St. Mullins on the Barrow, in the south of the county of Carlow. This latter place may have been approached by water, from Waterford, and as it is situated at the foot of Brandon Hill, the battle may have been in some "valley over Tigh Moling," and the Danish fortress called Cenn Fuait, on some head in the mountain, accessible to light ships by the Barrow.

² *Victory*. In the battle we are told were slain 600, with fifty kings. The following are named:—1. Ugair, son of Ailill, king of Leinster, whose father was also slain by the Norsemen in 871 (*Four M.* 869); 2. Maolmordha, son of Muiregean, king of western (or more probably eastern) Liffey. See note 4, p. 84. That part of the county of Kildare which lies between

and plundered Kildare, and "the greater part of the churches of Erin."

The Clanna
Ivar land
forcibly at
Dublin.

We next read of the arrival of another party of the Clanna Imhar, or children of Ivar, as the Irish call them. They came in "an immense royal fleet," under the command of Sitric, grandson of Ivar, to Dublin, where they "forcibly¹ landed," and encamped. Whether this was the same Sitric, grandson of Ivar, who was the leader of the Gentiles of Cenn Fuait three years before, is not certain. He is here called Sitric *Caech*, "the Blind," and by the Four Masters (at 917) Sitric *Gale*, a word which, if it be Irish, may signify "the champion" or "hero."

Battle of
Kilma-
shogue and
death of
Niall Glun-
dubh, 919.

Be this however as it may, King Niall Glundubh lost no time in mustering his clansmen and kindred from the north of Ireland. He attacked the invaders, and a great battle ensued in the mountains south of Dublin, where he himself was slain; twelve kings fell in the battle, with a great part of the nobles of the northern half of Ireland,

the river Lifè or Liffey and the sea, and is included in its horse-shoe winding, was eastern or Airther Lifè; the rest of the county was western or Iarthair Lifè (See Four M. 628, note 2, p. 250). 3. Mughron, son of Cenneidigh, king of Laighis (now Leix) and the three Comanns, (septs situated in the north of the county of Kilkenny. See Four M. 871, note 1, p. 516). His father, Cenneidigh, or Kennedy, was the son of Gaithin, by Lann, sister of Cearbhaill of Ossory. See above, p. lxxxi, note 1. 4. Cinaodh, son of Tuathal, king of the Ui Enechglais, a tribe seated in the barony of Arklow, county of Wicklow. They were descended from Bresail, surnamed Enechglais, or of the green face, son of Cathair Mór, king of Ireland in the second century (Four M. 915, p. 590). 5. Maelmoedhog, son of Diarmaid, abbot of Glenn Uissen, now Killeslin, Queen's county, in the territory of Ui

Bairche. He was probably abbat-bishop; and is called by our author Archbishop of Leinster, i.e. Ará- (chief or eminent) bishop, because of his eminence in learning, for the Four Mast. tell us that he was "a distinguished scribe, anchorite, and learned sage, in Latinity and in the Scotie speech." The Ann. Ult. call him "a sage, and bishop of Leinster." He is not mentioned by Ware or Harria, nor does his name occur in connexion with any of the known episcopal sees. There were no Archbishops, in the modern sense of the word, at that time in Ireland; see *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, p. 14, sq.

¹ *Forcibly*. We have seen that the foreigners were expelled from Dublin in 902 by the Irish chieftains, who probably still held possession of the place, and resisted the landing of the new invaders. This explains the phrase *an eiccin*, "by force."

and a "countless army besides." The Annals have recorded chronological criteria which place it beyond a doubt that Wednesday, September 15th, 919, was the precise date of this engagement, and the Four Masters tell us that the battle was fought at Cill Mosamhog,¹ now Kilmashogue, in the mountains near Rathfarnham, about six miles from Dublin.

The names of the twelve² kings or chieftains who were slain in the battle are then given in detail; and it is evident Twelve
kings slain.

¹ *Cill Mosamhog.* The church of Mosamhog. The name of this saint would be Samh, or perhaps Sabh, taking away the devotional prefix *mo*, my, and the termination *og*, little or young. But no such name has been found in the Irish Calendars. Sabia or Sabina, was the mother or grandmother of St. Cuthbert. The remains of a very large cromlech are still to be seen on Kilmashogue mountain, in the grounds of Glen Southwell, near St. Columba's College. This, in all probability, marks the grave of the chieftains and kings slain in the battle. Kilmocudrig, or the church of St. Cuthbert, now Kilmacud, is in the neighbourhood.

² *Twelve.* See note, p. 36, where the variations of the MSS. and other authorities in the list of the kings are collected. The Dublin MS., from which the text is taken, is the only authority which adheres to the number twelve. The names are there given thus:—1. Conchobhair, son of Mael-seachlainn I., heir apparent of Tara, that is, of the chieftainry of the Clann Colmain. (See Geneal. Table II., p. 246). 2. Conaing, son of Flann Sionna, heir apparent of Ireland (*ib.*) 3. Flaithbheartach, s. of Domhnall, another heir apparent of Ireland. 4. Aedh, son of Eochaidh [Eochagan, *Four M.* 917.] king of Uladh. Reeves's *Ecel. Antiq.*, p. 352, *sq.* 5. Maelnithigh, son of Flannagan, king of Bregia; a district including the counties of Meath, Westmeath, Dublin (north of the Liffey), and part of Louth (*Book of Rights*, p. 11, *n.*) 6. Eremhon, son of Cennedigh, chief of Cenel Mani, a tribe in Toffia, Westmeath. (*Ibid.*, p. 180, *n.*) 7. Congalach, son of Cele, king of Ua Mae Uais, now the barony of Moygoish, in Westmeath. 8. Congalach, son of Dreman, k. of Crimhthainn, now the barony of Lower Slane, in Meath. 9. Maelmuire, son of Ainbith, k. of Mugornn or Mugdhorn, now Cremorne [the anglicized form of Crloch Mughhorn], county of Monaghan. 10. Deochan, son of Domhnall, king of Cianachta, a district of Bregia, in Meath. 11. Dunan, or Diman, son of Cerballan. 12. Brenan, son of Fergus. These two last named are not elsewhere mentioned. The MS. B. adds the three following names—(see p. 36, *n.* 4):—1. Maeldubh, king of Oirghiall (Louth and Monaghan), [who is called Maelcroibhe Ua Dubhsionaigh, lord of Oirghiall, by the *Leabhar Gabhala* and *Four Mast.*, and Maelcraibi Mac Dubhsionaigh, king of the Airghiallu, by the *Ann. Ult.*] 2. Maelcraibi, son of Doilgen, whom the Four M. call king of Tortan, or of the Ui Tortain [a tribe of the Oirghialla seated near Arddracan in the co. of Meath]; and 3. Celalach, son of Fogartach, king of South Bregia.

that those who obeyed the summons of King Niall were the families immediately interested in the succession to the monarchy, namely, the tribes of Meath and those of Tyrone and Down. The possession of Dublin was of peculiar importance to the Clann Colmain, from the disposition shown by the neighbouring chieftains of Ossory and Leinster to make alliances with the invaders.

Godfrey,
grandson of
Ivar, plun-
ders Ar-
magh, A.D.
921.

In the next chapter (xxxii.) we read that Gothrin, Gofraigh, or Godfrey,¹ "son of Imar," plundered "the north of Erin," and spoiled Armagh. He must have been not son but *grandson* of Imar, as he is rightly styled in the Brussels Annals, and by the Four Masters. The attack upon Armagh is dated in the Annals,² Saturday, the day before the feast of St. Martin (Nov. 11), which indicates the year 921; and it is evident that the paragraph in which this event is recorded is out of its place, and ought to be at the end instead of the beginning of this chapter. For our author's next words (p. 37), "notwithstanding that *this battle* was gained over them," that is, over the Irish, evidently refer to the Battle of Kilmashogue, not to the battle (if there was one) in which Armagh was spoiled; but the words above quoted ought to have been rendered "that battle, however, was avenged on them in full measure³ before the end of a year," meaning, no doubt, a year after the battle of Kilmashogue; for Donnchadh, grandson⁴ of Maelseachlainn, gained a battle over the Danes at Tigh Mic Deicthig in which an im-

Battle of
Tigh Mic
Deicthig.

¹ *Godfrey*. The Annals of Ulster (921) record the death of Ragnall, "grandson of Ivar, king of the Finngall and Dubhgall; and immediately afterwards "Goithbrith, grandson of Ivar, in Athcliath;" in other words Gotfrith, immediately after the death of his brother Ragnall, came from Armagh to claim the sovereign power in Dublin, and to take advantage of the victory gained at Kilmashogue by his brother Sitric. See Appendix D, Geneal. Table, VII.

² *Annals*. Ult. 920 or 921. Four M. 919. See p. 37, n. 9.

³ *Measure*. The word *tomair* signifies measure. In the text, p. 36 (as Mr. Hennessy has pointed out), it was mistaken for a proper name.

⁴ *Grandson*. The text has *son*, which is a very common mistake, and in this case a palpable error of the scribe. See p. 37, n. 11, and Geneal. Table, II., p. 246. There is obscurity in our author's phraseology, "notwithstanding, however," (he says) "that this battle was gained over them," meaning the Irish, "Donnchadh gained a battle over them," meaning the Danes.

mense number of the enemy was slain, and there escaped "not more than enough to tell what had happened;" and "in this battle," say the Four Masters,¹ "revenge was had of them for the battle of Ath-cliath" (meaning the battle of Kilmashogue), "for there fell of the nobles of the Norsemen here, as many as had fallen of the nobles and plebeians of the Gaedhil in the battle of Ath-cliath."

The arrival of Tamar, or Tomar, "son of Elgi," is next recorded (chap. xxxiii.). He is said to have come "after that," that is either after the battle of Kilmashogue, which is most probably the meaning, or after the battle of Tigh-mic-Deicthig. He landed at Inis-Sibhtonn, now King's Island, at Limerick, with "an immense fleet," and plundered "the chief part of Munster, both churches and chieftainries." Our author adds that Lorcan,² son of Conligan, was king of Cashel at that time. Tomar was the name given by the Irish to the Scandinavian chieftain Gormo *Gamle* (the aged), called Mac Elgi, that is son (but perhaps grandson) of Gormo *Enski* (the *English*),³ the Guthrum of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, surnamed *Enski*, because he was born in England.

The next chapter (xxxiv.) speaks of a fleet on Loch A fleet on
Lough
Derg.

¹ *Four Masters*. The battle of Tigh mic Deicthig is placed by the Ann. Ult. in 919 or 920, and by the *Four M.* in the first year of King Donnchad, which began September 919; a year or two therefore before the spoiling of Armagh by Godfrey, and a year after the battle of Kilmashogue. Tigh-mic-Deicthig, is variously written. Tigh mic nEathach (*Four M.*), and Tigh mic Nechtaigh (B.): the words mean, House of the son of Deicthach, or Eochadh, or sons of Nechtach. The place is now unknown; but the *Four Masters* (A.D. 918, p. 599) tell us that it was in the district of Cianachta Bregh, in the counties of Meath and Dublin.

² *Lorcan*. He began his reign 920 (= 922), *Four M.* He was of the race

of Failbhe Flann, (son of Aedh Dubh), ancestor of the Hi Failbhe. See Geneal. Table, IV., No. 11, p. 248. His genealogy up to Aedh Dubh is given in the Book of Leinster thus: Lorcan, son of Conligan [sl. 898 = 901, *Four M.*], s. of Corcraín, s. of Core, s. of Artgall, s. of Domhnall, s. of Conall, s. of Snedgus, s. of Natfraich, s. of Colga, s. of Failbhe Flann, king of Munster, who died 638 (*Four M.* 633).

³ *English*. The Danish word *Enski* (English) was corrupted by the Irish into *Elgi*, *Ailche*, or *Ailge*. It is not so easy to see how Gormo became Tomar. See p. lxxvii, n. The genealogy of this Gormo, and of his successor Gormo Gamle (*grandævus*), is very obscure and confused.

Derg-derc, the celebrated expansion of the Shannon now known as Lough Derg. This fleet seems to have been sent out from the Danes of Limerick ; for the historian adds, that after having plundered several of the ecclesiastical islands of the Lough, and committed other outrages,¹ they "arrived again in safety at Limerick without battle or conflict."

Apparent
conclusion
of a section
of the work.

These, our author says, were the "mighty deeds" of the Clanna Elgi, or sons of Gormo Enski, and of the ships of Dublin, in the northern division of Ireland (called Leth Cuinn or Conn's Half) and in Leinster. These words seem to mark the conclusion of a division or section of the work, in which the northern half of Ireland was principally concerned ; but as the sons of Elgi are particularly mentioned, perhaps the "mighty deeds" spoken of are only those described in chapters xxxiii. and xxxiv. The remainder of the work is devoted to the history of the conflicts between the men of Munster and the sons of Ivar, or Danes, properly so called, of Dublin, Limerick, and Waterford.

The oppres-
sion of
Munster ;
Ottar Dubh
at Water-
ford.

The oppression of Munster began by the arrival of a fleet of one hundred ships, under the command of Oiter Dubh,² or Ottar the black, at Port Lairge, or Waterford.

¹ *Outrages.* They plundered Inis Celtra, and "drowned," i.e. cast into the lake, its shrines, relics, and books. They plundered also Muc-inis-Riagail, (Hog-island of St. Riagal or Regulus, see above, p. xxxiii, n. 2), and other churches on the islands of the lake. On the mainland they plundered Tirdaglas (Terryglass, in Tipperary), Lothra (see above, p. xlix), Clonfert, and Clonmacnois. Sailing up the Shannon to another expansion of the river, called Loch Ribh or Loch Ree, they plundered its islands also, on which there were celebrated religious houses ; especially Inis Clothrann (now Inchcleraun) and Inis-bo-finne (Inchbofin, the white cow's island). They

then attacked the west of Meath, and south of Connaught, (the present King's county and south of Galway,) where they slew Duach, king of Aidhne, i.e. of Uí Fiachrach Aidhne, in the south of Galway, a territory represented by the present diocese of Kilmacduagh. See note ², p. 39.

² *Oiter Dubh.* Chap. xxxv. The English Chronicles, at dates which vary from 912 to 918, mention a fleet of "Pagan pirates" who, having left Britain for Gaul nineteen years before, now returned from Llydwicca [Armorica] under the command of *Ohter* and Rhoald ; they entered the mouth of the Severn, but being driven off, took refuge in South Wales, and then

This chieftain plundered the eastern coast of Munster, compelling the inhabitants to pay tribute, or personal service. In his wake followed innumerable hosts, so that, in the language of our author (p. 41), "there was not a harbour, nor a landing-port, nor a Dún, nor a fortress, nor a fastness, in all Munster without fleets of Danes and pirates." The leaders of several of these fleets are named,¹ and a pathetic description is given of the ravages and outrages committed by them, which exceeded, we are told, all that the country had hitherto endured. Particular mention is made of the captives of both sexes, who were carried off, "over the broad green sea," into oppression and bondage; and our author exclaims, "Alas! many and frequent were the bright and brilliant eyes that were suffused with tears, and dimmed through grief and despair, at the separation of son from father, and daughter from mother, and brother from brother, and relatives from their race and from their tribe."

Outrages committed upon the Irish.

In the next three or four chapters² we have a record of some battles in which the Danes of Dublin and other

Victories of the Danes of Dublin.

sailed to Ireland. "Ii tamen clade oppressi, quendam insulam, quæ Reoric [Flatholme] nominatur, petierunt, ubi tamdiu considerunt, quousque plures eorum essent fame consumpti; unde necessitate compulsi, prius ad Deomedum [Suthwalliam], deinde autumnali tempore ad Hiberniam navigarunt." So says *Flor. Wigorn.*, A.D. 915 (*Monum. Hist. Britan.* p. 570). Comp. *Anglo-Sax. Chron.* A.D. 912 (*Ibid.* p. 375) and *Lappenberg* (Thorpe's Transl.) ii., p. 94 sq. The Otter and Rhoald of the English Chronicles are very probably the Otter or Ottir and Ragnald of the Irish (see ch. xxviii., p. 31, and note ⁶, p. 39). This is rendered the more likely, because Waterford Harbour, where they landed, is easily reached by sailing due west from South Wales. The date also agrees

sufficiently. We have seen also that our author's statement (ch. xxix., p. 35) that Otter and Ragnall were both killed in Scotland, is not confirmed by other records. See p. lxxii.

¹ *Named.* These are Oibert, Oduinn, [Audunn?] Griffin, Snuatgar, Lagmann, Erolf, Sitriuc, Buidnin, Birndin, Liagrislach, Toirberduch, Eoan Barun, [John the Baron?] Mild Buu, [the Knight Buu?] Suimin, Suainin, and the *Inghen Ruaidh*, which is Irish, and signifies the red or red-haired virgin. Examples of female adventurers, taking the command of a fleet, are not uncommon in Scandinavian history. The Editor has not identified the above named chieftains with any of those mentioned in the Sagas.

² *Chapters.* See p. 43, chaps. xxxviii. xl.

parties of the enemy were victorious over the native chieftains.

Battle of
Muine
Broccain.

The first of these was the victory gained by the fleet of Ath Cliath, or Dublin, and the sons of Imar, in the battle of Muine Broccain, a place now unknown, but probably in the county of Meath.¹ In this battle were killed Ruaidhri (*pron.* Rory) O'Cannannain, king of Tir Connell (county of Donegal), who was by some deemed king of Ireland,² and around him fell many of his kinsmen, "the Nobles of the North." This event is carefully dated

¹ *Meath.* We may infer this from the fact, recorded by the Four M. (A.D. 992), that the foreigners of Ath Cliath plundered Ardraccan, Domhnach Patrick, and Muine Broccain. Therefore, as the two former are known to be in Meath, Muine Broccain was probably in the same neighbourhood. *Comp. 4 M.* 948 (p. 668).

² *King of Ireland.* Rory O'Cannannain was of the race of Conall Gulban, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages. His ancestor Cannannan, from whom the tribe name, was the son of Flaithbertach, king of Ireland (727-734.) See the Genealogical Table in O'Donovan's *Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 338. Ruaidhri appears to have asserted his claim to the throne of Ireland in 947 (945, 4 *M.*) when he gained a battle over the legitimate king, Congalach, son of Maelmithigh, who was supported by Amlaf, or Olaf Cuaran, the Danish king of Dublin. This was near Slane, in Meath. Two years afterwards the Danes burnt the belfry or round tower of Slane, in which perished Caenechar, Lector (*Firleighinn*) of Slane, who had taken refuge there, with the crosier of his patron St. Erc, a sacred bell, and many relics. O'Cannannain the same year (949) gained another victory over Congalach, whom

he reduced to great straits, entering Bregia, which he plundered. He encamped at Muine Broccain [Brogan's Brake or shrubbery], and there assumed the name and authority of king of Ireland; "the dues of the king of Ireland," as the Four Masters tell us, "were sent him from every quarter:" his own people gave him the name of king; but the Annals style him only Righ-domhna, or heir apparent, i.e. eligible to the throne. After remaining encamped at Muine Broccain for six months, he appears to have been attacked by the Danes of Dublin, and was slain, after a bloody battle, in which the Danes lost Ivar, tanist or heir apparent of their chieftain, as the Four Masters call him. Another of their chieftains, Godfrey, son of Sitric, escaped by flight. The Four Masters make the victory to have been on the side of Ruaidhri, notwithstanding his having fallen in the battle, and tell us that 6,000 of the foreigners were slain. The *Ann. Ult.* say "2,000 vel plus."

O'Cannannain's pretensions to the throne were probably founded on the fact that Congalach, the actual king, was of the Southern Hy Neill, and had therefore succeeded irregularly, his predecessor, Donnchadh, son of Flann Sionna, having been also of the same race. See Append. B., p. 243.

by our author: it was thirty years after Nial Glundubh was slain, two years after Lachtín, son of Goffraith, was slain, and four years after the death of Muirchertach,¹ son of Niall Glundubh, the hero of the Leather cloaks. It was the year in which the foreigners plundered Cennannus² of Colum Cille, now Kells, county of Meath, and also the year in which Ceinnedigh,³ or Kennedy, son of Lorean, king of North Munster, or Thomond, was slain. These criteria seem to indicate the year 949 or 950 as the date of the battle of Muine Broccain.

In the next chapter (xxxviii.) is recorded the death of Congalach,⁴ son of Maelmithigh, king of Ireland. He was slain whilst engaged in an inroad upon Leinster, with the nobles of Meath, in an ambush laid for him, by the Dublin Danes,⁵ under the command of Amlaff, or Olaf Cuaran, son of Sitric, king of Dublin. This was seven

Death of
Congalach,
King of
Ireland.

¹ *Muirchertach*. Perhaps we should read *six* instead of four years, for he was slain by the Danes in 943. See *Circuit of Ireland*, p. 9, *sq.* The numerals *iu* and *ui* might be easily confounded. It is curious that our author has made no other mention of this celebrated chieftain, and has passed over without notice his many combats with the foreigners. This silence was probably the result of partisanship. Muirchertach was an O'Neill, and a hereditary enemy of the Munster tribes. Lachtín, son of Godfrey, is not elsewhere mentioned.

² *Cennannus*. See the Four M. at their year 949, and Ann. Ult. 950 or 951.

³ *Ceinnedigh*. This chieftain, "heir apparent of Cashel," i.e. of the sovereignty of Munster, was the father of the celebrated Brian Borumha, but the date of his death is not given in the authentic Annals. The Dublin Annals of Inisfallen, as they are called, mention his death at 951, the same year

as the plunder of Cennannus or Kells, and the other churches of Meath, recorded by the Four M. under their year 949 (=951).

⁴ *Congalach*. He is described as "king of Temhair and of all Erin;" that is, king of Tara, or chieftain of the Clan Colmain, of Meath, and also king of all Ireland. See App. B., General Table II., p. 246.

⁵ *Dublin Danes*. The Ann. Ult. say that he was slain by the foreigners of Dublin and the Leinstermen, A.D. 955 or 956, at Taig-giurann *illaighib* [i.e. in Leinster]. The Four M. (954) spell the name of this place *Tigh-Gighrainn*, [House of Gighran,] and in the B. of Leinster (folio 16, b. a) it is written *Ailen Tighi Giurand* [island of Tech Giurand]: this explains the genitive form *Tigh*, in the other spellings of the name, which is otherwise anomalous. Mr. Hennessy suggests that the place may be Inchicore (formerly written Inchi-gore, for *Inis-tigh-Gore*), a few miles from Dublin, near the Liffey.

years after the death of Ruadhri O'Cannannain, mentioned in the preceding chapter, and therefore in the year 956.

Battle of
Cill-Mona.

The battle of Cill-Mona [church of St. Munna], now Kilmoon, near Dunshaughlin, county of Meath, is next mentioned. It took place, our author says, "seventeen years" after the death of Congalach, which would give its date, 973. But the *Annals*¹ do not agree in this Chronology. They give us, however, the additional information, that Domhnall, son of the late King Congalach, in alliance with Amlaff, or Olaf, and the Danes of Dublin, had in this battle defeated the actual sovereign, Domhnall O'Neill, his father's successor. It appears, therefore, that he had been tempted by an alliance with the Dublin Danes, notwithstanding their slaughter of his father, to dispute the succession of the Northern Hy Neill, in the hope of obtaining the sovereignty for himself. But his victory on this occasion did not secure his object, for Domhnall, son of Muirechertach Leather-cloaks, continued to be recognised as king of Ireland until his death in 980.

Chieftains
slain.

The chieftains slain in the battle of Cill-Mona are enumerated² by our author, as well as in the *Annals*;

¹ *Annals*. The *Four Mast.* (976) say the twenty-second year of King Domhnall [O'Neill] or 22 years after the death of Congalach, i.e. 978; but the *Annals of Ulster* record it under the year 969 or 970, which would be only 13 or 14 years after the death of Congalach.

² *Enumerated*. These are—1. Ardul, son of Maducan, (called Ardgál, or Ardgar, s. of Madudain, *Ann. Ult.* 969, *Four M.* 976), king of Uladh; who is the 42nd king in Dr. Reeves's list. *Eccles. Antiq.*, p. 355. 2. Donnucan, s. of Maelmuire (called Donnagan, or Donnacan, in the *Annals*). The *Four M.* give him no title. The *Ann. Ult.* call him simply "Airchinnech;" and our author, who is followed by Keating, styles him "King of Airghiall, or Oirghiall," in Louth and

Monaghan, called Uriel or Oriel by the English. Its boundaries are described by Dr. O'Donovan, *B. of Rights*, p. 21, n. 3. Cinaedh, son of the son of Cronghaille, called son of Cronghaille [Cronnelly] by the *Four M.* and *Ann. Ult.* This personage is called King or Lord of Conaille by the *Annals*, and the death of a Cronghaille, Lord of the Conaille Muirtheimbne, the inhabitants of the level plain of Oirghiall, co. of Louth, is mentioned by the *Four M.* at 935 (= 937). See *B. of Rights, loc. cit.* and p. 166, n. i. 4. Maelbrighde, son of Guirbith, King of Uí nEchdach, now Iveagh, co. of Down. See p. 44, n. 12, and Reeves's *Eccles. Antiq.*, p. 348. This chieftain is not mentioned in the *Annals*, and has also been overlooked by Dr. Reeves, *loc. cit.*

and we are told that eight years after this battle, the two heirs of Ireland, namely, the heirs of the Northern and Southern claimants of the throne, were slain "by them," that is to say, by the Danes of Dublin. The first of these was Muirheartach, son of Domhnall O'Neill, heir presumptive to the throne of Ireland, in the line of the Northern Hy Niall.¹ The second was Congalach, son of Domhnall, and grandson of the King Congalach whose death in an ambushade laid by the Danes has just been recorded.² Thus the two rival claimants being removed, the throne, on the death of Domhnall O'Neill, reverted to the southern line in the person of Maelseachlainn, or Malachy II., son of Domhnall, the last of his race who ever held the undisputed sovereignty of Ireland.

A battle fought in Munster, at Cathair Cuan, by Brian, is assigned to the same year, that is to say, the same year in which the two heirs of Ireland were slain. This is the battle recorded by the Four Masters, under the same year as the battle of Cill-Mona (976=978). They do not, indeed, mention Cathair Cuan,³ but they describe a battle wherein Donnabhain, son of Cathal, lord of Hy

Battle of
Cathair
Cuan.

5. Fergus Fial, king of Codlaighe, or of Casilgne, which is probably the true reading, a district in the co. of Louth, (now *Cooley*). See note 13, p. 45, and Reeves *ibid.* p. 369, note b. This hero has been also passed over without notice in the Annals. It will be observed that all the chieftains here mentioned were in the interest of the Northern Hy Niall.

¹ *Northern Hy Neill*. See *Geneal. Table I.*, p. 245 *infra*.

² *Recorded*. See *Geneal. Table II.*, p. 246 *infra*. The Four Masters give the death of the two heirs in the year before the battle of Cill-Mona, or in their year 975 [=978], and tell us that they were slain by Amlaf, son of Sitric, that is to say, by Olaf Cuaran. The *Ann. Ult.* have the same entry

at their year 976 or 977 [=978], but place the battle of Cill-mona *eight* years before. Tighernach dates the death of the two heirs 977.

³ *Cathair Cuan*. This place has not been identified: the name signifies "Fort of Cuan," perhaps from Cuan, son of Conall, chieftain of Hy Fidhgente, who was slain in the battle of Carn Conaill A.D. 649, (*Tigh. 645, Four M.*) Cathair Cuan is mentioned *ch. lxiv.*, p. 103, whence we infer that it was in Hy Fidhgente, co. of Limerick, *B. of Rights*, p. 67, n. 9, and that it was a fortress of Donnabhain, or Donovan, chieftain of the Hy Cairbhre Aebhda, as also lord of the Hy Fidhgente (see *Geneal. Table, V.*, p. 249 *infra*). Comp. also *Four M.* and Tighernach 978.

Fidhgente, in alliance with the Danes of Limerick, was defeated by Brian; and we learn, from a subsequent mention of it in this work (see p. 103), that Donnabhain was slain at Cathair Cuan.

Victories of
the Danes.

The next chapter (xxxix.) records several battles in which the Danes of Dublin were victorious over the native chieftains. The first of these was a victory over Ugaire, son of Tuathal, king of Leinster, at Bithlann,¹ now Belan, in the south of the county of Kildare. Another battle, in the same year (where,² we are not told), was gained by them³ over the Cinel Conaill, of Tirconnell, county of Donegall; in which Niall, grandson of Cannannan, king of the Cinel Conaill, and other chieftains⁴ fell.

Battle of
Tara, 980.

Two years after this, a more important battle was fought at Temhair, or Tara, against Maelsechlainn, or Malachy, son of Domhnall, who this same year (980) became king of Ireland. Our author admits that the victory gained by the Irish chieftain was dearly purchased. "It was woe," he says, "to both parties, but it was worse for the foreigners." They lost in the battle Ragnall, son of Amlaibh, or Olaf Cuaran, king of Dublin, and Conmael, son of Gille, whom our author calls "another⁵ high king

¹ *Bithlann*. This battle is dated 977 or 978, *Ann. Ul.*, and 976 [=978] *Four M.* In it fell Ugaire, king of Leinster; Muiredach, son of Rian (or Brian, as Tighernach calls him), king of the Ui Ceinnselaigh (see *Book of Rights*, p. 208, n.); and Congalach, son of Flann, king of Lege [now Lea, Queen's co.] and of Rechet, [or Magh-Rechet, now Morett, near Maryborough, same co.]

² *Where*. The *Four M.*, 976 (978), say that this was a naval battle on Loch Erne, gained by the Airghialla, or Oighialla, over the Cinel Conaill. So also *Ann. Ul.* 977 (978). But they were probably aided by the Danes.

³ *By them*: i.e., by the Danes of Dublin. But see p. 46, note ⁵.

⁴ *Other Chieftains*. Niall, grandson of Cannannan, is not mentioned in the Annals; but the *Four M.* record the death of his son, A.D. 996 (=998). See also Dr. O'Donovan's *Hy Many*, p. 335. "The son of the son of Congalach," ought to be "son of Congalach," as in the MS. B., for the death of the grandson of Congalach, in the battle of Cill-Mona, was recorded, chap. xxxviii. In like manner, "son of the son of Murchad Glun-fri-lar" ought to be "son of Murchad Glun-fri-lar," as in B. and the *Four M.* He was of the race of the Northern O'Neill, and Heir of Ailech."

⁵ *Another*. The name Conmael, or Conamael, son of Gilli, is decidedly Celtic, and the MS. B. calls him simply Conmael, omitting the words "son of

of the foreigners," together with "all the nobles of the foreigners" of Dublin.

One of the most important consequences of this battle was that Amlaibh Cuaran, king of Dublin, leaving his authority to his son Sitric, quitted Ireland and went on a pilgrimage to Hi Coluim-Cille, the celebrated monastic island, now corruptly called Iona, where he died.¹ Another result of the battle was that the Danes were compelled to liberate all the hostages in their custody, and especially Domhnall Claon, king of Leinster, whom they had taken prisoner more than a year before. The annalist Tighernach, and after him the Four Masters, represent the liberation of this chieftain as the result of a second attack on the Danes of Dublin, in which Malachy, in conjunction with Eochaidh, son of Ardgall, king of Uladh,² besieged Dublin for three days and three nights,

Consequences
of the
battle.

Gilli, another high king of the foreigners." From the various spellings of this name in the Annals, there is reason to think that the true reading is preserved in the Ann. Ult. "Conamhal mac Airrigall," which may mean either "son of Airegal," or "son of an Oirri [or sub-king] of foreigners." See note 15, p. 46, *infra*. He was in all probability a chieftain of the Gall-gaedhil of the isles, paying tribute to the Danish king of Dublin; for the Ann. Ult. and Four M. tell us that this battle was gained by King Malachy "against the foreigners of Dublin and of the isles," i.e. of the Sudreya, Isle of Man, &c. He may have been son of a Gille, for that name occurs among the chieftains of the Sudreys. (See *Burnt Nial*, ii. p. 322, and *Index*). Tighernach calls him Conmael Mac Gille airre, "son of Gille the sub-king."

¹ *Died*. The Four M. record his "going across the sea" here, and his death in Hi, "after penance and a good life," the year following. See *Tighernach*, 980. This Olaf is called

Cuaran, or Olaf of the *sandal*, by the Irish Annalists; Kuaran, Kuoran, or Quaran, by the Sagas. See *Landnama*, p. 42; *Fornmanna Sögur*. I., p. 149; *Nial's Saga*, p. 268 (cap. clv.) Lat. transl., p. 590; Laing's *Kings of Norway*, I., p. 399. Dr. Dasent translates the name "Olaf rattle," *Burnt Nial*, ii., 323; but Cuaran is an Irish word, signifying a sock, a sandal, a shoe fastened with thongs. Gyda, sister of Olaf Cuaran, was married to Olaf Tryggvasson, who met her in England, and afterwards took her to Ireland, living "sometimes in England, sometimes in Ireland."—Laing, *ubi supra*, p. 400, 417.

² *Uladh*. See Reeves, *Eccl. Antiq.*, p. 352–6. Dr. O'Connor, in his translation of the Annals of Tigernach in this place, renders "*Mor sluaided*" as if it had been written *Mors Luaiged*, and translates "*Mors Lugadii occisi a Maelsechlanno*." The true version of the passage is this—"A great host led by Maelsechlainn the Great, son of Domhnall, king of Temhair, and

and having reduced the garrison to submission, recovered the hostages, including Domhnall Claon.¹ They compelled the enemy also to pay a fine of 2,000 oxen, and to release the Ui Neill from a tribute, which it seems had been imposed upon all their territory between the Shannon and the sea.²

Arrival of
the sons of
Ivar in
Limerick.

The next chapter (xl.) records the arrival of the sons of Ivar in Limerick. They are described as coming in command of "an immensely great fleet, more wonderful than all the other fleets, for its equal or its likeness never before came to Ireland."

This event
out of its
place.

Chronologically, however, this event is certainly out of its place in the narrative. The phrase "there came after that," with which this chapter begins, would naturally mean after the events recorded in the preceding chapter; that is to say, after the battle of Tara, A.D. 980. But Ivar and his sons were settled at Limerick long before that year, and it is remarkable that no mention either of the exact date of their arrival, or of the immense and wonderful fleet which they are said to have brought with them, is found in the Irish Annals.

Leaders of
this fleet.

The leaders of this fleet, we are told, were "Ivar,³ grandson of Ivar, chief king of the Gaill, and his three sons, Dubhcenn (or Black-head), Cu-allaidh (or Wild Dog),

by Eochaidh, son of Ardgall, king of Uladh, against the Gaill of Ath Cliath, and they besieged them three days and three nights, and took the hostages of Erinn from them, together with Domhnall Claon, king of Laighen, and with the hostages of the Ui Neill likewise. And they exacted submission from the foreigners, i.e. an hundred score oxen, with jewels and goods, and the freedom of the Ui Neill from tribute also, from the Sionainn [Shannon] to the sea." *Tighernach*, A.D. 980.

¹ *Domhnall Claon*. Our author speaks of the "treacherous conduct" of Am-

laibh towards this chieftain; what that was the editor is unable to explain.

² *And the Sea*: i.e., from the Shannon, across the present counties of Westmeath and Meath, to the eastern sea.

³ *Ivar*. The O'Clery or Brussels MS. (B), reads "Amlaibh mor ua Imhair," Amlaff or Olaf the Great, grandson of Ivar; but this is evidently a clerical mistake, and the same MS., in another place, speaking of the death of this chieftain calls him Ivar, not Amlaff. Ch. lxiv., p. 103. See also p. 71. There are other instances of these names being interchanged.

and Aralt (or Harold.)"¹ They entrenched themselves on Inis Sibhtond, now King's Island, in the Shannon, upon which a part of the present city of Limerick is built. From this position they plundered all Munster, "both churches and chieftainries, exacting hostages, and levying black mail, under a well-organized system of tax-gatherers, who were distributed over the country and billeted in the houses of the inhabitants, "kings and chiefs, stewards and bailiffs, in every territory and in every chieftainry."² Of the excess of this oppression our author gives a pathetic and somewhat bombastic account, in which the most important particular noticed is the imposition of a nose tax,³ in addition to the royal tribute, consisting of an ounce of silver or white bronze⁴ "for every nose;" and whoever was unable to pay was sold as a slave. Their oppression.

It may be doubted whether this glowing description

¹ *Aralt (or Harold.)* The Celtic names Dubhcenn and Cu-allaidh, were doubtless given by the Irish in accordance with their usual practice, as descriptive of the supposed peculiarities of these chieftains. The annals mention Dubhcenn and Aralt, but substitute Amlaibh for Cu-allaidh (Four M. 975, Tigern, 977); which seems to indicate that Amlaff or Olaf was the Scandinavian name of this latter warrior. Perhaps he was the same as Olaf Cenncairech (scabby head), of Limerick, who gained the battle of Dubhthir, near Athlone, in 931 (933), over the Hy Many. He afterwards settled in Loch Ribh, from whence he was carried off prisoner by Olaf son of Godfrey, of Dublin, in 935 (937). *Four M.*

² *Chieftainry.* See p. 49, sq.

³ *Nose tax.* An ounce of silver "for every nose" is probably only another way of saying "for every man." So in the poetical account of the Gaill of Dublin, attributed to St. Benen or Benignus, of Armagh, we

read that the Gaill gave tribute to St. Patrick "a screapall for each man, an ounce of gold—an ounce for each nose there—and a screapall of gold for each man." *B. of Rights*, p. 229. So also *Ynglinga Saga*, c. 8 (*Heimskr.*, p. 13, *Havn.*, 1777). "Um alla Svethíod gulldu menn odni skattþenning fyrir nef hvert," which Mr. Laing translates "so much on each head," although it is literally "every nose. The MS. B. adds that he who could not pay had the alternative of being sold as a slave, or losing his nose (see p. 50, n. 13). Keating improves upon this by telling us that the nose was immediately cut off, without any alternative; but there is no authority for this. See *Lexicon Poet. Ling. Septent. Sveinbjörn Egilsson. Hafn.*, 1860, voc. *Nefgiöld*.

⁴ *Silver or white bronze.* This is the reading of B. The text reads "silver Findruni" (p. 51), in which phrase (which occurs again, p. 95), the word *Findruni* seems to be used as an adjective for well polished, ornamented (*druine* signifies embroidered);

was originally intended to apply solely to the policy pursued by the sons of Ivar of Limerick. If their arrival, as we have good reason to suspect, is an interpolation in this place, there will be nothing to limit the oppression spoken of to the Danes of Limerick;¹ and indeed, although the plunder of Munster is particularly mentioned, yet it is distinctly stated that the organization of a steward or bailiff, billeted on the principal chieftains and farmers of the country, extended to all Ireland.²

The foreigners of Limerick, by whom the Primate Forannan was carried off to their ships from Cluain Comardha,³ were Norwegians, or White Gentiles, not Danes.

but usually *Findrune* is a substantive, and denotes a metal of some kind. In p. 115, it is mentioned among gold, silver, precious stones, taken as spoil from the Danes. It is the metal of which "leg armour" was made (*Battle of Magh Lena*, p. 113), and the rim (combl) of a shield, *Sickbed of Cuchulainn* (*Atlantis*, No. 3, p. 113). "A bed of Findruine," *colg finnbruine*, i.e. a bedstead, or box made of this metal upon which a bed might be laid, is mentioned in the Legend of Corcalaidhe, *Miscell. Celtic Soc.*, p. 77, 79. The word is also written *finn-pum* (*Petrie on Tara*, p. 198), *finn-bruine*, and *finnbuine*, in which latter form it occurs in the Irish Version of the Bible to denote copper or brass, *Ezra* viii., 27; *Rev.* ii., 18. The Crozier of St. Aodh mac Bric was made of *Finnbruine*, which is glossed .i. *puar* "i.e. brass." *Martyr. Doneg.*, *Introd.*, p. xli.

¹ *Limerick*. See above, ch. xxxvi. Keating who quotes this passage (with some abridgement), understands it to refer to all Ireland, and places it in the times of Turgesius, to whom he attributes this organization of a soldier in every house, &c. *O'Mahony's Transl.*, p. 507. In this he is followed by Lynch, MacGeoghegan,

O'Halloran, Warner, Moore, and all our modern historians.

² *Ireland*. The words "moreover he ordained," p. 49, line 13, are abrupt, and strongly indicate the loss of something in the text; for the sentences preceding are in the plural "*they* plundered," "*they* took hostages," "*they* brought under indescribable oppression;" then comes a sudden change to the singular, without its being said who he was who ordained kings and chiefs, stewards and bailiffs, in every territory. The same thing is told of Turgesius. But it is remarkable that the prophecies applied by our author to that chieftain (see p. 8-12), speak of "Black Gentiles of Dublin," and parties of "Danars of black ships." Therefore we may reasonably conclude that the oppressions intended by those supposed predictions belong to a later period than the times of Turgesius, when the Danars or Danes had established their power in Dublin and Limerick.

³ *Cluain Comardha*. "Lawn of the Sign or Token." Dr. Reeves has recently identified this place with Colman's well, a village in the barony of Upper Connello, in the southern border of the county of Limerick.

They were in possession in the times of Turgesius, that is to say, prior to the year 845. But Ivar, grandson of Ivar, seems to have been of the Black Gentiles, or Danes; and although the exact date of his arrival is not recorded in our annals, he is spoken of as being chieftain of the Gaill of Limerick, in 930, so that he must have landed with his sons before that year.¹ Therefore the paragraph at the beginning of chap. xl., which records his arrival at Limerick, has been misplaced. It ought perhaps to have been inserted in connexion with the arrival of the "immense fleet" which came with Tamar Mac Elgi, as we have seen,² about the year 922. Indeed it is probable that Tamar's fleet acted in conjunction with the fleet of Ivar and his sons, for both occupied Inis Sibhtonn, and we read of no conflict or jealousy between them on the arrival of the latter party. Tamar or Tomar mac Elgi, however, seems to have been chieftain of the Limerick Danes for two or three years³ only, and was succeeded apparently by the dynasty of Ivar and his sons, in or about the year 930.

¹ *That Year.* The Four M., at 928, 929 (=A.D. 930, 931), tell us that the grandson of Ivar was encamped in command of the foreigners of Limerick, at Magh Roighne, a plain in Ossory, whither Godfrey of Dublin went in the last mentioned year to displace him. In 963 (967) Mathgamhain, or Mahoun, brother of the celebrated Brian Borumha, gains a victory over the Gaill of Limerick, and plunders their stronghold, Inis Sibhtonn; in 969 (971) he drives them from Inis Sibhtonn, altogether. They then took refuge in the other islands of the Shannon, making their stronghold in Inis Cathaigh (now Scatterry Island, at the mouth of the Shannon), where, notwithstanding the sanctity of the place, Ivar and his sons, Olaf and Dubhcenn, were attacked by Brian in 977 (4 *Mast. and Tigern.*), or by his allies the O'Donnells of Corca-

bhaiscinn (p. 103). The death of Ivar and his sons is recorded by our author (chap. lxiv.), at a date which corresponds to A.D. 977, 978. So that Ivar's career was quite run out before the battle of Tara.

² *We have seen.* See chap. xxxiii. p. 39, and p. xciii., *supra*.

³ *Two or three years.* In 922 the fleet of Limerick, commanded by Mac Ailgi, was on Loch Ri, and plundered Clonmacnois and the islands of the Lake. In 923 or 924 Godfrey, grandson of Ivar, came from Dublin to attack the Limerick foreigners, and a great number of his people were slain by Mac Ailgi. In 927 or 928 Mac Ailgi had his fleet on Loch Neagh when he plundered the islands and the surrounding country. These notices occur in the Ann. of Ulster. Dr. O'Donovan (Book of Rights, *Intr.*, p. xli.) quotes from the Annals of Clonmacnois, under
h

The great
superiority
of the
Danes.

It is remarkable that our author, notwithstanding the bitterness of his lamentation over the success of the victors, and the iron rigour of their rule, gives them, without reserve, the praise of valour; he admits that the Irish kings and chieftains, with all their heroism, were unable to cope with the strangers, the superiority of whose arms, defensive and offensive, together with "the greatness of their achievements and deeds, their bravery, their valour, their strength, their venom, and their ferocity,"¹ rendered them invincible to the feebler powers and inferior numbers of the Irish; especially, he adds, as they were animated by an "excess of thirst and hunger" for the bays, rivers, cataracts, the fruitful smooth plains, and sweet grassy land of Ireland.

The Clanna
Luigdech
or Dal
Cais.

But this distinct admission of the invincible prowess of the enemy, and the superiority of their armour and discipline, seems only intended to enhance the author's panegyric upon his own tribe and its chieftains, by whose valour and perseverance the power of the enemy was ultimately undermined. These were the Clanna Luigdech, or descendants of Lughaidh Menn,² son of Aongus Tirech, of the race of Oilioll Olum, the celebrated king of Munster in the third century. They were otherwise called Dal Cais Borumha, or race of Cas mac Tail, grandson of Lughaidh, called Borumha,³ some say from the name of a village near Killaloe. They were one of the two pillars of nobility, one of two houses—the

the year 922, the following notice of his death: "Tomrair mac Ailchi, king of Denmark, is reported to have gone to hell with his pains, as he deserved." The date, however, is probably wrong, being the date of his arrival in Ireland, not that of his death. He is not mentioned in the annals after 928, and it is remarkable that in 930, Ivar, grandson of Ivar, is first named as leader of the Gaill of Limerick; so that Ivar appears to have arrived immediately after, or just before the death of Mac

Ailgi, and to have succeeded to the command of the Limerick garrison.

¹ *Ferocity.* See p. 53.

² *Lughaidh Menn.* See p. 52, and note 14; also Geneal. Table III., No. 5, p. 247.

³ *Borumha.* Beal Borumha "Pass of Borumh," or Ath na Borumha, "Ford of the Borumh." See Dr. O'Brien's Irish Dict., in voc. Others derive the name Borumh from the celebrated Borumeán or cow tribute of Leinster, restored by Brian. *Four M. A. D.* 106.

Eoghanachts of Cashel¹ being the other)—by whom were sustained “the rule and sovereignty of Ireland.” But the Clanna Luighdech, we are told, excelled all other tribes in Ireland; “as a bright watch tower shining above all other lights of the earth; as a clear fountain, or a sparkling fire, excels the lustre of the most brilliant gems; as the bright sun outshines the noblest stars of the sky and firmament.”²

Their pre-eminence.

The privileges and prerogatives of this illustrious tribe are then described. They were exempt from all taxes, hostages, rents, and fees to the king of Cashel, or any other chieftain, “so long as Erinn³ was not theirs.” They were bound in honour to defend the king of Cashel against aggression, and to support his rights against the claims of Leth Cuinn, the Northern half of Ireland, that is to say, against the chief kings of Ireland, or of Tara, who were of the O’Neill race, and whose sovereignty over Munster was disputed by the descendants of Oilioll Olum. The Dal Cais were privileged to take the place of honour in war, that is to say, to occupy the van in entering an enemy’s country, and to guard the reere in a retreat.⁴ They had “an alternate right to Cashel,” that is, the kings of Cashel were to be chosen in alternate succession from the descendants of Eoghan Mór and Cormac Cas, of which last race the Dal Cais of Thomond were the

Their prerogatives.

Their alternate right to Cashel.

p. 100, and A.D. 696, note p. 298–9. The name of Dal Cais is commonly derived from their more remote ancestor Cormac Cas, son of Oilioll Olum (see Geneal. Table III., No. 2). But if so the name would have belonged to many tribes besides the race of Lughaidh. Cas mac Tail (see Geneal. Table III., No. 8, p. 247) is called by O’Flaherty “Dalcassiorum stirps,” or ancestor of the Dal Cais of Thomond. *Ogyg.*, p. 386.

¹ *Eoghanachts of Cashel*. See Geneal. Table IV., p. 248. This tribe was descended and had its name from Eoghan Mór, son of Oilioll Olum.

² *Firmament*. See p. 55.

³ *Erinn*. Perhaps we should read “so long as *Cashel* was not theirs,” i.e. when the king of Cashel was of the Eugenic and not of the Dal Caisian race. But our author probably intended to insinuate that the king of Cashel was *de jure* king of Ireland, and that to be king of Cashel was virtually to be king of Ireland.

⁴ *Retreat*. See these privileges in the Book of Rights, viz.: exemption from tribute to Cashel, pp. 63–67; the place of honor at feasts and in war, pp. 69, 71, 81.

most celebrated. This was in accordance with the will of Oilíoll Olum,¹ the father of Eoghan and Cormac Cas, who is said to have imposed this rule upon his posterity, a rule which proved a perpetual source of discord,² and was very irregularly observed. Two bardic poems in support of these privileges of the Dal-Cais are then quoted, one attributed to the famous Cormac, son of Cuilennan,³ king and bishop of Cashel, who was slain at the beginning of the tenth century; and the other to Cuan O'Lochain,⁴

¹ *Oilíoll Olum*. See *Book of Rights*, p. 72, n. *O'Flaherty Ogyg.*, p. 326. In Vallancey's *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis*, vol. I., Nos. 3 and 4, the reader will find an able dissertation on the law of Tanistry, or alternate succession, which in part 4 is illustrated by the case of the alternate succession to the throne of Munster, in the Eoghanacht and Dal Cassian descendants of Oilíoll Olum. See p. 236, n.

² *Discord*. The discord is continued in the pens of the historians; the authors of the Eoghanacht race ignore all the kings of the Dal-Cais; and the Dal-Cassian chieftains, from the superior power of their rivals, seem to have, in fact, enjoyed very little more than their own hereditary territory, with the empty claim to the sovereignty of Munster, under the will of Oilíoll Olum. See Dr. O'Brien's remarks on this subject. Vallancey's *Collect*, *ibid.*, p. 441, sq. 469-476. Very few kings of Munster, of the Dal-Cassian race are on record, and even of these, it is probable that some were in fact only lords of Thomond, and are styled kings of Munster by writers of their own clann only. See O'Curry's *Lectures*, p. 213. Keating (*reign of Flann Sienna*), *O'Mahony's Transl.*, p. 520.

³ *Cormac son of Cuilennan*. He was of the Eoghanacht or Eugénian race, descended from Aongus, son of Nat-

fraich (see Table IV., No. 7, p. 248.) His descent, as given by the books of Leinster and Lecan, is as follows: s. of Cuilennan, s. of Selbach, s. of Algenan, s. of Eochadh, s. of Colman, s. of Donnchadh, s. of Dubhinrecht, s. of Furudhran, s. of Eochadh, s. of Bresail, s. of Aongus. He was slain in 908 (Four M.), 920 (Ann. Ult.), at the battle of Belach Mughna, in Magh Ailbhe (now Ballaghmoon-bridge, in the S. of the co. Kildare, about halfway between Castledermot and Carlow). Keating relates a curious anecdote to the effect that when his own tribe, the Eoghanacht of Cashel, refused him food and treasure for the celebration of Easter, Cormac was liberally supplied by the Dal-Cais, both being equally free from any legal obligation to pay him tribute. *O'Mahony's Transl.*, p. 520. This may account for his favourable recognition of the rights of the Dal-Cais, in the verses quoted by our author, if indeed they are really his, which may be doubted.

⁴ *O'Lochain*. See above, p. xxv., n. 2. He was murdered, A.D. 1024, in Tebhtha, or Tefia, an extensive district in the N.W. of the ancient province of Meath. See *B. of Rights*, p. 11, n., 180, n. The family of O'Lochain were chieftains of Gailenga, a part of Tefia, now represented by the baronies of Morgallion, co. of Meath, and Clankee, in the co. of

"chief poet of Erinn and Alba" (Ireland and Scotland), in the times of Brian Borumha.

We have next (ch. xlv.) the genealogy¹ of Brian and his elder brother Mathgamhain, who are described in bombastic language as the two fierce, magnificent heroes, the two stout, able, valiant pillars, who then governed the Dalcassian tribe; Mathgamhain, in virtue of his seniority, being the actual chieftain, and Brian his destined successor or heir apparent. These great heroes resolved to submit no longer to the oppression and tyranny of the foreign invaders; they transported their people and chattels across the Shannon, westwards, where they dispersed themselves in the forests and woods of the country.²

A harassing war of skirmishing in the woods of Thomond³ was then carried on for some time with the foreigners, in which no quarter was given on either side, for "there was no termonn or protection from the foreigners, and it was woe to either party to meet the other."⁴

Genealogy
of Brian.

Mathgamhain, after harassing warfare, makes a truce.

Cavan. He was therefore murdered by his own kinsmen, which made the deed more heinous. See 4 *M.* The Ui Lochain were descended from Cormac Gaileng, son of Tadhg, son of Cian, son of Oilioll Olum, and therefore were of the same great Munster family as the Dal-Cais. See Curry's *Battle of Magh Leana*, p. 175.

¹ *Genealogy.* See Table III., p. 247. Mathgamhain, as has been already remarked, is pronounced *Mahoon*.

² *Of the country.* Our author says, p. 59 "in the woods of the three tribes (*macni*), that were there," or perhaps we should translate "the three Maicnes that were there." These were the descendants of Conmac, son of Fergus Rogius and Maud, queen of Connacht. Three tribes of the Conmaicne were settled west of the Shannon, viz.: Conmaicne-Cuille-tola, now the barony of Kilmaine, co. of Mayo; Conmaicne

Dunmor, N. of the co. of Galway, and Conmaicne mara (the Conmaicne of the sea), now Conemara. A fourth tribe of the same race was settled in the cos. of Longford and Leitrim. *O'Flaherty, Ogyg.*, p. 275. The Brussels MS. B. reads "the three *Uaithne*," instead of *Macni*. But the districts called *Uaithne*, were S. of the Shannon. They are now the baronies of *Uaithne* or *Owney-beg*, in Limerick, and *Owney* and *Arra* in Tipperary. *B. of Rights*, p. 46, n. There are only two districts called *Uaithne*, and "the three *Maicni's*" is certainly the true reading.

³ *Thomond.* The district of Thomond (which is the anglicized pronunciation of *Tuath-munhain* "North Munster,") is represented nearly by the present county of Clare. See O'Donovan's note, *Book of Rights*, p. 260.

⁴ *The other.* See p. 59.

At length tired out with this kind of warfare, Mathgamhain made a temporary truce with the enemy.

Brian
continues
the war.

Brian, however, refused to join in this truce. He returned to the forests of Thomond, and continued to carry on the same sort of guerilla warfare from the deserts and caves of Ui-mBloit.¹ He laid waste the country from Loch Derg Dheire to the river Fergus, and from Sliabh-mEchti² to Tratraighe or Tradry.³ This latter place was fixed upon by the foreigners of Thomond, or North Munster, as the head quarters of their troops; they fortified Tratraighe with earthworks, and filled it with a strong garrison, in order to conquer from thence Thomond, or the present county of Clare, and Ui Conaill,⁴ or Connello, south of the Shannon, in the county of Limerick. Between this garrison and Brian's followers perpetual skirmishes and mutual annoyances were kept up, until Brian was driven to the greatest extremities, and at length he found his army reduced to fifteen men.⁵

¹ *Ui-mBloit*. The region inhabited by the Ui-mBloit, the descendants of Bloit, Blait, or Blod, son of Cas mac Tail, ancestor of the Dal-Cais of Thomond (see Table III., No. 9, p. 247). This district is in the co. of Clare, N.E. of the diocese of Killaloe, and the name is preserved in that of the rural deanery of Omelode or Omulled. *Liber. Reg. Visitat.*, 1619. *Four M.*, A.D. 1598, p. 2088, note b.

² *Sliabh-mEchti*. Now SlieveBaughta, or the Boughta mountains in the co. of Galway, on the borders of Clare. Fergus, now Fergus, is a river which rises in the N. of the barony of Inchiquin, co. of Clare, flowing by the town of Ennis, and falls into the Shannon below the village of Clare.

³ *Tradry*. See p. xli., n. 4. Tratraighe was originally the district round the town and Castle of Bunratty. It is curious that the English adventurer, Thomas de Clare, in 1277,

selected this place as his military head quarters, and built the Castle of Bunratty, with the same object in view which the Danes had when they fortified themselves in the same spot, namely, the conquest of Thomond.

⁴ *Ui Conaill*. The country inhabited by the Ui Conaill Gabhra, or descendants of Conall Gabhra. (Tab. V., No. 10, p. 249.) It is now represented by the baronies of Upper and Lower Connello, together with the present baronies of Shanid and Glenquin. See *B. of Rights*, p. 76, n. Comp. p. lxxxv. and note, p. 31. See also p. xli. *supra*.

⁵ *Fifteen men*. Our author qualifies this statement by "historians say," or, according to the reading of B., "there are historians who say." This does not imply that *historians*, in the more dignified sense of the word, had already begun to preserve a formal record of these events. The Irish

Hearing of his brother's disasters, Mathgamhain sent to him to request an interview. When they met, Brian reproached Mathgamhain for having made a truce with the enemy. An interpolation in the O'Clery or Brussels MS. gives a poetical dialogue between the two brothers, in which Mathgamhain¹ asks the cause of Brian's coming almost alone, and where he had left his followers. Brian answers that he had left them on the field of battle, cut down by the foreigners; that they had followed him in hardship over every plain,—“not,” he adds, “like thy people,” who had remained inactive at home. He then gives a short account of his exploits, and concludes by the reproach that neither Cennedigh, their father, nor Lorcan, their grandfather, *for the sake of wealth*, would have been so quiescent towards the foreigners. This seems to intimate that Mathgamhain's “quiescence” had arisen from some interested motive, an interpretation which is confirmed by Mathgamhain's answer—

Poetical
account of
Mathgamh-
ain's
interview
with Brian.

“This is pride, O brave Brian,
Thy mind does not consider consequences ;
Thy care and thoughts are *not on wealth*,
And yet methinks thou art alone.”

In other words, “pride has made thee despise all prudent considerations, and what hast thou gained by it, since here thou art now without followers, and alone?”²

Sencaidh, or Shanachy, which, for want of a better word, we translate historian, was an officer attached to great families. He itinerated among the clan, relating the deeds of his chieftain, and sometimes, but not always, committing them to writing. We are not, therefore, to infer that any great length of time was necessary between the events themselves and their being recorded by such “historians.”

¹ *Mathgamhain*. This poetical account of the conversation is attributed to Mathgamhain himself.

² *Alone*. See ch. xlv., pp. 62-65.

One or two remarks are necessary upon this poem. In ver. 1. Brian is called “Brian of *Banba*,” i.e. of Ireland, *Banba* being one of the poetical names of Ireland; see Keating, *O'Mahony's Transl.*, Book I., ch. i., p. 79, *sq.* *Craig Liath* (Grey-stone), now Craig-lea, or Carrick-lee, is a remarkable rock near Killaloe, celebrated in Irish fairy lore as the dwelling place of *Aoibhinn* (incorrectly *Aoibh-ill*), the Banshee or family sprite of the Dal-Cais, especially of the O'Briens; see *Féis Tighe Chonain*, edited by Mr. Nicholas O'Kearney (*Ossianic Soc.*),

Prose
account of
the same.

Then follows (ch. xlvii.) a prose account of the same interview between the brothers, which, although in some places probably interpolated, is doubtless the narrative of the original author, and the source from which the poetical dialogue was taken. Brian reproaches Mathgamhain for having made peace with the foreigners. He asserts that their common grandfather, Lorcan, son of Lachtna, would never have made such a truce, seeing that he had denied it¹ to his own countrymen, Maelseachlainn, son of Maelruanaidh, king of Ireland, and to the five provinces² of

1855, p. 188, n, and comp. the editor's Introd., p. 98, *sq.* Perhaps Brian's answer, "I have left them on Craig Liath," may signify "I have left them in the other world—the world of fairies and spirits." The names of several Danish chieftains slain by Brian are mentioned: *Birnn* (Blörn); *Edoun*, or *Eodunn* (Audunn); *Elius* (possibly Eylifr); and *Elgin* (perhaps Helgi); we do not, however, meet these names elsewhere in the present work. Bréintir is a district in the co. of Clare, near Slieve Callan, or Cullane, about five miles E. of Milltown Malbay. It is called Breintir *mbuain*, durable, or everlasting, from its mountainous and rocky character.

¹ *Denied it.* The words *ṛṛṛṛṛṛṛṛ* and *ṛṛṛṛṛṛ*, translated "submission and tribute," p. 66, ought, perhaps, to have been rendered "protection and delay," meaning a delay of hostilities, and protection during the truce. *Ṭṛṛṛṛṛ*, or *ṛṛṛṛṛṛṛṛ*, signifies protection, shelter; and *ṛṛṛṛṛṛ*, also written *ṛṛṛṛ*, is delay, respite. The general meaning of the passage certainly is, that he who refused all truce or compromise with his own countrymen, when they invaded his territory, would never have made peace with a foreign enemy, who had taken forcible possession of the country.

² *Five provinces.* It will be recol-

lected that the ancient Meath was originally one of the provinces of Ireland; O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, pp. 24, 25, 304. Our author's chronology is here greatly at fault, if, indeed, as is most probable, the mistakes are not rather to be attributed to his transcribers and interpolators. Lorcan, son of Lachtna, grandfather of Brian, could not possibly have been a contemporary of Maelseachlainn, son of Maelruanaidh, or Malachy I., who died in 863. Brian was born, according to the Four M., in 925, or, according to the more probable date of the Annals of Ulster, in 941. Allowing 30 years to a generation, this would give 865 as the year of Lorcan's birth, or, if we adopt the later date of Brian's birth, 881. In neither case could Lorcan have had any warfare with Malachy I.; and it is equally impossible that Malachy II. can be intended, for he began his reign in 980, at which time, Lorcan, if living, would have been at least 100 years old. Perhaps we should read (p. 67), "He who gave not submission or tribute to [the son of] Maelseachlainn, son of Maelruanaidh," meaning Flann Sionna, who reigned from 879 to 916. Keating represents Lorcan as contemporary with Cormac mac Cuilennain, who was slain in 908, or, according to the Annals of Ulster, in 920. Ac-

Ireland, and would not grant them a truce, not even for as much time "as would have sufficed to play a game of chess on the green of Magh Adhair;"¹ neither would he allow the seven great battalions four days and four nights to burn Ath U Doghair. He appeals also to his

cording to Keating, Cormac, foreseeing his death, designated Lorcan mac Lachtna his successor, on the ground that the Dal-Cais had never had their lawful turns of sovereignty, according to the will of Oilíoll Olum. *O'Mahony's Trans.*, p. 323. Lorcan, it is needless to say, was "king" of Thomond only, and never succeeded to the throne of Munster; but another Lorcan, son of Conligan, of an allied tribe (the Hi Failbhe) of the Eoghanacht branch, became king of Munster in 920 (=922), according to the *Four M.* (See above, p. xciii., and note ².) He is not included, however, in O'Dubhagáin's poetical list of the kings of Munster, although that is an Eoghanacht account. The chronology and order of succession of the Munster chieftains at this period is very confused and imperfect. See App. B., p. 241.

¹ *Magh Adhair*. This was the celebrated plain in which is still to be seen the mound where the chieftains of the Dal Cais were inaugurated under an ancient tree (*bile*). This tree was uprooted by King Maelseachlainn, or Malachy II., in 982 (*Tigh*), in contempt of the Dal Cais. Magh Adhair was first identified by Dr. O'Donovan; it is situated about four miles W. of Tulla, in the co. of Clare. See *Circuit of Muirheartach*, p. 47, *Four M.*, 981, n. 4, p. 714. Dr. O'Connor, in *Tighernach* (loc. cit.), spells this name *Magh-adrad*, and translates it *Campus Adorationis*. In his *Four M.* (loc. cit.) he spells it correctly, *Magh Adhair*, but retains his former translation.

The Irish traditions derive the name from Adhar, son of Umor, a chieftain of the Fir Bolgs, who had settled in the present counties of Clare and Galway before the arrival of the Milesians in Ireland. See O'Donovan's note ², *Four M.*, 1599, p. 2104.

The singular mode of describing a short time as "the time necessary for playing one game of chess on the green of Magh Adhair," is probably an allusion to an invasion of the Dal Cassian territory by Flann Sionna, monarch of Ireland, during the reign of Lorcan, son of Lachtna, king of Thomond. Flann having encamped on the plain of Magh Adhair, ostentatiously commenced a game of chess with his courtiers to show his security, and as a mark of contempt for the chieftains of the country. But he was soon surprised and ignominiously defeated in an action which lasted for three days. This story is told by Dr. O'Brien, from what he calls the Book of Munster, *Vallancey's Collect.*, vol. i., p. 450. It is probable that the allusion to Ath U Doghair relates to the same transaction. Flann Sionna was kept too hotly engaged for the three or four days of the battle—(the MS. B. has three days and four nights)—to have time to burn Ath U Doghair—the name signifies Ford of U, or Ui, Doghair; some now obscure and forgotten family of the district. The place has not been identified. The seven great families of Connaught, here called "these seven great battalions," are enumerated by O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 175; and see *West Connaught*, by Hardiman, p. 125, sq.

more remote ancestors, Lugaidh Menn and Corc. The former of these had never yielded "even the leveret of a hare" to the tribe of Tlaman Tuathbil,¹ and treated with contempt the three battalions² of Connaught, until he had gained seven battles over them, killed seven of their kings,³ and driven them from Carn Feradaich to Ath Lucait, that is to say, from the present counties of Limerick and Clare.⁴ Corc is described as the first man,⁵ that is the first

¹ *Tlaman Tuathbil*. O'Dubhagain, in his Topographical Poem, mentions the *Muintir Tlamain*, or *Cinel Tlamain*, as a tribe seated somewhere in Westmeath; but the exact seat of their territory is unknown. In one place Mag-Aedha (or Magee) is mentioned as their chieftain, and his branch of the territory seems to have been a part of Teflia; (*Topogr. Poems*, pp. 3, 11.) In another place (*ibid.*, p. 13), O'Muireadhaigh, or Murray, is spoken of as their chieftain, and his territory as part of Corca-Adhamh, now included in the barony Magheradernon, co. of Westmeath. This tribe was descended from Tlaman, whose pedigree is given in fifteen generations from Niall of the Nine Hostages; *Book of Lecan*, fol. 69, b. b.; *M'Firbis Genealogies*, p. 176. The Muintir Tlamain were allied to the tribes of Connaught; but it is not easy to explain why they are called Tuathbil. The word is probably inaccurately written, and may have been meant to signify *northerly* or *northwards*; if so, the Muintir Tlaman may have been divided into north and south. Mr. W. M. Hennessy suggests that the meaning of the passage may be this: "Lugaidh Menn guarded his territory so well that he never allowed so much as the leveret of a hare to go northwards (*tuathbil*) to the Sil Tlaman." But the text is certainly corrupt. Lugadh Menn lived about A.D. 300.

² *Three battalions*. Alluding to the tripartite division of Connaught by its first inhabitants, the Damnonii, a tribe of the Fir Bolg, or Belgians. See O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 175, 269; Keating (*O'Mahony's Transl.*), p. 89, 265.

³ *Kings*. This story of seven battles and seven kings looks very unlike authentic history; but it is given by Dr. O'Brien from his "Book of Munster." (*Vallancey, Collect. i.*, p. 431.) The MS. B. has "so that he killed their king," which seems more probable. See p. 66, n. 2.

⁴ *Clare*. Carn Feradaich, according to Dr. O'Donovan, is a Carn on the mountain of Seefin, S.W. of Kilmallock, on the confines of the counties of Limerick and Cork; but Dr. O'Brien says that Carn Feradaich is Knock-Aine, in Limerick; *Vallancey, Collect. i.*, p. 432. Ath Lucait (now Lochid Bridge) is in the north of the barony of Inchiquin, parish of Kilkeedy, co. of Clare. Thomond was originally part of Connaught, although south of the line from Galway to Dublin which separated Leth Mogha from Leth Cuinn. As being in Leth Mogha, it was claimed by the Dal-Cais, and forcibly taken from the Connaught tribes by Lugaidh Menn. See O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.* (iii., 82), p. 386.

⁵ *The first man*. This shows that Corc, son of Anluan, great grandfather of Cenneideigh, or Kennedy, the father of Brian, must have been intended, for

of the Dal-Cais, who routed the foreigners; "the man also who fought eight battles in defence of Munster, and of Legh Mogha (the southern half of Ireland) in general." This was not the man to brook an insult, or make an inglorious truce with the enemy, as Mathgamhain had done.

Mathgamhain's answer was remarkable for its moderation. He admitted the truth of what Brian had said; but added, not without some spice of satire, that seeing the superiority of the enemy, in numbers and in arms, he saw no advantage in leading his followers to certain destruction, as Brian had done. Mathgamhain's answer.

Brian replied that he had followed the example of his ancestors in sacrificing everything; risking his life and the extermination of his clan, rather than submit to insult or contempt from an enemy. But his ancestors had never set him the example, which Mathgamhain's conduct had sanctioned, of abandoning their inheritance, without a contest, to "dark foreigners and black grim Gentiles." Brian's reply.

The immediate result of this conference was that Mathgamhain assembled the tribe, and having stated the case, put it to them whether they would have peace or war. The unanimous voice was for war; and they marched at once (ch. xlix.) into the country of the Eoghanacht, the present county of Kerry, then occupied by the enemy. The Eoghanacht, or native tribes of the country, as well as the Muscraighe,¹ joined the Dalcassian standard, from Dun- The tribe resolve on war.

he lived at the time when the Scandinavian fleets first made their appearance on the coasts of Ireland. See note, p. 66, and p. xxxiii., n. 2. The words "Core, son of Cas, son of Ailioll Oluim," in the text are therefore corrupt. They do not occur in the MS. B., and are probably the marginal note of some ill-informed reader or transcriber, afterwards copied into the text. The Annals preserve no record of the eight battles here

spoken of. The number may or may not be correct.

¹ *Muscraighe*. This tribe were the descendants of Cairbre Musc, king of Ireland in the third century. Their territory is represented by the present baronies of East and West Muskerry, co. of Cork; and by those of Clanwilliam and Upper and Lower Ormond, co. of Tipperary. See p. lxxi., n. 1. And there were also other districts called Muscraighe.

na-Sciath¹ to Belach Accailli. Mathgamhain [*pron.* Mahoun] succeeded in obtaining possession of Cashel, and encamped at Dun Cuirc² the year after the death of Donnchadh, son of Cellachan, king of Cashel.

In this expedition the settlements of the enemy in every part of Munster were plundered with great slaughter.

The Danes
invade the
Dal-Cais.

This aroused the Limerick Danes. Ivar resolved to carry the war into the Dalcassian country, and to exterminate that tribe, as the only means of recovering his power. There were still native chieftains and clans who adhered to the Danish dynasty, and were ready to follow the standard of Ivar rather than submit to the rule of the Dal-Cais. "The great muster and hosting of the men of Munster, both Gaill and Gaedhil," followed the summons given them by the Limerick Viking, and they came together to the appointed place anxious to depopulate Dal-Cais "so that there should not be of them a man to guide a horse's head over a channel, or an abbat or venerable ecclesiastic in all Munster, who was not made subject to the foreigners within the four points of Munster."

¹ *Dun-na-Sciath*. "Fort of the Shields," a fort which gave its name to the present townland of Donaskeagh, in the parish of Rathlynin, barony of Clanwilliam, co. of Tipperary. Belach Accailli (road of Accaill) is probably a corrupt spelling. Dr. O'Donovan conjectured that it ought to be Belach Eochaille, the ancient name of the road from Lismore to Eochaill, now Youghal. *Four M.*, 287.

² *Dun Cuirc*. "The fortress of Corc," a fort at Cashel (and indeed a name of Cashel itself), from Conaill Corc, king of Munster, son of Olioll Flanbeg, who first selected Cashel as the royal fortress of Munster. O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 382. This seems to imply that Mathgamhain on this oc-

casion became king of Cashel; the author of the List of Kings (ch. ii.) having already set down Donnchadh, son of Cellachan, as his immediate predecessor. This would give 964 as the date of Mathgamhain's accession; for Donnchadh died in 963 (961, *Four M.*) If it be a mistake that Donnchadh was king of Munster, as we have endeavoured to show (App. B., pp. 239, 240), there must have been a short interregnum after the murder of Fergraidh (who was slain by his own people), 961 to 963. Probably during that time Donnchadh and Mathgamhain had both claimed the throne, each being considered king by his own followers.

Some of the chieftains who resisted this movement, and declared themselves in favour of the Dal-Cais, were put to death¹ by Ivar and his followers (chap. I.) ; but Maolmuadh [pron. Molloy], son of Bran, king of Desmond, and Donnabhan [pron. Donovan], son of Cathal, king of Ui Cairbhri,² were amongst the most zealous enemies of Mathgamhain, and united their forces to those of Ivar. They were actuated, our author adds, not so much by any favour to the cause of the foreigners as by hatred and jealousy towards the Dal-Cais.

Mathgamhain and Brian, hearing of this confederacy, summoned their followers to a council of war at Cashel. It was resolved to march to Cnamhchoill,³ a place near the present town of Tipperary, where it seems the enemy were encamped. At this critical moment an important auxiliary arrived, Cathal, son of Feradach, chieftain of the Delbhna-mór,⁴ "the king-soldier and champion of Erin," with an hundred well armed men. The Delbhnas,

Chieftains who supported the Dal-Cais put to death.

The Dal-Cais begin the war.

¹ *Put to Death.* The chieftains named are—1. Faelan, king of the Deisi-Mumhan, or Decies of Munster. The Four M. give 964 (=965) as the year of his death, which agrees with our author's chronology. 2. Flathri, son of Allmoran, king of Ressad. 3. Sidechad, or Sidichan, son of Segni, king of Titill [Ticcill, B.] The two latter chieftains are not mentioned in the Annals; nor have the districts called Ressad and Titill been identified.

² *Ui Cairbhri.* For the descent of Maolmuadh and Donnabhan, see App. B., Geneal. Tables IV. and V. The territory of the Ui Cairbri, descendants of Cairbre Aebhda (Tab. V., No. 8), comprised the barony of Coshma, and along the west side of the river Maigue, from Bruree to the Shannon, co. of Limerick.

³ *Cnamhchoill*, i.e. "Hazle, or Nut-wood," now Clechoill, or Cleighile, in

the barony of Clanwilliam, parish of Kilahane, co. of Tipperary, about a mile and a-half east of the town of Tipperary; *O'Donovan, Supplem. to O'Reilly*, in voc. *Ord. Survey Map, Sheet 67*. Cnamhchoill is mentioned by Keating, *O'Mahony's Transl.*, p. 92. Haliday, in his *Transl.*, p. 189, anglicises the word *Knauchill*. But he intended this merely to give the pronunciation, not as the modern name of the place.

⁴ *Delbhna-mór.* The name of Delbhna, or *Delvin*, is given to several districts inhabited by tribes descended from Lugaidh Delbh-n-Aodh (pron. Delv-nae), son of Cas mac Tail. The Delvins were, therefore, closely allied to the Dal Cais. See Genealogical Table III., p. 247. Some enumerate five (see p. 75), and others seven Delvins, or Delbhnas. *O'Flaherty, Ogyg.*, p. 387; *Hy Many*, p. 83; *B. of Rights*, p. 107, n. 2.

or Delvins, were near relatives of the Dal Cais, and came to support their kinsmen. The occasion was of such importance that the absent individuals of the clan, even though they may have been in the service of Maelseachlainn of the Southern O'Neill, and Aedh of the Northern O'Neill, all flocked in to answer the summons of their chieftain, and to support their clan in this emergency (p. 75). When they had all arrived a second council of war was held, and it was determined unanimously to risk a general engagement at Sulcoit,¹ near the town of Tipperary. This place, as its name applies, was at that time probably a large wood of sallow trees. It was about five miles westward of Cnamhchoill where the enemy had encamped, and its trees afforded the shelter so necessary for the aggressive warfare of the period.

Constitution of the Irish clans.

It appears incidentally from this narrative that the whole body of the clan were summoned to decide upon the question of war or peace. Every petty chieftain of every minor tribe, if not every individual clansman, had a voice, not only in this primary question, but also when war was declared, in the questions arising upon subsequent military operations. This constitution of the clans was one of the evils of ancient Ireland. It weakened the power of the kings or supreme chieftains. The kings or chieftains were themselves chosen by the clan, although the choice of the clan was limited to those who possessed a sort of hereditary right, often vague and open to dispute, and complicated by a comparison of the personal merits of rival claimants. It is not wonderful that such elections should have led frequently to abiding animosities and faction fights, ending in savage bloodshed.² To this

¹ *Sulcoit*, or *Salcoit*, p. 76. This word signifies a Sallow-wood, *Salicetum*. Coit (Welsh, *Coed*) is a wood. The site of this wood is still marked by the two parishes of Solloghod-beg and Solloghod-more, in the barony of Clanwilliam, co. of Tipperary, about 2½ miles N. and N.W. of the town

of Tipperary. See O'Donovan, *Supplem. to O'Reilly, in voc.*; and *Cormac Glossary* (ed. Stokes), p. 41, in voce *Salchuait*.

² *Bloodshed*. See O'Flaherty's account of the political constitution of the ancient Irish clans; *Ogyg.*, p. 57, sq.

essential weakness of the government, even in times of peace, must be added the relation of the supreme chieftain to his army in the case of war. The army was, in fact, a rope of sand. It consisted of a number of minor clans, each commanded by its own petty chieftain, receiving no pay, and bound by no oath, or any other obligation of allegiance to the "king," or chief commander. Each clan, no doubt, adhered with unshaken loyalty to its immediate chieftain; but the chieftain, on the smallest offence, could dismiss his followers to their homes, even at the very eve of a decisive battle. He was ready at every personal insult, or supposed insult, to abandon the national cause, and for the sake of a selfish revenge, disguised under the name of honor, to expose the whole national army to inevitable defeat. Nor did his defection, however capricious or unreasonable, expose him to any loss of caste or of reputation, for all were conscious that under similar circumstances they would have done the same.¹

These facts must be borne in mind if we would rightly

¹ *The same.* This state of things is well described by Dr. Charles O'Connor, in his *Memoirs of Charles O'Connor, Esq., of Belanagare*:—"The subordinate chiefs were so numerous, that their operations resembled nearly the tumultuous operations of the people: roused to resistance only by what immediately affected their respective districts, what they felt only was what they were concerned for; remote consequences, apprehensions, and possibilities operated too feebly . . . they submitted to many oppressive acts, not only as individuals, but as a nation, before even a partial confederacy could be procured. Every clan preserved, with peculiar attention, the genealogy of its leader, which was the historical knowledge of those times; and thus, very much to the prejudice of the nation at large, so many family codes were formed as made the dis-

tinction and separation of each clan a barrier against national union, which was insurmountable to all. The small principalities into which the nation was thus unfortunately divided, exercised perpetual rapine and violence against each other. Being divided by fierce family contentions, they were more intent on the means of mutual injury than on the expedients for common, or even for private defence; and, while they fought against the English invader, they fought with equal animosity against themselves. *Dum singuli pugnant, univ. si vincuntur.*" *Memoirs, &c.*, by the Rev. Charles O'Connor, D.D., *Dedicat.*, p. xlii. The above words were written in reference to the English invasion under Henry II.; but they are equally applicable to the wars of the Danes, and, indeed, to all the internal wars of Ireland.

Inherent
weakness
of the Irish
in warfare.

understand the inherent weakness of warfare in ancient Ireland, and the ease with which the Irish were always subjugated by a handful of disciplined men. In the case before us, Ivar, of Limerick, well knowing the source of this weakness, resolved to concentrate his whole force upon the destruction of the Dal-Cais. He knew that the petty jealousies of the surrounding tribes would secure to him their public or secret aid in an enterprise, which, if successful, would rid them of powerful and dangerous neighbours, and probably give them possession of the conquered territory. It would never occur to them to consider that the feuds, certain to arise on the attempt to divide that territory among themselves, would expose them to a similar extermination; whereas by an union of their forces they might have recovered Limerick, and delivered themselves and the whole province from an intolerable oppression.

Battle of
Sulchoit.

The battle that followed at Sulchoit appears to have commenced by the advance of the Danes. It continued from sunrise to mid-day (see chap. lii, p. 77), and ended in a complete rout of the foreigners, who fled "to the ditches and to the vallies, and to the solitudes of the great sweet flowery-plain;" but they were followed by the conquerors, and massacred without mercy or quarter. A poem, attributed to Mathgamhain, is here interpolated in O'Clery's MS. It is in the form of a dialogue, in which Mathgamhain requires from Brian an account of the battle. It contains, however, no information of any great consequence. The victory at Sulchoit put the important station of Limerick into the hands of the Dal-Cassian leaders.¹ The survivors

¹ *Leaders.* It is something in favour of the antiquity of this poem that it sets down the number of slain in the battle of Sulchoit, as "little less than one hundred heads," instead of the 7,000 of Keating (*O'Mahony's Transl.*, p. 543), and the 3,000 of the "Book of Munster" (*Vallancey, Collect i, 479*). The poem gives the whole honour of the victory to Brian, and represents

Mathgamhain asking from Brian an account of the battle as if he had not himself been present. But the prose narrative gives no ground for this, and makes no mention of the leader of the Dal-Cais on this occasion. In the poem the Danish force is described as "a battalion of horsemen in corslets," p. 77.

fled to the fort they had erected there, but were pursued and slaughtered in the streets and in the houses. The names of several Danish chieftains slain on this occasion are given,¹ and we have also a particular account of the rich spoils of the city which fell into the hands of the victors.² In a word, the fort and the good town were sacked and burnt. The prisoners were collected on the hillocks of Saingel,³ where "every one that was fit for war was put to death, and every one that was fit for a slave was enslaved." This decisive battle is dated⁴ A.D. 968.

Another poetical account of the battle, also in a dialogue between Brian and his brother, is here interpolated⁵ in the O'Clery MS. (B). In this poem, the author of which is not named, but simply called "the poet," the praises of Brian are celebrated in the dialogue by Mahoun, and those of Mahoun by Brian. The bard concludes by putting into Brian's mouth a call upon Mahoun to give gold to those who had so well merited reward, by estab-

Postical
Account of
the battle.

¹ Given. These names are also repeated in the poem (ch. liv.), with some variations, which are pointed out—p. 78, n. 2.

² Victors. Amongst the spoils "beautiful and foreign saddles" are particularly mentioned; besides jewels, gold, and silver; "beautifully woven cloth of all colours;" satins and silks, scarlet and green; "soft, youthful, bright, girls;" "blooming silk-clad women;" "active, well-formed boys"—p. 79.

³ Saingel. Now Singland, or St. Patrick's, a parish on the south bank of the Shannon, forming part of the city of Limerick. The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick (iii., c. 44) tells us that here Carthenn Finn, son of Blodh, son of Cas Mac Tail, the first Christian chieftain of the Dalcaia, was baptized by St. Patrick, and that the name

Saingel was corrupted from *Sain Aingeal* ["a different angel"], because an angel had appeared to St. Patrick there, who was not *Victor*, the angel who generally attended him, but a different angel. *Trias Thaum.*, p. 158. See Geneal. Table III., Nos. 9, 10, p. 247.

⁴ Dated. So *Dubl. Annals of Inisfal*. The Four M. at 965 (=967) have the following record of this battle, without mentioning Sulchoit:—"Mathgamhain, son of Cenneidigh, king of Cashel, plundered Limerick, and burned it." If this date be correct, we have another proof that the mention of the arrival of Ivar of Limerick and his sons after the battle of Tara (980) is misplaced. See above, p. cii.

⁵ Interpolated. See ch. liv., p. 81.

lishing in this victory his undoubted right to the throne of Munster:—

“ King of Munster thou art, I deem,
High king of lofty Cashel ;¹
Give gold to those who merit,
They are many, O Mathgamhain.”

The prose account (ch. lv.) tells us that Mahoun did not neglect this great duty of a chieftain after such a victory. He ordered to every one his proper and befitting share, as he deserved, “according to his bravery and valour.”

Races, or
Games of
the son of
Feradach.

After this (p. 83) follows a singular record, which the editor confesses himself unable to explain satisfactorily.² “Then,” says our author, “they celebrated the races [or

¹ *Lofty Cashel.* Cairn na cceimne, *lit.*, “Cashel of the steps,” which has been taken figuratively in the translation (p. 81) to signify celebrated, renowned. See also p. 89, n. ². But perhaps the meaning may be more literal, “high,” “lofty,” in allusion to the great Rock of Cashel.

² *Satisfactorily.* It is not clear that the curious ceremony here described had anything to do with racing or horse racing, although the translation, p. 83, gives that idea. The women knelt around in the posture described, but it is not expressly said that they were in motion, much less running a race, unless motion be implied in the word translated *marshalled*. The foreign women alone were engaged in the ceremony, and the *gillies* (not necessarily *horse* boys) of the army, whether of the Irish or Danish army is not said, *marshalled* them (whatever that may mean) from behind. The mention of the son of Feradach is probably an interpolation, for it does not occur in the MS. B.

The whole was, no doubt, a heathen performance, intended, in some way, to benefit the souls of those who had fallen in the battle. Mr. W. M. Hennessey has pointed out a curious passage in the Book of Fenagh, in which the Druids of Fergna, son of Fergus, king of Brefné, performed a similar ceremony in resistance to St. Caillin and his clergy. The position of the Druids, with their hands on the ground, is described in somewhat coarse language (*Book of Fenagh*, Brit. Mus. Cott. Vesp. E. 2), but is exactly the same as the position of the women spoken of in the text. See also Dr. O'Donovan's copy of the Book of Fenagh (*R. Irish Acad.*), fol. 13, b. b., where the poetical account of this transaction describes the act of the Druids thus, *Enéit na rnaoche co luap, 1r cairn a tona ruap*. These Druids were afterwards turned into stone by the prayers of the saint, as a punishment for their profanity. See *Mart. of Donegal*, (Nov. 13), p. 307.

games] of the son of Feradach, viz., a great line of the women of the foreigners, on the hills [or hillocks¹] of Saingel, in a circle, and they were stooped, and their hands on the ground, and the gillies of the army marshalled them [or drove them on] from behind, for the good of the souls of the foreigners who were slain in the battle."²

The next chapter (lvi.) gives a short summary of the exploits of Mahoun. He spoiled the Ui Enna³ of Aine, now Knock-any, in the county of Limerick. Here Cathal, son of Feradach, chieftain of Delbhna-mór, "the king soldier

Exploits of
Mahoun.

¹ *Hillocks.* The original is the diminutive *Cnocán*.

² *The battle.* The son of Feradach here mentioned (if indeed the reading be correct, for the words "of the son of Feradach" are omitted in B.) was, doubtless, Cathal, son of Feradach, chieftain of the Delvin, or Delbhna-mór, mentioned, ch. li. (see p. cxvii. n.), whose death is recorded, ch. lvi. But why the ceremony described should be called "the races (*grapáing*) of the son of Feradach" does not appear. The word *grapáing* is translated *races* on Dr. O'Donovan's authority, who has inserted it in his *Supplem. to O'Reilly*, but quotes as his only authority the passage before us. Two apparently cognate words, *gráinne* and *gráinneagair*, occur in the dictionaries of O'Brien and O'Reilly, interpreted, "a riding, also horsemanship, also an alarm." O'Reilly has also the word *grapáing*, which he explains "grunting (as swine)." Mr. O'Curry translates *grapáing* "games," as it occurs in a poem by Cinaed O'Hartigan on Aicill, or Acaill (daughter of Cairbre Niafer, son of Ros Ruadh, king of Leinster in the second century), who died of grief on hearing that her brother Erc had been slain by Conall Cearnach. The words of the poem are—"They performed bright, pure

games (*grapáing* *siúl gláin*) for Acaill hard by Teamair (or Tara)." *O'Curry's Lectures*, p. 514. Here it will be observed that these games were performed *for* Acaill after her death, as the "races" mentioned in the text were performed *for* the slain Norsemen. In the poem cited by Mr. O'Curry, however, there is no mention of *horses*. But the same word, in a plural form, *gráinne*, occurs in another poem, preserved in the Book of Leinster, (fol. 160, b. b.), pointed out to the editor by Mr. Hennessy, where it evidently signifies *horse games* or *horse races*. The words are

"The steeds of the Fianna ('tis known),
And the steeds of Munster, in the
great conflict,
Performed three bright *gráinne*
[games or races]
On the Green of the son of Mairé."

³ *Ui Enna.* The name is now Heney or O'Heney. They were of the Eoghanacht Aine, or Eoghanacht of Any, settled in the territory round Knock-any, barony of Small County, in the county of Limerick. See *O'Huidhrin, Topogr. Poem*, p. 119. Delbhna-mór is now Delvin, a barony in the north of the county of Westmeath. See note ¹, p. cxvii.

of Erinn," was slain. This was immediately after the taking of Limerick; but the other victories recorded in this chapter seem to have occurred at some time subsequent. To secure himself on his throne Mahoun took hostages from all the chieftains of Munster, especially from Maelmuadh¹ (or Molloy), lord of Desmond, son of Bran, whom he had moreover taken prisoner; he took hostages also from Donnabhann² (or Donovan), chief of the Hy Fidhgente. He killed or enslaved the billeted soldiers of the enemy in every territory. He gained seven victories over the foreigners. Only four are mentioned by name,³ but the author may have intended to include the battle of Sulchoit, which he probably counted as two, and this, with a second burning of Limerick, incidentally mentioned, will make up the seven. It would seem that after the first burning of Limerick, Ivar, of Limerick, and Amlaff, son of Amlaff,⁴ escaped to "the East," meaning Britain, i.e. Wales, where, in a fruitless attempt to get footing in the country, Amlaff was slain,⁵ and Ivar, after an absence of a year, returned with a great fleet and entered the western harbour of Limerick, where he slew Beolan Littill⁶ with his

¹ *Maelmuaidh*. The MS. D. says that this chieftain was himself captured first, which, if true, must have increased his enmity to Mathgamhain. See his Genealogy, App B., Tab. IV., p. 248.

² *Donnabhann*. See Geneal. Table V., No. 23, p. 249.

³ *By name*. These are—1. The battle of Sengualainn ["the old shoulder," from the shape of the hill], now Shanagolden, in the barony of Lower Connello, co. of Limerick. 2. The battle of Laegh; this place is unknown to the editor. It is said by our author to be in Trairaighe, now Tradry. 3. The battle of Machaire mór, or the Great Plain, fought when the united forces of the Gaill of Limerick and Waterford attacked the king of Munster,

and encamped at Imlech (now Emly) for two days. See note ¹⁶, p. 83. The Machaire mór here mentioned is probably the Machaire-na-Munhan, or plain of Munster, which seems to have extended to Emly. See *Four M.*, 1088, p. 934.

⁴ *Amlaff, son of Amlaff*. See p. 85. There is perhaps an error here, for amongst the Scandinavian nations the son seldom had the father's name; instances however occur. Perhaps we should read grandson, or more probably "Amlaff, son of Ivar."

⁵ *Slain*. There seems no notice of this event elsewhere.

⁶ *Beolan Littill*. The Scandinavian name may be *Biolan*. He was perhaps the ancestor of the O'Beolain, erenachs of Drumcliffe, county of

son, who seems from the epithet *Littill* to have been a Scandinavian. After this Ivar intrenched himself in the western harbour, taking possession of the larger islands of the Shannon, and fixing his head-quarters on Inis-Cathaigh, now Scattery Island.

Mahoun had now firmly established himself on his throne. He had broken the power of the Danes of Limerick, and relieved his territory from their vexatious oppression. He had taken hostages from the rival chieftains of his own race, and his sovereignty in Munster had been acknowledged without dispute for about six years. Then, however, at the instigation of Ivar, of Limerick, and Ivar's son, Dubhcenn,¹ a conspiracy was formed against him. The two great Eoghanacht clans of Munster, who had so recently submitted, now withdrew their allegiance. They not only allied themselves with the Danish usurpers, but they consented to become principals in the base assassination of their own acknowledged sovereign and kinsman.² The motives which led these high chieftains thus to sully their fair fame and hand down their names with infamy to posterity, are clearly enough explained by our author (ch. lvii). Donovan and Molloy were both descended from Eoghan-mór, son of Oilioll Olum. Mahoun was descended from Cormac Cas, another son of Oilioll Olum. The Eoghanacht, or descendants of Eoghan-mór,

His establishment on the throne of Munster.

A conspiracy formed against him.

Motives of the conspirators.

Sligo, settled also at Applecross in Scotland. The second burning of Limerick by Mathgamhain is probably the same which the *Four M.* speak of as the expulsion of the foreigners from Inis Sibhtonn, A.D. 969 (= 971). They had recorded the first burning under 965 (= 968).

¹ *Dubhcenn*. See ch. lviii. p. 87.

² *Kinsman*. The relationship between the rival tribes will be understood from Tables III., IV., and V., Append. B. To modern ideas this relationship appears somewhat distant,

being no more than a descent from a common ancestor (Oilioll Olum) in some twenty-two or twenty-three generations, after a period of upwards of 700 years; and in the case of Molloy and Donovan, from a common ancestor, Oilioll Flanbeg (great grandson of Oilioll Olum) in nineteen or twenty generations; yet to Celtic ideas, and in a country where clan-ship was everything, this relationship was close enough to influence effectively, for good or for evil, the contending parties.

having in course of time divided into two powerful septs, appear to have succeeded in excluding the tribe of the Dal Cais from their fair share of the alternate succession to the throne of Munster, which both tribes claimed under the will of their common ancestor, Oilioll Olum. The two Eoghanacht families (which were confessedly the senior branch) were at this time represented by Donnabhann, or Donovan, and Molloy. Donovan¹ was the chieftain of the Hy Figheinte and Hy Cairbre, in the south of the county of Limerick. Maelmuaidh, or Molloy, was chieftain of the Clann Cuirc,² or descendants of Conall Corc, and lord of the Ui Eachach, or of Desmond. Alarmed at the progress of the Clann Lughdach,³ or Dal Cais, and jealous of their supremacy,⁴ these tribes and chieftains re-

¹ *Donovan*. See Table V., p. 249, No. 23. This chieftain was the ancestor of the great family of O'Donovan. His daughter had married Ivar, king of the Danes of Waterford, whose son, Donnabhann, was the ancestor of another branch of the same tribe. See O'Donovan, *Four M.*, vi., p. 2436.

² *Clann Cuirc*. See Geneal. Table IV., Nos. 6 and 24. Clann Cuirc signifies the Children of Corc, *Cuirc* being the genitive case of Corc. The Ui Eathach, or Ui nEachach, were the descendants of Eachaidh, grandson of Conall Corc, Table IV., No. 8. The family of O'Mahony (*Ua Mathgamhna*) is descended from Mathgamhain, grandson of the traitorous Maelmuaidh. Table IV., No. 26.

³ *Clann Lughdach*. Descendants of Lugaigh Menn; see Table III., No. 6. This sometimes used as another name for the Dal Cais.

⁴ *Supremacy*. In this place is inserted a prophecy attributed to St. Colman, son of Lenin, first bishop of Cloyne (ob. 604), in which is foretold the

supremacy of the Dalcassian race to the end of the world. This pretended prophecy, it is needless to say, is a wretched forgery, of which St. Colman was as guiltless as the author of the present work; for the passage is a manifest interpolation, interrupting the narrative, and of a date evidently much later than the reign of Brian. "To the Clann of Cormac Cair," it says, that is, to the Dal-Cais, "shall belong the sovereignty, *except three*, until Flann comes." Flann is explained to be Flann Cithach, from Durlus (i.e. Thurles), the fabled personage who is to be the king of Ireland in the times of Antichrist, and consequently, the last king of Ireland before the Day of Judgment. See a full account of this class of spurious prophecies, and especially those relating to Flann Cithach, in O'Curry's Lectures, pp. 398-426, and App., p. 632. The word *Citach* is of uncertain meaning. *Cith* is a shower, and *Cithach*, showery; but this gives no meaning. *Ciotach* is left-handed, awkward, unlucky. Some author-

solved upon the traitorous murder of the Dalcassian chieftain, whom they were unable to meet fairly in open warfare. The Hy Cairbre especially, we are told, were further instigated to this unworthy deed by the consciousness that the territory they then inhabited really belonged to the Dal Cais, of whom Mahoun was the representative. They imagined that by putting him out of the way, their title to the land¹ would be secured; forgetting that they only thereby provided themselves with a still more formidable claimant in the person of his brother Brian.

A poem attributed to Maelmuaidh or Molloy on this occasion, is inserted in chap. lviii. It is an exhortation to the Danes to take the lead, and to assemble the men of

Molloy's
poetical ex-
hortation
to the
Danes.

ities call Flann gíonach or gíonach, voracious, which Mr. O'Curry thinks more likely to be the true reading. The words "except three" in the pretended prophecy seem to indicate that it was written at a time when there had already been *three* exceptions to the predicted Dalcassian sovereignty over Munster. The Book of Munster gives the following list of the kings of Munster who succeeded Mahoun:—

1. *Maelmuaidh*, or Molloy, murderer of Mahoun.
2. Brian Borumha.
3. Donnchadh, or Donogh, son of Brian Borumha.
4. Torrdelbhach, or Turlogh, son of Tadhg, son of Brian.
5. Muirchertach, or Murtagh mór, son of Turlogh.
6. Diarmaid, son of Turlogh.
7. *Tadg*, son of Muiredh MacCarthy.
8. Conchobhar, or Connor, son of Diarmaid (No. 6.)
9. *Cormac*, son of Muiredh MacCarthy.
10. Turlogh, son of Diarmaid. (No. 6.)
11. Murtagh, son of Connor (No. 8.)
12. Domhnall mór (son of Diarmaid, son of Turlogh, son of Tadhg, son of Brian), last king of Munster, 1168. Here it will be seen that all these princes are the direct

descendants of Brian, and therefore Dal Cassian, *except three*, whose names are printed in italics, and who were of the Eugenic race. So that this prophecy was forged most probably about 1150, or, at least, not later than the times of Turlogh, son of Diarmaid, who began his reign 1142. The editor is indebted to the research of his friend, Mr. W. M. Hennessy, for this reference to the Book of Munster.

¹ *Land*. This territory is described as Caille Cormaic, or Cormac's Wood, extending from Oclan, or Hoclan (in the S. of the co. of Limerick, now unknown), to the Luimneach or Lower Shannon, and from Cnam-coill, near the town of Tipperary, to the mountainous district of Luachair Deaghaidh, in the county of Kerry. *Caille Cormaic* is unknown to the editor, unless it be the *Ath-Caille* (Wood-ford) mentioned in the "Circuit of Muirchertach macNeill," line 131. For Cnamhcoill, see p. cxvii., n. 3; Luachair is Luachair Deaghaidh, a mountainous district near Castle-island, county of Kerry. *Four M.*, A.M. 3727, A.D. 1579 (p. 1721). *B. of Rights*, p. 77, n.

Munster, together with their own people, both Gaill and Gaedhil, on the "very high hill" of Eoghabhail,¹ which was to be the place of muster. This poem is of no interest, and is doubtless an interpolation² in the MS. It has not the smallest pretence to authenticity.

Particu-
lars of
Mahoun's
murder.

The particulars of Mahoun's murder are then given in detail. But it is quite evident that the narrative is not in the state in which its author left it. It bears internal evidence both of interpolation and mutilation. Sundry "poems" have been inserted which are clearly of a more recent date. To make way for these the context both before and after has been tampered with. Hence the story is somewhat confusedly, and irregularly told. Two different accounts, not altogether consistent with each other, are given. According to the first of these, Mahoun was in the house of Donovan. How he came there we are not informed;³ but that he did not thus place himself in the hands of his enemy without some precaution, is evident from the fact that he had secured

¹ *Eoghabhail*. This place was probably in the neighbourhood of Knockany, in the county of Limerick. It may have been the "high hill" now called Knockadoon, "Hill of the Fortress," near Lough Gur. It is curious that the Dal Cais are called in the poem Dal Cais of the Churches, showing that it was composed after Brian was regarded as champion of the Church, in opposition to the Paganism of the invaders.

² *Interpolation*. Chaps. lvii. and lviii., owing to the loss of a leaf, are absent from the MS. D.

³ *Not informed*. Dr. O'Donovan, in his abstract of this story from the present work, says that Donovan "invited Mahoun to a banquet in his own house;" this, however, is without authority from the text; but Brian's poetical lament (p. 89) says that

Mahoun "had trusted, in friendship, to the treacherous word of Donovan." The Dublin Ann. of Innisfallen say, at 976, that the object of the bishop in the part he took in these transactions, was to make peace between the contending parties, and this is, no doubt, a natural conjecture (see how Bishop O'Brien expands this hint, *Vallancey's Collect.* I., p. 483-484); but it is not so stated in the original authority, and does not explain Mahoun's motives in trusting those who he must have known were his deadly enemies. The "House of Donovan" was at Brugh-righ [*Burgum regis*; see O'Donovan, *Supplem. to O'Reilly*, in voc.], now Bruree, on the banks of the river Maigue, where are still to be seen several forts, earthworks, and other traces of the ancient "regal" residence.

the safe conduct or protection of the bishop and clergy,¹ to the effect "that he was not to be killed or blinded." However, in violation of all the rights of hospitality, and in contempt of the clergy, Donovan delivered up his victim to Molloy and his Danish associates.²

Molloy, we are told, had sent forward his men to meet Mahoun at Cnoc-an-Rebhraidh, on Sliabh Caein,³ and to lull suspicion induced the bishop to send also some of his own people in company with them, whilst Molloy himself, with the bishop, remained at Raithin-mór, in Fermoy. Molloy had given his followers private instructions to put Mahoun to death as soon as they had got him into their power. The ecclesiastics who accompanied them as representatives of the bishop, of course knew nothing of these instructions, and were powerless to prevent the murder.

This account of the transaction is at least intelligible. It contains nothing of the marvellous, nothing that may not have really occurred in those ferocious times. But the second account of the same murder, given in a subsequent chapter (lx., p. 91), bears evident marks of having been tampered with. From the abruptness with which it

Treachery
of Molloy.

A second
account.

¹ *The clergy.* See p. 89. Columb, son of Ciaragán, is mentioned as the Comharb, i.e., successor, of St. Barri (Bairre), or Finnbar, founder of the see of Cork. The Ann. Ult. and Four M. call him *Airchinnech*, or erenach of Cork, and date his death 987 (=990).

² *Associates.* This fact is twice stated in the beginning of chap. lix., as if two different narratives of the event had been mixed together; perhaps the first sentence of this chapter and the whole of chap. lviii. should be omitted; the story would then run on after ch. lvii. :—"This was the counsel that was acted upon, &c.," p. 89, line 2.

³ *Sliabh Caein.* This is a mountain, now called Sliabh Riach, on the bor-

ders of the counties of Limerick and Cork. The editor has not been able to discover the exact position or modern name of Cnoc-an-Rebhraidh. According to this story Mahoun was sent from Bruree (the residence of Donovan) to Sliabh Caein, a considerable distance, whilst Molloy and the bishop remained at Raithin mór, which is expressly said to have been in Fermoy. There is a parish, now Rahan, 2½ miles east of Mallow, on the road to Fermoy. Molloy and Donovan seem to have been both at considerable distances from the scene of the murder, which, according to this account, was committed at Cnoc-an-Rebhraidh, on Sliabh Caein.

begins, it seems to want some introductory sentences. "The naked sword," and "the Gospel of Barri," the cleric, who was with Molloy, the hills too on which the crime was committed, are spoken of in a manner which leads a reader to think that they had been, or ought to have been, mentioned before. The executioners of Mahoun, and the ecclesiastics sent by the bishop of Cork, are assumed to have been sitting on opposite hills,¹ "the full flight of an arrow asunder," a fact which is given on the authority of those "who were acquainted with the place" (which, however, is not named), implying that the writer did not profess to be acquainted with the place himself.

Discrepancy of the two accounts.

In the former narrative it was only said that Mahoun had the protection of Columb, son of Ciaragàn, comharb of Barri, or Bairre, that is bishop of Cork. In the second account we are told that he wore on his breast the Gospel of Barri² "to protect him." When he perceived, however, that veneration for this sacred copy of the Gospels was not likely to have weight with his murderers, he threw it from him, lest it should be stained with his blood, and

¹ *Opposite hills.* This seems to describe the pass of Bearna Dhearg ["red or bloody gap"], in the mountain of Sliabh Caein, which is traditionally believed to be the place where Mahoun was murdered. It is a gap, through which the road from Kilmallock to Cork passes, one mile south of the parish church of Kilfin. Dr. O'Donovan states that this gap lies between the hills of Kilcruaig and Redchair, the former on its east, the latter on its west. (*Suppl. to O'Reilly*, in voc. *Bearna dhearg*). The Dublin Annals of Inisfallen (at 976) mention also another tradition, viz., that Mahoun was murdered at Muisire-na-monadh-móire, supposed to have been the Mushera Mountain, near Mallow, co. of Cork, where it is stated that there is a heap of stones called *Loacht Math-*

gamhna, "tomb of Mahoun." See *Four M.* (A.D. 974), p. 701, note, and *Vallancey, Collect. I.*, p. 485.

² *Gospel of Barri.* Almost every ancient Irish see preserved the Gospel or Psalter of its founder or some early ecclesiastic, generally kept in a silver or highly ornamented box or shrine. Some of these MSS. are still extant, as the Book of Armagh; the Book of Durrow (formerly belonging to the see of Meath); the Book of St. Moling, of Ferns; the Book of Dimma, the gospels of Roscrea or Killaloe; the Domhnach Airgid, of Clogher; the Cathach (a Psalter), of Tirconnell. All these are in the Library of Trin. College, Dublin, except the last two, which are in the Royal Irish Academy. The Gospel of Barri mentioned in the text is not now known to exist.

it fell into the breast of a priest of the bishop's people, who was distant, we are told, "the full flight of an arrow."¹

Molloy was at a still greater distance from the scene of the murder; he was distant "as far as the eye could see;" nevertheless he saw the flashing of the sword,² and knew that the fatal blow had been given. He immediately mounted the horse that had been kept ready for him, and fled. "The cleric" asked what he was to do; and Molloy answered in irony, "Cure yonder man" (meaning, of course, Mahoun) "if he should come to thee." Here it is evident that there has been some omission; for there is nothing to tell us who this cleric was. The only cleric mentioned before was the cleric into whose breast the Gospel of St. Barri had been thrown. But he was distant with Mahoun "as far as the eye could see," and could not therefore have been the same clerk who was within speech of Molloy, and witnessed his flight.

The scribes have interpolated³ between these two accounts of the bloody deed, an elegy on the death of

Elegy by
Brian on
Mahoun's
death.

¹ *An arrow.* Making all due allowance for additional strength, generated by the excitement of such a moment, it was wholly impossible that a book, presenting considerable resistance to the air, although probably in a silver or ornamented case, could have been cast, without a miracle, "the full flight of an arrow."

² *Sword.* The Irish swords of this period were short, and of bronze. The Danish swords were long, and of steel. We may therefore infer (if, indeed, we can infer anything from such a narrative) that the actual executioners of the unfortunate chieftain were Molloy's foreign accomplices, who were bound by no obligations, and had no reverence for the sacred Gospels of St. Finnbar, or for the pledge given to their victim by the clergy.

³ *Interpolated.* Immediately follow-

ing the poem is a paragraph (ch. ix., p. 91) in which the date of the murder is fixed by several chronological criteria. It was nine years after the battle of Sulchoit; the thirteenth year after the death of Dunchadh, king of Cashel; sixty-eight years after the death of Cormac, son of Cuillenan; twenty after the death of Congalach, king of Ireland; and four before the battle of Tara. All these dates coincide sufficiently with the year A.D. 976. The battle of Sulchoit is dated 968; the death of Dunchadh, 962; Cormac's death, 908; the death of Congalach, 956; and the battle of Tara, 980. If the poem be an interpolation, as seems pretty clear, this chronological paragraph must have followed immediately the former narrative of Mahoun's murder.

Mahoun, attributed to his brother Brian. It is not without some spirit, although to the English reader it has, doubtless, lost much of its poetical merit by the baldness of a literal translation. It begins with a lament that Mahoun had been slain by the hand of an ignoble assassin, and not by the sword of some high king. It would have been some alleviation of the misfortune, if he had fallen on the battle-field under cover of his shield, and not by a base act of treachery. His exploits¹ are then briefly enumerated, and the poem concludes by Brian's strong expression of his determination to take ample vengeance upon his brother's murderer :—

“ My heart will burst, I feel,
If I avenge not the high king.”

Inconsistency of the second narrative.

It is obvious to remark upon the second narrative, that its description of the position of the parties concerned is quite different from that of the former account. There Donovan, having received Mahoun in his own house, sent him on to meet Molloy's people at Slieve Riach, several miles distant;² whilst Molloy and the bishop were still further distant at Rathin-mór, in Fermoy. If this were so, and the murder was committed on Slieve Riach, Molloy could not possibly have seen the flashing of the sword, or distinguished the precise moment when his victim fell. Neither does this second narrative say anything of the presence of the bishop. It mentions two clerics only as witnesses of the transaction; one, the priest to whom Mahoun threw St. Barri's Gospels at the moment of his being murdered; the other, the cleric who was with Molloy when he fled, and of whom we have just spoken. This clerk, we are told (p. 93), “*recognized*

¹ *Exploits*. These are the seven battles mentioned before, chap. lvi.; see p. cxxiv. and note ². Machaire Buidhe (yellow plain) is the name of many places in Ireland. Here it pro-

bably denotes Sulchoit. “The army of the two brave men” seems to signify the army of Ivar of Limerick and his son, Dubhcenn.

² *Distant*. See p. cxxix., n. ², *supra*.

Molloy at the moment of his departure." The word must mean¹ that the clerk perceived from Molloy's ironical speech and sudden flight the real nature of the bloody deed, and Molloy's participation in the crime. Fired with indignation, in the spirit of prophecy, he cursed the treacherous chieftain. The anathema was uttered in verse, in which form it was believed to be more efficacious. It predicted by name the man who was to avenge the murder. Molloy was to be slain by Aedh, or Aedhan, "a man from the border of Aifi."² He was to be slain "on the north of the sun, with the harshness of the wind." That is, as our author explains it, his grave was to lie on the north side of the hill, where the sun could never shine on his tomb. He should derive no advantage from his crime, for his posterity³ should pass away, his history be forgotten, his tribe be in bondage.

After the departure of Molloy the two priests, having joined each other, went at once to the bishop, told him the sad story, and placed the Gospel, which was sprinkled with the blood of the murdered man, in the holy prelate's breast. Then the priest who had brought the Gospel back, wept bitterly, and "uttered a poem,"⁴ the object of

The priests
report the
murder to
their
bishop.

¹ *Must mean.* The words are literally, "the clerk took knowledge on him." The clerk can scarcely be supposed not to have known Molloy's person.

² *Aifi.* The "border of Aifi" was probably some place near Knockany, co. of Limerick. Aedh, called also Aedhan, or Little Aedh, a term of endearment (introduced, most probably for the sake of the metre) is said (ch. lxi.) to have been son of Gebennach, of the Desi Beg; he is not mentioned in the Annals. The Desi Beg occupied a territory comprised in the present barony of Small County, in the co. of Limerick.

³ *Posterity.* This part of the prediction was not fulfilled; for the pos-

terity of Maelmualdh is numerous to this day in the families of O'Mahony, O'Molloy, &c. May we not infer that the poetical anathema was composed before these families had been founded, and therefore probably within two or three generations after the murder of Mahoun? "Thy history shall be forgotten," is also a prediction that has not been accomplished.

⁴ *Uttered a poem.* "He composed there a prophetic prediction, and uttered this poem," p. 93. As the poem, the text of which seems very corrupt, does not profess to be a prophecy, we must conclude that the "prophetic prediction" has not been preserved.

which was to lay claim to the legal fines or pecuniary penalties for the murder. Then follows a stanza, attributed to Mac Liag, on the four battles gained by Mahoun over the foreigners of Glenn Datha,¹ in the hills on the north of Thomond. Then a long elegy "by Mathgamhain's blind bard." These poems are, no doubt, interpolations of the scribes. The elegy (ch. lxii. p. 97) occurs only in the O'Clery or Brussels MS.; but it is doubtless ancient; it notices some circumstances² of which no other record remains to us; and an allusion to Brian's taking "the sovereignty of the five provinces" (p. 99) proves that it was composed after Brian had been recognized as supreme king of Ireland.

¹ *Glenn Datha*. This name is now obsolete. For Mac Liag, see above, p. xx., *sq.*

² *Circumstances*. It may be well to explain some names of persons and places in this elegy. "The land of the Ui Torrdhelbhaigh" or descendants of Turlogh, was nearly co-extensive with the present diocese of Killaloe. The Ui Torrdhelbhaigh were named from Torrdealbhaich, or Turlogh, an ancestor of Mahoun, who, although chieftain of his race, renounced the world, and became a monk in the monastery of Lismore. (See *Geneal. Table III.*, No. 15, p. 247). *Magh Fail* (plain of destiny), p. 97, is a poetical name of Ireland. We know nothing of "the black steed," or of its owner, Tadhg, son of Maelchellaigh, except that the Four M., at 955, record the death of Maelchellaigh, son of Aedh, abbot or bishop of Emly, who was probably father of this Tadhg. St. Ailbe, of Imleach (now Emly), is said to have been in Ireland before St. Patrick, and was patron of Emly; *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, p. 203, *sq.* Neasan or Nessian, the deacon, was patron saint of Mungret, county of Limerick, and a disciple of St. Patrick. *Mart. of Donegal* (25 July), p.

203. Dun-Gaifi was probably the name of one of the forts at Donovan's house at Bruree. It appears from these lines that some little jealousy had sprung up between Mahoun and Brian. Mahoun had gone to Donovan's house without consulting Brian, if not contrary to his advice, and some "injustice" had been done "by the senior brother to the junior," p. 99. There is a curious allusion to the bard's friendship (the original uses a stronger word, *dile*, "love") for Dubhcenn, son of Ivar of Limerick, in consideration of which he says, "I will not revile the foreigners" (p. 99). *Magh Morgain* is now unknown, but was certainly near Seangualainn, or Shanagolden (p. 99). Possibly it is the parish called Morgans, on the Shannon, N.E. of Shanagolden. The other places mentioned are either unknown to the editor, or have already been explained. See note, p. 98. The concluding stanza (p. 101) contains an allusion to a curious custom which the editor does not remember to have seen elsewhere noticed, viz., that calves, and probably other cattle, were made to *fast* when the tribe was in grief for the loss of their chieftain. See *Jonah*, iii., 7.

The next chapter (lxiii.) is a short introduction to the history which follows of Brian's reign. The murderers gained nothing by their assassination of Mahoun; for Brian, who succeeded him, was not "a stone in place of an egg, nor a wisp of hay in place of a club," but a hero, whose valour surpassed that of his brother. He amply avenged that brother's cruel murder. The early part of his reign was spent in wars and conflicts of every sort; but before its close he had time to cultivate the arts of civilization and peace.

There is reason to think that the beginning of the next chapter has been corrupted by errors of transcription.¹ But the means of probable correction are at hand. The true reading, a reading, at least, which gives a good sense, seems to be that of the Brussels MS. "Ivar, and Dubhcenn, and Cuallaid were killed by Ua Domhnaill,² of Corcabhaiscinn, in Inis Cathaigh [Scattery Island], a year after the slaying of Mathgamhain. Find-inis,³ and Inismor, and Inis-da-Dromand, were plundered by them, and the islands of the whole harbour likewise, namely, all those in which were the wives, and children, and seraglios of the foreigners."⁴ From this it appears that the Danes

Brian,
king of
Munster.

The
O'Donnells
of Corca-
bhaiscinn
plunder
the Danes
of the
Shannon.

¹ *Transcription.* The errors occur in the Dublin MS. D., which has been followed in the text, p. 103. But the O'Clery MS. B. supplies readings which give a consistent sense. See note, p. 102.

² *Ua Domhnaill.* This was the tribe of O'Donnell, of the co. of Clare, seated in the west of Corcabhaiscinn, on the banks of the Shannon, now the barony of Clonderalaw.

³ *Find-inis.* This name seems to have become obsolete. It is not mentioned in D. Perhaps it may be what is now called Feenish Island. Inis-mór is now Canon Island, the largest of the group of small islands in that expansion of the Shannon which receives the river Fergus, where is also

Inis-da-Dromand (island of two backs, or round hills), now Inishdadroum.

⁴ *Foreigners.* The Four M. (975) and Tigernach (957) attribute to Brian the "violation" of Inis Cathaigh on this occasion, and the slaying of Ivar and his sons, Amlaff and Dubhcenn, without any mention of the O'Donnell. Here it seems that Cu-alaidh or Cuallaid (as already remarked, see p. ciii., n.) is called Amlaff. Inis Cathaigh, or Scattery Island, was the seat of a celebrated religious house founded by St. Senan; and hence the annalist speaks of the holy place being "violated" by the slaughter of the Danes there, however justifiable and necessary that slaughter may have been.

of Limerick, after their great defeat by Mahoun, had intrenched themselves in Scatterry Island as their headquarters, concealing their women and children in the smaller and more remote islands,¹ until they could get reinforcements from their countrymen. There the O'Donnells, who were probably acting under Brian, attacked them and slew their leaders. A great spoil of gold, silver, and wealth of various kinds, was found in these islands.

Donovan
attacked
and slain.

Harold, the only surviving son of Ivar, was now recognized as king of the foreigners of Munster (p. 103); and Donovan, knowing what he had to fear from the vengeance of Brian, sought the alliance of the Danes, and invited Harold to his house. But Brian invaded Donovan's territory of Hy Fidhgente, drove off his cattle, took the fortress of Cathair Cuan, and slew Donovan and his Danish ally, Harold, after prodigious slaughter of the foreigners. This was the second year² after the assassination of Mahoun.

Mission to
Molloy,
Poetical
Instructions
by Brian
to his
messenger.

The punishment of Molloy was Brian's next object; and here we have a long interpolation (which does not occur in the older MS.), in the shape of a bardic poem, attributed to Brian himself. This poem, a state paper in verse, contains the instructions given to Cogarán, "the confidential officer of Brian," to claim reparation for the murder of Mahoun, and to declare war in form, against Molloy. Cogarán is directed to demand of the sons of Bran (Molloy's father) and of the whole tribe of the Ui Eachach, of which Molloy was chieftain, why they killed Mahoun. He was instructed to denounce woe upon them for killing an unarmed man, and for preferring to be on Ivar's side, rather than on the side of their own countrymen and kinsmen. Brian added that even though he himself were willing to forgive this murder of his brother, the brave Dal Cais would not forgive—the heads of fami-

¹ Islands. See p. cv., n.

² Second year. See Four M., 976 = 978. Cathair Cuan may have been

one of the forts at Bruree. This battle was mentioned before, p. 45. See above, p. xcix., n.

lies amongst them (whom he names)¹ would not forgive—therefore the Dal Cais, or Clan Cormaic, would submit to be dispersed abroad in all quarters, even to the country of the O'Neill,² the most remote part of Ireland, rather than yield up to Molloy, that which he was contending for, and which was the object of his crime, namely, the sovereignty of Munster, or of the south of Ireland. Accordingly Cogarán was commanded to announce to the tribe of the Ui Eachach, that no *cumhal* or fine would be received, in the shape of hostages, or horses, gold or silver, cattle or land, and that Molloy must himself be given up.

A full fortnight was allowed after the delivery of this message, at which time Molloy was challenged to battle at Belach-Lechta, or else, it was threatened, the Dal Cais, led by their chieftain Brian, would attack him in his own house (p. 107). Together with this general declaration of war, the messenger was charged to deliver to Molloy a particular challenge to single combat from Murchadh³ (or Murrough) the great, the son of Brian, who was afterwards slain with his father at Clontarf.

Then, we are briefly told, Brian fought the battle of Belach-Lechta,⁴ or Belach-Leghtha, in which Molloy,

Challenge
to Molloy.

Battle of
Belach-
Lechta.

¹ *Whom he names.* See p. 105. These were all of Mahoun's immediate family. Conaing, slain at Clontarf, 1014; Ceinneide, ancestor of O'Kennedy; and Longergán (whose grandson is mentioned, *Four M.*, 1045), were nephews of Mahoun, the sons of his brother, Donnucan, lord of Ormond (sl. 948). At the time of Mahoun's murder, therefore, these his nephews were all of age, and able to take vengeance on his murderer. Ogan (ancestor of O'Hogan) was the son of Eghtighern, who was the son of Cosgrach, son of Lorcan, and brother of Ceinneide, the father of Mahoun and Brian. There was another Eghtighern, lord of Tho-

mond, Mahoun's elder brother. But he was slain in 948 (=949) *Four M.*

² *O'Neill.* This seems to be the meaning of the obscure stanza, "The Clann Cormaic from afar," &c., p. 105. The text is evidently corrupt.

³ *Murchadh.* See p. 105. In this stanza Murchadh is called "heir of the chief king of Erin," which leads to the suspicion that this poem must not have been written until after the year 1002, when Brian became "chief king of Ireland."

⁴ *Belach-Lechta.* This is a chasm in the mountain called Cenn-Abrath or Cenn-Febrath. According to a legend told in the Tripartite Life of St. Pat-

"king of Munster,"¹ fell, with 1,200 of his troops, both foreigners and Irish, and the victor took hostages of South Munster, or Desmond.

Manner of
Molloy's
death.

In this short account of the battle no mention is made of the person by whom Molloy was slain.² The narrative

rick, this mountain lies between Loch Longa (N.W. of Glenworth, in Fermoy, co. of Cork), and Ardpatrick, in the barony of Cosblea, co. of Limerick. St. Patrick wishing to erect a church in this latter place, the chieftain of the country opposed him, but said that if Patrick could remove the great mountain, Cenn-Febrath, so as to give him from the place where he stood a view of Loch Longa, he would become a Christian. Patrick having prayed in faith of the Lord's promise, (Matt. xvii. 20), the mountain began to bend from its top until a great piece of it lay level with the plain, forming the chasm or pass called *Belach-Leghtha*, "Road of Melting," or dissolving. "Est autem in prædicto monte, in loco ubi montis diminutio visa est incipere, via patens, quæ nomine inde recepto perpetuam facit miraculi memoriam. Vocatur enim vulgo *Belach-Leghtha*, .i. via liquefactionis vel resolutionis, quia ibi mons videbatur prius resolutionem et diminutionem pati." *Vit. Trip.*, iii., c. 48. (Colgan, *Trias Thaum.*, p. 158). See O'Donovan, *Suppl. to O'Reilly*, in voc. *Ceann-abhrath*. *Belach-Lechta*, as the name is written in the present work, and by the Four M., signifies "the road of the Tomb or Monument," and is so translated by Dr. O'Connor. Cenn-Febrath is now *Belach-Febrath*, vulgo *Ballahowra*.

¹ *King of Munster*. Here Molloy is expressly called "King of Munster," and his right to succeed Mathgamhain admitted, although in the list of Munster kings (chap. ii.) his name is

omitted. But we have shown that this list is the interpolation of a transcriber, and did not proceed from the original author. See p. xvii.

² *Was slain*. The Dublin Annals of Inisfallen say that Molloy was slain in the battle by Murchadh, son of Brian. For this the only authority seems to be the poetical challenge to a single combat, sent on the part of Murchadh to Molloy by the messenger Cogarán. See p. 105. The account of the battle given in these Annals under A.D. 978 (which is the true year) is as follows:—"The battle of Belach-Leachta [was gained] by Brian, son of Ceinneide, and by Murchadh, Brian's son, and by the Dal Cais, over Maolmuaidh, son of Bran, with the race of Eoghan mór and the Lochlanns of Munster, in which Maolmuaidh was slain by the hand of Murchadh, son of Brian, and twelve hundred of the Gaill, with a great multitude of the Gaedhil. Some historians, and our author" [i.e. the author of the original Annals of Inisfallen] "in particular, say that it was at Berna Derg, on Sliabh Caoin, this battle was fought, or at Sliabh Fera-muighe-Feine [Fermoy mountain]. I find in other old writers that it was on Cnoc Ramhra, on the south side of Malla [Mallow], on the road to Corrach [Cork], that this victory was gained [*lit.*, this defeat was given] by Brian; and I find in other writers that the battle of Belach-Leachta was fought beside Macromtha [Macroon], close to Muisire-na-mona-mór." Ann. Innisf. (Dubl.), A.D. 978. It seems evident that there is some confusion in this

evidently implies that he was slain in the battle in fair fight, and not under any peculiar circumstances; but the former account of his death (chap. lxi.) tells us that Aedh Gebennach, of the Deisi-beg, "found him in an alder hut," at the *ford* of Belach-Lechta, and slew him there after he had been "deprived of his eyes through the curse of the clerk." This represents him as having been slain, not in the battle itself, but immediately after the battle. It may have been that he lost his eyes in the battle, which misfortune was believed to be the consequence of the clerk's curse (see p. 93); and that having concealed himself in the alder hut near the ford, Aedh Gebennach discovered his retreat, and slew him without mercy. This supposition seems the only mode of reconciling the two accounts, if indeed it does reconcile them.

Brian having thus subdued his enemies and taken hostages, became, by the death of Molloy, undisputed king of Munster; and the remainder of the present work is devoted to his history and achievements. He commenced by the reduction of the Deisi, or Decies of Waterford, who were in close alliance¹ with the Danes of Waterford and Limerick. After a victory at Fan-Conrach,² or, as it is also called, Dún Fain-Conrach, he "ravaged and plundered" the whole country to Port Lairge, the harbour of

Brian king
of Munster.

account between the place where Mahoun was murdered and the place where Molloy was slain.

¹ *Alliance.* Donovan, the murderer of Mahoun, is said to have married a daughter of the Danish king of Waterford, and his daughter was married to Imhar or Ivar of Waterford. See Geneal. Table V., p. 249.

² *Fan-Conrach.* The Dublin Ann. of Inisfallen, and Mulconry's MS. copy of Keating, call this place Fan mic Conrach. *Fan* may mean *church* (*Fan-am*); and there is a Cruimther [or Presbyter] *Conrach* in the Irish Calendar, at Feb. 23. See *Mart. of Donegal*. But *Fan* is also a *declivity*,

a *sloping ground*, which is, doubtless, the meaning here; and we may infer from the name *Dún Fain-Conrach* (fort of Fan-Conrach) that there was an antient fortress at the place. It was probably in the neighbourhood of the town of Waterford. A friend has suggested that *Conrach* may have been corrupted into *Comeragh*, and have given name to the Comeragh mountains, co. of Waterford. He states also that there are considerable remains of earthworks on the side of the mountain facing the city of Waterford, and that traditions exist among the people of a battle fought there by Brian.

Waterford. He banished Domhnall,¹ son of Faelan, king of the Deisi of Waterford, who, we are told, had "forced the war upon him," although no mention is made of this chieftain in the former part of our author's narrative.

Having gained these advantages, Brian took hostages from Mumhain or Munster, the only mode at that time of securing the loyalty of any tribe; in other words, he was recognized as king of Munster; and it is mentioned that he also took hostages of *the churches*, "lest they should receive rebels or thieves to sanctuary."²

His conquest of
Ossory and
Leinster.

Ossory was next subdued. Gillapattrick,³ son of Donnchadh, its "king" or chieftain, was taken prisoner, and forced to give hostages. Brian then marched to Leinster, to the great plain of Magh Ailbhe,⁴ where he received the

¹ *Domhnall*. The Ann. Inisf. say that Domhnall was slain on this occasion; but this is contrary to our author's testimony, and to the Four M., who tell us that he *died* in 995 = A.D. 997. He was the son of that Faelan, son of Cormac, king of the Deisi, who was murdered by Ivar of Lime-rick, in consequence of his adherence to the cause of the Dal-Cais. (See ch. I., p. 73, and p. cxvii. *supra*, n. 1). And yet we now find the son on the opposite side, in alliance with the Danish enemy. A similar instance of the facility with which the clans changed sides in those turbulent times, is found in the fact that Cian, son of Molloy, immediately after the death of his father, made peace with Brian, married Sadhbh, or Sabia, Brian's daughter, fought with him on the occasion mentioned in the text against the Deisi, and afterwards at Clontarf.

² *Sanctuary*. See ch. lxvi., p. 107.

³ *Gillapattrick*. This chieftain was son of Donnchadh, son of Cellach, son of the celebrated Cearbhall, or Carroll, king of Dublin, whose

alliance with the Norsemen of Iceland and Dublin is so remarkable a fact in Irish history. Gillapattrick in 997 (Four M., 895) was slain by Donovan, son of Ivar of Waterford (see Geneal. Table IV., No. 25), and by Domhnall, son of Faelan, of whom we have just spoken. Gillapattrick was the ancestor of the family of Mac Gillaphadruig, of Ossory, who have now taken the name of Fitzpatrick.

⁴ *Magh Ailbhe*. There is a townland and village now called *Moynalee*, in the parish of Kilmore, barony of Upper Deece, county of Meath; but this was not in Leinster. Dinn-Riogh (now Ballyknockan Moat), one of the residences or palaces of the kings of Leinster, was in a plain, also called Magh Ailbhe, on the banks of the Barrow, a little to the south of Leighlin bridge, in the townland of Ballyknockan, county of Carlow; (*Book of Rights*, pp. 14, n. °, 16, n. °.) In the Magh Ailbhe of Meath was a stone, called Lia Ailbhe [Stone of Ailbhe], which fell A.D. 1000, and was made into four millstones by King Malachy II.; *Four M.* (998=1000). The

homage¹ of the two kings of Leinster, Domhnall Claen, king of the eastern, and Tuathal, king of the western plain of Liphé, or Liffey. This was eight years after the murder of Mahoun, or A.D. 984; and thus Brian in that year became the acknowledged king, not of Munster only, but of all Leth-Mogha, the southern half of Ireland.

And now he began to aim at becoming supreme king of all Ireland. He assembled "a great marine fleet" on Loch Deirg-Dheirc. He went himself in command of 300 boats² up the Shannon to Loch Ree. From this position he plundered Meath as far as Uisnech,³ and Brefné (a district comprising the counties of Leitrim and Cavan), "beyond Ath-liag and upwards."⁴ He sent also 520, whether boats or men is not said, into Connaught, where "great evils" were perpetrated, and Muirghius (or Morris), son of Conchobhair, the chieftain next in succession as eligible to the throne of Connaught, was slain.⁵ It appears

His naval
prepara-
tions.

Ann. Ult. (998-9) call this stone *prim dindgnai maighi Bregb*, "the principal monument of *Magh Bregb*."

¹ *Homage*. "They came into his house" (p. 107); i.e., they submitted to him, and paid him homage. See also p. 118, and p. lxxxix., *supra*, n. 2.

² *Boats*. The word used is *lestar* or *lestar*, which signifies a bowl, a drinking cup, any kind of vessel, a small boat. See O'Donovan, *Suppl. to O'Reilly*. The MS. B uses the word *eatar*, which is probably a small river boat. Cormac's glossary derives it from *ethur* (inter) between: .i. *ethaid o ur co or*; "because it goes from shore to shore." Stokes' *ed.*, p. 18, *voc. Ethur*.

³ *Uisnech*. Now Ushnah hill, or Knock-Ushnagh, midway between Mullingar and Ballymore, co. of Westmeath.

⁴ *Upwards*. i.e., north of Ath-liag, a ford of the Shannon, on the borders of Roscommon and Longford, where

the town of Lanesborough now stands. This town is called in Irish Bel-Athaliag, mouth of Ath-liag, or of the stone-ford. In 934 (4 M.) Olaf Cuaran and his 'Gaill came from Loch Erne across *Brefne* to Loch Ree, passing through the county of Longford, which was the ancient *Tebhtha*, or *Teffia*.

⁵ *Slain*. Two others are mentioned as having been slain by Brian, but they are not said to have been slain on this occasion. These are—1. Ruaidhri (or Rory), son of Cosgrach, "King of the *Ui Briuin*," or descendants of Brian, brother of Niall of the Nine Hostages. (See O'Flaherty, *West Connaught*, p. 126, *sq.*) The Four M. tell us that this chieftain was slain in 992 (=994), not by Brian or his troops, but by Conchobhair, son of Maelseachlainn, and by Giolla-Cheallaigh (or Kilkelly), son of Comhaltan O'Clery, lord of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne. (O'Donovan, *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 392). 2. Muirghius,

from the Four Masters (A.D. 987=989), that the foreigners of Waterford were amongst Brian's forces on this occasion.

Malachy
alarmed.

These exploits seem to have alarmed Maelseachlainn, or Malachy II., king of Ireland, who had been eighteen years on his throne, and had strengthened himself by many victories over the Danes and native chieftains.¹ He now took steps to come to an understanding with Brian.² The two chieftains met at Plein-Pattoigi³ (p. 109),

A peace
concluded.

where Brian had brought his fleet, and "a mutual peace" was concluded. It was agreed that all hostages in the custody of Malachy were to be surrendered to Brian; whether they were of the Munster foreigners, or of the Leinster tribes, of the Hy Fiachrach-Aidhne (in the county of Galway), or of the Hy Many (West Connaught). On

son of Ruaidhri or Rory, who, our author says, "was slain afterwards." The Four M. record his death at 995 (=997), thus: "a battle was gained over the Munster-men by Cathal and Muirghius, the two sons of Ruaidhri, son of Cosgrach, and by Ui Cellaigh [O'Kelly], wherein many fell, and Muirghius, son of Ruaidhri, fell in the heat of the conflict."

¹ *Chieftains.* In 983, Malachy, then in alliance with his half brother, Gluniarain, son of his mother Donnfaith by Olaf Cuaran, defeated, in a bloody battle, Domhnall Claen, k. of Leinster, and Ivar, of Waterford, after which he plundered Leinster. In 985 he plundered Connaught, and slew its chieftains. In 989 he defeated the Danes, and besieged them in the Dun of Dublin for twenty nights, until they capitulated for want of water, and promised a tribute to be paid every Christmas for ever. In 990 Malachy gained a victory in Thomond, Brian's own country. In 992 he invaded Connaught and repulsed Brian, who had advanced into Meath as far as

Loch Annin, now Lough Ennell. In 996, two years before the peace of Blean-Phuttoge, Malachy had plundered Nenagh, in Tipperary, and *defeated Brian*; he then again attacked Dublin, and carried off the Ring of Tomar and the sword of Carlus, relics which were held in honour by the Dublin Danes. *Four M.*, 994 (=996.) But our author does not mention these triumphs of Malachy. They explain, however, how he came to have in his custody the *hostages* alluded to in the treaty; and also why Brian so readily came to terms.

² *Brian.* This *treaty* is passed over without notice by all our annalists, except the *Dubl. Inisfall.*, where it is mentioned at 997.

³ *Plein Pattoigi.* This place is now *Blean-Phuttoge*, a townland in the barony of Kilkenny West, county of Westmeath, on the shore of Lough Ree. *Ord. Map*, Sheet 15. The word *Blein* or *Blean*, signifies a harbour. For this identification the editor is indebted to the research of Mr. W. M. Hennessy.

these conditions Malachy was to be recognized as sole sovereign of Leth Cuinn (the northern half of Ireland), "without war or trespass of Brian." This was A.D. 998, two years before the battle of Glen-mama.

"After the death of Domhnall Claen," the province of ^{Revolt of} Leinster revolted,¹ and made an alliance with the Danes ^{Leinster.} of Dublin (ch. lxvii.), menacing Brian with war. He therefore mustered his forces, and marched towards Dublin, intending to blockade the city. He appears to have halted on his way in a place called Glen-mama, or Glen of the Gap, near Dunlavin, the ancient fortress of the kings of Leinster, in the county of Wicklow. Here Malachy seems to have joined him, and here he was opposed by the allied Danish and Leinster armies, who had previously sent away their families and cattle for safety into an *angle*² near Glen-mama.

Alarmed at finding that Brian was moving there, they ^{Battle of} went forward "beyond their families" to meet him. ^{Glen-} There ensued a bloody battle, in which, after great ^{mama.}

¹ *Revolted.* There is some difficulty here in the chronology. Domhnall Claen's death is dated 985. The treaty with Malachy is dated 998. Therefore, if we understand our author to say that Leinster revolted immediately after the death of Domhnall Claen, that revolt must have taken place 12 or 13 years before the treaty of peace. It is more probable, however, that the words "after the death of Domhnall Claen" were not intended to imply *immediately* after his death; or else that the revolt had continued for some time before Brian felt himself strong enough to march upon Dublin.

² *An angle.* Called by our author *Ascaill Gall*, the "angle of the foreigners." *Azilla Gallorum*. See note p. 110. There is still near Dunlavin a curious angular piece of land, which, although surrounded by the counties of Wicklow

and Kildare, was formerly a part of the county of Dublin. It is now in the barony of South Naas, co. of Kildare. This was possibly the angle to which the Leinstermen sent their cattle and families. But they are said to have used for the same purpose the districts of Ui Briuin Chualann, Ui Gabhra [*read* Ui Gabhla], and Ui Donnchadha (page 111.) The Ui Briuin Chualainn were the descendants of Brian, brother of Niall of the Nine Hostages, who settled in the district round Sliabh Cualann, now *Sugar-loaf* mountain, in the territory of Cualann, south of the co. of Dublin, and north of Wicklow. The Ui Gabhla were seated in the S. of the co. of Kildare. See *Four M.*, A.D. 497 (p. 160, n. 1.) The territory of the Ui Donnchadha (or O'Donoghue) is described as that through which the river Dodder flows, in the co. of Dublin.

slaughter on both sides, Brian¹ was victorious. Aralt, or Harold, son of Olaf Cuaran, the heir apparent of the foreigners of Ireland, Cuilean, son of Echtighern,² and 4,000 of the Danes of Dublin, were slain.³ The victorious

¹ *Brian.* Our author makes no mention of Maelseachlainn or Malachy in this engagement, although from the account given of the battle by Tighernach and the Four M. there is good reason to think that Malachy was present. The Annals of Ulster, however, make no mention of him.

² *Son of Echtighern.* The Four M., Tighernach, and the Ann. Ult. call this chieftain "Cuilen, son of Eitigen," and speak of him as one of the "chiefs of Atheliath" (Dublin); his name seems Celtic, but from this we can draw no inference. Cuilen was the name of a son of Cearbhall, son of Dungal, lord of Ossory, and king of Dublin. *Four M.*, 884.

³ *Slain.* The following interesting account of the site of this famous battle has been communicated to the editor by the Rev. John Francis Shearman, formerly R.C. Curate in that neighbourhood, now of Howth. "Glenmama is said by all our historians to have been in the neighbourhood of Dunlavin (Dun-Liamhna); the name is ancient, and is mentioned in the *Circuit of Ireland* by Muircheartach MacNeill, edited by Dr. O'Donovan, line 61. The name, however, is now unknown in the neighbourhood, and utterly forgotten, unless it be supposed to exist still in a corrupted form in the name of the townland of *Mainwar*, popularly *Man of war*, in the parish of Tubber. A wide-spread tradition of a great battle against the Danes exists among the people, and men of the last generation could point out the place where the bodies of the

slain lay heaped together in promiscuous sepulture. The road by which Brian pursued the retreating Danes is still well known. An elevated tableland rises about 2 miles below Ballymore Eustace, and runs north and south for nearly 8 miles to Rathsalagh, forming a sub-range to the Wicklow mountains. About midway a valley divides this ridge east and west, on the southern slope of which, facing the west, the modern town of Dunlavin stands. The ancient fortress of Dunlavin lay more to the south, and higher up on the hill side. The moat of Tournant marks the place, where is also an old cemetery, with remains of a still earlier time, pagan tumuli, and fragments of stone circles, known in this part of the country as the 'Piper's stones.' This valley, I believe, is the ancient Glenmama; and although there is now no road or pathway through it, a road is said to have run through this glen from the earliest period, leading to Liamhain, Maistin, and the other primitive fortresses of mid-Leinster, and thence eastwards to the port of Wicklow by Glendalough and Holywood, whence an old road ran across the mountains, which still retains in some places its ancient pavement, not unlike the old Roman roads. It is locally called St. Kevin's road, this saint having made his first retreat at Holywood, where his cave is still to be seen, with many other reminiscences of his retirement. The precise spot in this valley where tradition says the 'fight began,' is situated between the

army seems to have met with no opposition on their way to Dublin, where they immediately made themselves

townlands of Friar-hill, in the parish of Tubber, and Black-hill and Brewer's-hill, in the parish of Dunlavin (Ord. Map, Sheet 15), at a point somewhat to the west of the place in which the parishes of Dunlavin, Tubber, and Cryhelpe, or Crebelp, meet in the slate quarries. At this spot the valley narrows, with steep banks on the south or Black-hill side. Towards the east it again widens, and on the S. side is an angle called Gauleenlana (i.e., *Gaúl-an-glenna*, the fork of the glen), opposite to which a glen runs northward up to the townland of *Mainear*. This is now called Tubber glen, but its older name was '*Glenvigeha*' (*Glen-pigeða*, Glen of fighting). From Gauleenlana the glen opens to the south, under Brewer's-hill, and is here called *Plezzica* (perhaps *Bleisce*, the stony place); a pool here is called *Tubber-rillar*, a well on the hill side *Thienveg*, and a small morass in the debris of the slate quarries is called *Poulmona*, while the mearing between this and *Merganstown* is known as the Lorg-ditch. The modern road from Dunlavin to Cryhelpe crosses the valley at the slate quarries. About 60 years ago it was a mere bridle path, while the land on either side was unbroken by drain or fence, and covered with gorse and heather. Glen-mama may be said to terminate at the slate quarries, between which place and Glenvigeha, or Tubber glen, a gentle slope rises to Cryhelpe, from the summit of which the land again slopes to the east. The old pass crossed about here, and this may be the place called *Claen Conghair* (A, Four M., A.D. 999 and 740, n. *), i.e., the slope of the path. A portion of this road may be traced across the lower part of Cryhelpe. It

passes near a little disused cemetery called the *Religeen*, which is now nearly obliterated by the annual encroachments of the plough. Nothing remains but a few granite boulders, with round cavities in them, used perhaps for bruising corn. Many such are to be seen in the old cemeteries of this neighbourhood. Near this are also the remains of an old town, said to be the ancient village of Cryhelpe. This road crosses the bog of Cryhelpe, and passes by a very curious and well-preserved stone circle, which is, as here usual, called the '*Piper's stones*,' adjoining the *Bealach Dunbolg* at the ford of *Athgreany*, under *Dunboyke*.

"It would appear that the Danes expected to reach Dunlavin, and perhaps to encamp there to meet the forces of Meath and Munster; but Brian seems to have anticipated their movements, and to have met them in the narrow defile of Glen-mama, thus cutting off their retreat. Here there was no room for a regular encounter, and the flight must have been immediate. The main body of the Danish army flew across the sloping land through *Kinsellastown*, to the ford of *Lemmonstown*, where a rally seems to have been made by them, and where it is said thousands fell in the conflict. To this day their bones are turned up in the fields about the ford, and some mounds on the banks of the stream are so filled up with bones that the people leave them untilled as being sacred repositories of the dead. The remnant of the defeated army fled to *Holywood*, about a mile to the east of the ford, and thence to the ford of the *Horsepass*, on the *Liffey*, above *Poul-a-phouca*, where they were utterly routed. Towards the

Dublin
taken.

masters of the fortress.¹ Here spoils of great value were found ; great quantities of gold, silver, bronze, and precious stones ; carbuncle gems, buffalo horns, and beautiful gob-

close of the last century the wild lands of Upper Cryhelpe were reclaimed, and many relics of this retreat were brought to light, chiefly in a line from Tubberglen to Lemmonstown ford, the workmen, coming upon the pits where the bodies of the slain were buried, left them intact, closing them up again. In the defile of Glen-mama, during the first week of May, 1864, one of these pits was accidentally opened ; bones were turned up, and also the fragments of a Danish sword (now in the possession of Dean Graves, Pres. R.I.A.); the clay was found black and unctuous, as if thoroughly saturated with human remains. Tradition states that in this retreat 'the son of the King of the Danes' fell among the slain, and that his body was interred in the old cemetery of Cryhelpe, which is now obliterated, and almost unknown. Within its circuit nothing remains but a rude granite shaft, 5 feet 8 inches above the soil, with an oblong aperture cut through it to admit the insertion of a wooden or stone arm to form a cross. It is called '*Cruisloe*,' and now serves as a scratching post for cattle. Under this rude memorial, as the same tradition avers, sleeps in his gory grave Harold, the son of Amlaff, 'the crown prince of the foreigners of Erinn.'

"Another but smaller body of cavalry fled through Glanvigea to reach (perhaps) the ford of the Liffey at Ballymore Eustace; and, while crossing a quagmire called '*Moinavantri*,' at '*Moinavodh*,' in Tubber, some of them were engulfed in the morass, and there perished. In the year 1849 this morass was drained, and while being filled up with stones and rubbish, a quantity of bones, apparently those of

the horse and the cow, together with the antlers of an elk, 'boiled up' to the surface.

"A third party fled from the valley eastward by the '*Religeen*' to the Bealach Dunbolg to gain the shelter of the wild recesses of Hollywood and Slieve Gadoe (Slievegad or Church Mountain), passing near where Aedh Mac Ainmire was slain in 598. Tradition says that Brian Borumha pursued them along the Bealach to Hollywood, where are to this day ancient and majestic yew trees around the church of St. Kevin, in whose spreading branches the king of Leinster may have lurked until his place of concealment was discovered by Murchadh, son of Brian. The flight continued to the Horsepass on the Liffey, where the Danes made another fruitless rally. Their defeat left the road to Dublin free and unimpeded for the victorious legions of Brian and Maelsechlainn."

¹ *The Fortress*. Two bardic poems, one of them imperfect, are here inserted in the MS. B, in celebration of this victory. They contain no information of any consequence; but in the second of them (p. 115), the number of the Danes slain at Glen-mama, is said to have been 1,200, instead of 4,000, as in the prose narrative (p. 111). It is also said that neither the famous battle of Magh Rath (see p. 111.) nor the great battle of Magh Ealta [or Clontarf], was to be compared "in prosperous results" to the battle of Glenmama (p. 115). This poem was evidently written after, but probably not long after the battle of Clontarf; before that battle had come to be represented as decisive. It is doubtless, an interpolation.

lets, as also "vestures of all colours."¹ Brian and his army, we are told, made slaves and captives of "many women, boys, and girls," and this is defended as being a just retaliation upon the foreigners, who were the first aggressors, having come from their home to contest with the Irish the possession of their own country and lawful inheritance² (p. 117).

Brian is said in one place (p. 113) to have remained in Dublin from great Christmas to little Christmas, *i.e.*, from Christmas to the Circumcision;³ but in another place (p. 117) he is said to have remained from Christmas to the Feast of St. Brigit (Feb. 1st). Be this as it may, he seems to have made Dublin his head-quarters until he had reduced the greater part of Leinster to subjection, and taken hostages; he also burned and destroyed the wood called Coill Comair,⁴ making clearances, and dismantling fortresses, doubtless with a view to his intended military operations.

Brian's
occupation
of Dublin.

¹ *Colours*. Here follows a paragraph, which is most probably an interpolation, in which is explained how the Danes came by their great wealth: namely, by the plunder of fortresses, churches, and subterraneous caves. Their magical powers enabled them to discover everything that had been concealed under ground, or hidden in the solitudes of the Fians and fairies. This is an instance of the lingering belief (among Christians) in the magical powers of the pagan idolatrous rites. The Fians were the ancient Irish Militia, whose leader was the celebrated Finn Mac Cumhaill, slain A.D. 284. Legends of the prowess and exploits of the Fians were favourite subjects with the Irish bards. This class of poetry still exists in the Highlands of Scotland, but elsewhere is principally known by Macpherson's imitation of the Ossianic tales. In Ireland this literature is abundant. See the "Boyish Exploits of Finn Mac Cumhaill,"

edited by Dr. O'Donovan, 1859, and other publications of the Dublin Ossianic Society. Comp. Keating's curious account of the qualifications necessary for admission to the Order of the Fianna, or Fenians; *O'Mahony's Transl.*, p. 343, sq.

² *Inheritance*. A paragraph is here inserted laudatory of Brian, setting forth his services against the Danes, and the 25 battles gained by him over them; this has also the air of an interpolation, although it occurs in both MSS.

³ *Circumcision*. The Four M. rightly understood by "Little Christmas" the Octave of Christmas. Tigernach (A.D. 999), says that Brian remained "a full month" at Dublin; *co raibhe an mi nlan*: which Dr. O'Connor erroneously reads *an min lan*, and translates "remanet ad libitum ibi."

⁴ *Coill Comair*. "Wood of the confluence" [of two or more rivers], a place now unknown to the editor. It was, however, in Leinster.

Submission
of Sitric,
son of Olaf
Cuaran.

Meantime "the king of the foreigners" (called Amlaibh in the text (p. 119); but we should evidently read "son of Amlaibh,") namely, Sitric, son of Amlaibh, or Olaf Cuaran, fled after the battle of Glen-mama to seek protection from the northern chieftains, Aedh,¹ king of Ailech, or North Uladh, and Eochaidh,² king of East Uladh. But they both refused to protect him, and appear to have delivered him up to the officers sent by Brian to pursue him. Accordingly three months after his defeat at Glen-mama, "he came into Brian's house," in other words, "submitted to Brian's own terms," and was restored to his former command in the Dún, or Castle of Dublin.

The truth is that Sitric was now necessary for the accomplishment of Brian's ambitious plans. An alliance was accordingly made with him. It was probably on this occasion that Brian gave his daughter to Sitric in marriage, and possibly formed his own connexion with Sitric's mother, Gormflaith,³ of whom we shall hear more in the sequel.

¹ *Aedh*. He was son of Domhnall O'Neill, king of Ireland (A.D. 956), grandson of the celebrated Muirchertach of the leather cloaks. He was slain in the battle of Craebh Tuleha, 1003. (*Four M.*) See Table I. p. 245.

² *Eochaidh*. He was son of the Ardul, Ardgai, or Ardgair, who was slain at the battle of Cill-mona. (See p. 45, and p. xcvi., *supra*.) Madugan (father of Ardgai) sl. 948, was son of the Aedh, son of Eochagan, who was slain in the battle of Kilmashogue in 919. (See p. xci., *n*.) The royal palace of eastern Uladh at this time was at Dundaletglas, now Downpatrick; as the palace of Northern Uladh was at Ailech. Uladh, with the Danish addition of *stir* (province), has now become *Uladh-stir*=Ulster.

³ *Gormflaith*. She was the sister of Maelmordha, king of Leinster, daughter of Murchadh, and grand-daughter

of Finn, Lord of Offaly, who was slain 928. She was married first to Olaf Cuaran, by whom she had the Sitric mentioned above; then to Malachy II., by whom she was divorced or repudiated (after she had borne to him a son, Conchobhair or Connor); and thirdly to Brian, by whom she was also put away. The *Njal Saga* calls her *Kormlada*, and describes her as "the fairest of all women, and best gifted in every thing that was not in her own power," i.e., in all physical and natural endowments; but "she did all things ill over which she had any power," i.e., in her moral conduct. (*Burnt Njal*, ii., 323.) It is remarkable, as showing the close alliances by marriage between the Irish chieftains and the Danes at this period, that Donnflaith, daughter, or grand-daughter (see p. clii., *n*. 2) of Muirchertach of the Leather cloaks, and

Maelmordha, King of Leinster, brother of this Gormflaith, was also now taken into Brian's favour. This prince had allied himself with the Danes of Dublin in the hope of securing¹ for himself the crown of Leinster, and had fought with them against Brian at Glen-mama. After the victory he concealed himself in the foliage of a yew tree, where he was discovered and taken prisoner by Murchadh, or Murrough, Brian's son. But when Brian made alliance with Sitric of Dublin, the same policy induced him to take Maelmordha also into his friendship; and Donnchadh, son of Domhnall Claen, the actual king of Leinster, was deposed, that Maelmordha might be put into his place.²

And of
Mael-
mordha,
king of
Leinster.

Having formed this confederacy with those who were so lately his bitterest enemies, Brian now returned home, that is to say, to Cenn-coradh,³ or Kinncora, his usual residence, near Killaloe, after having enriched his followers with the spoils of Dublin and of Leinster. Here, in defiance of his recent treaty,⁴ and in violation of good

Brian
returns to
Kinncora.

(after the death of her first husband, Domhnall, son of Donnchadh, King of Ireland), "married" Olaf Cuaran, and had by him Gluniarain, King of Dublin. Malachy II. afterwards married Gormflaith, Olaf Cuaran's widow, and finally married Maelmaire, a sister of Sitric, who was the same Gormflaith's son by Olaf Cuaran. From her name Maelmaire ("servant of Mary") this daughter of King Olaf Cuaran seems to have been a Christian.

¹ *Securing*. In 999, about a year before the battle of Glen-mama, in alliance with Sitric, he had captured Donnchadh, son of Domhnall Claen, king of Leinster, and declared himself king in his place. See *Ann. Ult.* 998 or 9. *Four M.*, 998 (=1000).

² *Place*. See chap. lxxi., p. 119.

³ *Cenn-coradh*. "Head of the weir." This word has greatly puzzled the Scandinavian editors of the *Njals Saga*, who

have written it *Kantaraborg*, confounding it with *Canterbury*, or supposing a place in Ireland with that name; others write *Kunniattaborg*, and render it quasi *Kunnaktir-borg*, "the capital of Connaught." (See the Latin version of *Njal Saga*, p. 591, and *Burnt Njal*, II., p. 323). But the change of *t* into *c* or *k* gives *Kankaraborg* a sufficiently close representation of Kinncora. *Burnt Njal, Introd.*, p. cxci., note.

⁴ *Treaty*. Dr. O'Brien, in his *Law of Tanistry* (Vallancy, *Collect.* i., p. 520), endeavours to throw the blame of violating the treaty upon Malachy, who had made "a great plundering" in Leinster, which Dr. O'Brien says, was "Brian's kingdom." The *Ann. Ult.* record this plunder in their year 998-9, the year of the battle of Glen-mama, but before they mention that battle. It is true the annalist Tighernach re-

His invasion of Meath.

faith and honour, he organized a formidable conspiracy for the purpose of deposing Malachy, and placing himself on the throne. Our author's account of this transaction (chap. lxxii.) is, that Brian having mustered all the forces of Legh Mogha, the southern half of Ireland, both foreigners and Irish, invaded Meath, and marched as far as Tara, from whence he sent ambassadors to Malachy demanding hostages or battle. Malachy requested a truce for a month to enable him to consult his tribe; and this was conceded. Brian pledged¹ himself that no plunder, ravage, trespass, or burning (p. 119) should be attempted

cords it *after* the battle (at 999), but does not say that this was any violation of the treaty; and at the very next year speaks of Brian's invasion of Meath as *his first treacherous rebellion* against Malachy, *cet impod tre mebail*; which plainly implies that Brian was the first to break faith. The fact seems to be, that, whilst Brian was at Dublin, Malachy plundered Leinster so as to complete the subjection of that district, whilst Brian was dealing with the Dublin Danes. The statement of Dr. O'Brien, that "In the year 1000 Brian was earnestly solicited by the princes and states of Connaught to dethrone Malachy," &c., is wholly without authority from any ancient source, although it is found in Keating. Even our author, with all his Dalcassian zeal, makes no mention of it.

¹ *Pledged himself*. This story of a truce for a month seems in itself highly improbable, and was probably invented by the Dalcassian authors to give some colour of generosity to Brian's conduct. No mention of it occurs in the Annals. The story, as told in the Annals, is this:—Brian, with an army consisting of his own troops, and his recently conquered vassals of South Connaught, Ossory, and

the Munster foreigners, marched to Tara. His Danish cavalry of Dublin, however, had set out before him, and were completely defeated by Malachy in person. Brian then advanced to *Fertanímhe* (now unknown) in Magh Brehg, but returned "without battle, without plunder, without burning." (*Four M. and Tighernach*, 999=1001). The *Ann. Ult.* say nothing of Brian's march to Tara, and represent Malachy's victory over the Danish and Leinster cavalry as having taken place after Brian's expedition to *Fertanímhe*; adding that his cavalry having been completely routed (*perne omnes occisi*), Brian retired, "cogente Domino," without battle or plunder. *Ann. Ult.* 999 (=1000). Tara, it should be remembered, had been deserted by the kings of Ireland since the middle of the sixth century, although Mr. Moore speaks of "a palace," "a stately structure" there, burnt by Brian on this occasion. *Hist. Irel.*, ii., p. 95. Malachy at this time resided at Dun-na-sgiath [fort of the shields], on the banks of Lough Ennell, co. of Westmeath, probably in the parish of Moylisker, where there are still many ancient raths. There was another Dun-na-sgiath in Tipperary, which has been already noticed. See p. cxvi., n. 1.

during that time, but he himself in person remained at Tara, pending Malachy's answer.

Malachy employed this interval of truce in endeavouring to obtain assistance from his relatives¹ in the north of Ireland, and from Cathal, son of Conchobhair, king of Connaught; resolved, if these chieftains should fail him, to submit to Brian's demands, and give him hostages. Our author adds that this resolution to give up "the freedom of Tara" (*i.e.*, his rights as supreme king of Ireland) was not more disgraceful to Malachy than it was to his northern kinsmen of the Clanna Neill, and the other clans of Leth-Cuinn, the northern half of Ireland (p. 121).

The messenger sent to Aedh O'Neill by Malachy on this occasion was Giolla-Comgaill O'Slebhinn, the chief bard of Ulster, whose poetical account of his mission is inserted² into our author's narrative. This poem is an earnest exhortation to the three chieftains, Aedh O'Neill, Eochaidh, of East Ulster, and Cathal, of Connaught, to rescue Tara (meaning the monarchy of Ireland) from the grasp of Brian. Aedh is exhorted by the glories of his race, by the dishonour that would attach to him if he allowed the throne of Ireland to pass from the Hy Neill, and by the hint that Maelseachlainn was ready to abdicate³ in his favour, if by his aid the present danger should

Malachy
seeks aid
from the
northern
Hy Neill.

Poetical
account
of the
mission to
Aedh
O'Neill.

¹ *Relatives.* These were Aedh O'Neill, King of Ailech, and Eochaidh, son of Ardgal, king of Uladh, p. 121. Of these we have already spoken. See p. cxlviii., n. 1, 2. Cathal, son of Conchobhair, king of Connaught, was the father of Tadhg, leader of the forces of Connaught at the battle of Clontarf, where he was slain in 1014. See *O'Flaherty's West Connaught*, p. 133, No. 48. This Cathal was ancestor of all the O'Conors of Connaught.

² *Inserted.* Chap. lxxlii., p. 121. This poem occurs in the older MS. D, and not in O'Clery's MS. As O'Slebhinn lived to 1031, he may have acted as Malachy's messenger in 1002 or 3,

and there is no reason, except its having been excluded by O'Clery, for supposing the poem to be an interpolation. It was quite consistent with the manners of the times that the message should be delivered in poetry, especially when the ambassador was a professional bard. The family of O'Slebhinn, now Slevin, was of the clann Fergus, descended from Fergus, king of Ireland in the sixth century, and, therefore, of the Cinel Eoghain, the same tribe of which Aodh was the head. See *Geneal. Table I.*, p. 245.

³ *Abdicate.* See the first stanza of the poem at the beginning of p. 125.

be averted. Eochaidh is exhorted to bring the Ulaidh, or men of eastern Ulster, of whom he was chieftain, and Cathal to bring "the illustrious men of Olnegmacht,"¹ or Connaught; thus the whole of the race of Herimon would be assembled (Aedh leading the northern Hy Neill, and Malachy the southern Hy Neill)² against the usurpation of the house of Heber, of which Brian was the representative. The reader, it is hoped, with the explanations already given, will have no difficulty in understanding the historical allusions of this poem.³

Refusal of
Aedh.

Aedh O'Neill however (ch. lxxiv.) refused to comply with the poet's request, on the ground that when the

¹ *Olnegmacht*. This was the name of a tribe of the Damnonii, the aboriginal settlers in Connaught, from whom the name of Olnegmacht was poetically given to the whole province. It is probably from this tribe that Ptolemy gave the name of *Nagnata* to a district in Connaught.

² *Hy Neill*. See the last three stanzas of the poem on p. 123.

³ *This poem*. It may be well, however, to remind the reader that *Lis Luigheach*, in stanza 1, is Fort of Lughaidh Menn, ancestor of the Dal Cais. See Geneal. Table III., p. 247. "The House of Tal," or of Cas Mac Tail, is also another name for the Dal Cais; and Temhair of Fal, or Fail, is Tara of Fal, so called from the ancient stone called Lia Fail; comp. stanzas 15 and 19. See *Petrie on Tara* (Transact. R.I.A., xviii., p. 159, sq.) Magh-Bregh or Bregia (st. 3) has already been explained; and Tara is called Tara of Bregh (st. 5), because it is situated in the plain of Bregia. In st. 5 (p. 123) the poet supposes Donn-faith (mother of King Malachy II.) to have been Aedh's sister, and, therefore, daughter to King Domhnall O'Neill, son of Muirchertach of the leather

cloaks; but the received opinion (following Keating, *Reign of Maelsechlainn II.*) makes her not sister, but aunt to Aedh, daughter of Muirchertach Leather cloaks, and sister to Aedh's father. If this be so, Aedh and Malachy were first cousins; on the former supposition Aedh was Malachy's uncle. For *Corc's Brugh* (st. 14, p. 125) see note ², p. 124. The Corc intended was Conall Corc, king of Munster; (see Gen. Table IV., No. 6, p. 248). In the same stanza "Lugaidh's land" is the territory of the Dal Cais, so called from Lugaidh Menn. Table III., No. 6. In st. 16, *Lurc* or *Lorc* signifies Leinster, from Laeghaire Lorc, alluded to again st. 24, who was the common ancestor of the Hy Neill, and of the kings of Leinster; hence the poet's argument, that his descendants ought to make common cause against Cashel. In st. 17 "Muirchertach of the red prowess" is Muirchertach of the leather cloaks. In st. 20, "Cormac, grandson of just Conn," is Cormac, grandson of Conn of the Hundred Battles, and son of Art Aentir, ancestor of the Hy Neill, north and south, and therefore "to his race belongs this western hill;" i.e., Tara, or the throne of Ireland. Hence, Tara

chieftains of the Cinel Eoghain¹ were kings of Tara, they were able to defend their own rights without applying for any external aid, and that he would not risk his life, or the blood of his clan, for the sake of securing the sovereignty of Ireland for any other man. Malachy, on receiving this cold refusal, resolved to go in person to Aedh, to offer him hostages, and to abdicate the throne in his favour. Aedh was himself anxious to give to this proposal a favourable answer (p. 129); but it was necessary to obtain the consent of the clan to the aid in war, which was the condition of it. He therefore assembled the Cinel Eoghain, and laid the question before them. They all voted against engaging in warfare with the powerful sept of the Dal Cais. Aedh then advised a more solemn consideration of the subject; and the tribe, having "retired to secret council," decided that as neither side could expect to vanquish the other, they would refuse Malachy's request, unless he would consent to cede to them "one-half of the men of Meath and of the territory of Tara,"—(in other words, half of the hereditary jurisdiction and possessions of his tribe, the Clan Colmain)—to become from thenceforth the property of the Cinel Eoghain.

On receiving this unfavourable, and indeed insulting answer, Malachy retired in great wrath, and having summoned his tribe, the Clan Colmain, reported to them the state of the case. They agreed, as a matter of necessity, to submit to Brian. Accordingly Malachy set out, with a guard of honour of twelve score horsemen only, and, "without guarantee or protection, beyond the honour of Brian himself and that of the Dal Cais," made submission, and offered to give hostages. Brian answered that as Malachy

The Clan Colmain agree to submit to Brian.

is called Cormac's Hill, *st.* 16. In *st.* 22 (p. 127) Cathal, King of Connaught, is called "descendant of the three Cathals," [*na cath* "of the battle" a play upon his name], because he had three predecessors Kings of Connaught called Cathal, viz., Nos. 43, 36, and 22,

in Mr. Hardiman's list of the Kings of Connaught. Hardiman's ed. of *O'Flaherty's West Connaught*, p. 132, *sq.*

¹ *Cinel Eoghain*, or Northern Hy Neill. The Tribe of which Aedh was himself the chieftain. See *Genealogical Table I.*, p. 245.

had trusted to his honour, he would take no hostages, but would grant him a truce for a year,¹ without pledge or hostage, adding, that he was ready to declare war against Aedh and Eochaidh, provided Malachy would promise not to join them against him. Malachy readily made this promise, but strongly advised Brian to return home satisfied with the result of his expedition, "as having received submission from himself" (p. 133), and so, having attained the great object of his ambition. Brian's followers, being now "at the last of their provisions," readily consented to adopt this advice; and Brian, before he set out for his home, gave twelve score steeds to be divided among Malachy's twelve score mounted followers. But not one of Malachy's men "would deign to carry a led horse with him," showing their reluctance to accept any gift which implied vassalage to Brian. Accordingly, Malachy bestowed the twelve score steeds upon Murchadh, Brian's son, who had that very day given "his hand into Malachy's hand," in token of alliance and friendship (p. 133), and who, by taking back his father's horses, did not in any way compromise himself.

The crown
passes to
Brian
without
any formal
act of ces-
sion.

Nevertheless, this transaction, notwithstanding its palpable hollowness, seems to have been deemed sufficient to transfer the throne to Brian, and to reduce Malachy to the condition of a vassal,² under the title of King of Meath. He appears to have submitted, however reluctantly, without a struggle; nor is the exact date of the change expressly marked by our annalists, with the exception of Tighernach, who adds, in Latin, at the end of his year 1001 (=1000 of the Four Masters), "*Brian Boruma*

¹ *A year.* No mention of this truce for a year occurs in the Annals.

² *Vassal.* It is remarkable that henceforth in the Annals, whenever Malachy and Brian are mentioned as acting together, Brian's name is put first, although before this time it was the reverse. The Four M., at A.D. 997,

have "an army was led by Maelsechlainn and Brian," &c. "Maelsechlainn with the men of Meath, and Brian with the men of Munster," &c.; see also A.D. 998, p. 739, 741. But at A.D. 1001, p. 747, and A.D. 1003, p. 749, we have "Brian and Maelsechlainn."

regnat." The Four Masters, on the other hand, describe their year 1001 as the twenty-third year of Malachy, and A.D. 1002 as the first year of Brian. But Malachy began his reign in 980, so that the year 1001 of the Four Masters, which they say is the twenty-third of Malachy, is really A.D. 1003-4. If so it follows that Malachy continued king during the year 1002-3, although the commencement of Brian's reign¹ was counted from 1002.

The new sovereign began his rule by "a great naval expedition" to Athluain, now Athlone, and by an invasion of Connaught by land. Hostages were brought him without demur to his head-quarters at Athlone, by the Connaught chieftains, as well as by Malachy.² In the same year³ an expedition was made "by Brian⁴ to Dun Dealgan (now Dundalk), to demand hostages from Aedh and Eochaidh, the two chieftains of Ulster," who have been already so often mentioned. But Brian's policy seems to have been at this time peace. Aedh and Eochaidh met him at Dundalk, and a truce for a year was agreed to, on the condition that the northern chieftains "were not to attack Malachy or Brian's Connaught allies, during that year, but to continue as friends."⁵

Brian seeks
hostages
from Con-
naught and
Ulster.

When the year was out, Brian mustered his forces (ch. lxxvii.), and invaded the Ultonian chieftains. He appears at this time to have received the submission of all Ireland as far northwards as the county of Armagh. Our author says that he was followed by "all the men of Erin, both

Invasion of
Ulster.

¹ *Brian's reign.* See Dr. O'Connor's note on *Tighernach*, A.D. 1001 (*Rer. Hib. Scriptt.*, ii., p. 270), and O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 435.

² *Malachy.* Chap. lxxvi., p. 133. Four M. 1001.

³ *Same year.* Our author says (p. 133) that the expedition to Athlone was "at the end of a year after this," and also that the expedition to Dundalk was "at the end of a year." The meaning apparently is, at the end of

the year of truce granted to Malachy, so that the same year is intended. This may account for the first year of Brian being also considered the last year of Malachy; and thus the story of the truce for a year is incidentally confirmed.

⁴ *By Brian.* Our author mentions Brian only. The Four Masters, *Ann. of Ulster*, and *Tighernach*, say, by Brian and Malachy.

⁵ *Friends.* See p. 135.

Gaill and Gaedhil, of all who were from Sliabh Fuaid¹ southwards," that is to say, south of the district which owned Eochaidh as its lord. This was by far the greater part of Ireland; and resistance to such an army by the provincial troops of the North was hopeless.

Weakness
of the
northern
chieftains.

Aedh O'Neill having failed to give him battle, Brian seized hostages from all Ulster. This seems to show some weakness in the condition of the northern chieftains, which two years² afterwards manifested itself in open warfare between the Cinel Eoghain, under their youthful chieftain, Aedh O'Neill, and the eastern Ulstermen, under Eochaidh; it ended in the battle of Craebh-Tulcha, in which Aedh and Eochaidh were both slain, Aedh being at the time only twenty-nine years of age.

Brian in-
vades the
North.

Brian lost no time in taking advantage of this discord. He proceeded immediately to invade the Cinel Eoghain and Uladh. Marching his troops through Meath, and remaining a night at Tailtín,³ he advanced to Armagh, where he laid an offering of twenty ounces of gold upon the altar⁴ of the cathedral. He carried off hostages from Uladh, Dalaradia, and all the North, except the country of the Cinel Conaill, the present county of Donegal (ch. lxxvii.).

Leaves an
offering of
gold at
Armagh,
and takes
hostages.

Brian now (ch. lxxviii.) felt himself strong enough to

¹ *Sliabh Fuaid*. "Mountains of Fuaid" (a man's name); in the south of the county of Armagh, now called the Fewes mountains, from the barony of *Fiadha*, or *Fiodh*, in which they are situated.

² *Two Years*. The Ann. Ult. say that the battle of Craebh Tulcha took place on Thursday, the 18 kal. Oct., which would indicate the year 1004. The Four M. date this battle 1003, but in that year the 18 kal. Oct., (which is always Holy Cross day) fell on Tuesday. Dr. O'Donovan supposes Craebh Tulcha ["spreading tree of the hill"] to be the place now called Crew, near Glenavy, barony of Upper Masse-reene, county of Antrim. But see Reeves's *Eccles. Antiq.*, p. 342, n. .

³ *Tailtín*, now Teltown, a parish in the barony of Upper Kella, co. of Meath.

⁴ *Altar*. It was probably on this occasion that the curious entry was made in the Book of Armagh, in presence of Brian, by his confessor or chaplain, in which Brian, as chief King of the Irish "Imperator Scotorum," recognised the supremacy of the see of Armagh, and put on record an authoritative declaration on the subject—"finituit" (read *finivit*) "pro omnibus regibus Maceriæ;" i.e. of Cashel—viz. for himself and his successors. See O'Curry's Lectures, p. 653. By this politic measure, Brian evidently hoped to secure the favour and support of the northern clergy.

execute a project which, as we learn from the Four Masters, ^{His circuit of Ireland.} he had twice before¹ attempted, but which the power of the Northern Hy Neill had prevented him from carrying out. This was to make a circuit² of all Ireland, for the purpose of carrying off hostages, to secure the submission of the tribes who had not as yet tendered their allegiance.³

¹ *Twice before.* The first attempt was immediately after he had received the submission of Malachy, A.D. 1001; when "Brian and Maelsechlainn, accompanied by the men of Ireland, Meathmen, Connaughtmen, Munstermen, Leinstermen, and foreigners," went to Dundalk, where the northern chieftains met them, but "did not permit them to advance further." Again, in 1003, the Four M. tell us "Brian and Maelsechlainn" led an army into North Connaught as far as Traigh Eochaile (near Ballysadare, co. of Sligo), to proceed around Ireland, "but they were prevented by the Ui Neill of the North."

² *Circuit.* In imitation, probably, of the circuit of Muirchertach of the leather cloaks. See "The Circuit of Ireland, by Muirchertach Mac Neill," edited by Dr. O'Donovan for the Irish Arch. Society, 1841.

³ *Allegiance.* His route is minutely described by our author (ch. lxxviii.) Having started apparently from Killaloe, he travelled northwards through the midst of Connaught, into Magh-n-Ai, otherwise called *Muchaire Connaught* [the plain of Connaught], a great plain in the co. of Roscommon, extending from the town of Roscommon to Elphin, and from Castlereagh to Strokestown; over Coirr-Sliabh (now the Curlew mountains, near Boyle), into Tir-Ailella (now the barony of Tir-errill, co. of Sligo), into the district of Cairpre (now the barony of Carbury, same co.), over the Sligeach, or river Sligo, "keeping his left hand

to the sea, and his right hand to the land," by Benn-Gulban (now Binbulbin, a remarkable mountain near Sligo), over the Dubh or Black river (now the Duff, on the borders of Sligo and Leitrim), and over the Droghais, (now the Drowis, which rises in Loch Melvin, and falls into the sea at Bun-drowes, near the town of Donegal); into Magh nEine (now Moy, a plain in Donegal); then over Ath Senaigh (or Bel-atha-Seanaigh [mouth of the ford of Seanaich], now Ballyshannon; at Easruadh or Eas Aedha ruadh (Assaroe) [cataract of Aedh Ruadh], now the salmon-leap, on the river Erne, Ballyshannon); into Tir-aedha (now the barony of Tirhugh, co. of Donegal), and across Bearnas Mór (now Barnesmore Gap, on the road from Donegal to Stranorlar); over Fearsad into TirEoghain (Tyrone), thence to Dal-riada and Dal-araidhe, to Uladh, and thence to Belach-Dúin, where he arrived about Lammass. Dal-riada is now *the Route* in the northern half of the co. of Antrim. It is not to be confounded with Dal-araidhe or Dal-aradia, in the southern part of the co. of Antrim, and north of co. of Down. *Uladh* was originally the name of the whole province of Ulster, but after the conquest of the ancient Ultu by the Oriels under the Collas, the name became restricted to the district which included the southern half of Antrim and all the co. of Down, but afterwards was confined to the southern portion of Down. In this last sense it is here used. See O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 372. Dr. O'Donovan suggests that

Having effected this purpose¹ as far as was possible, Brian dismissed his troops,² being probably short of provisions. The men of Leinster crossed Bregia, marching southwards to their homes; the foreigners went off by sea to Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick; and the Connaughtmen passed through Meath westwards to their province (p. 137). No mention is made of the Munstermen, who remained, we may fairly conclude, with their chieftain. Having stopped at Craebh Tulcha,³ or returned thither, the Ulaid or Ulstermen supplied him with provisions, for which Brian paid liberally in horses, clothing, gold, and silver (p. 137).

Naval
expedition
to plunder
Great
Britain.

Then follows a paragraph, which is most probably an interpolation.⁴ It pretends that Brian, after his circuit of Ireland, organized a naval expedition, consisting of the foreigners of Dublin and Waterford, the Ui Ceinnselaigh, from the county of Wexford, and the Ui Eathach of Munster.⁵ These were all maritime tribes, and were sent to "levy royal tribute;" in other words, to plunder, from the Saxons and Britons, from the Lemhnaigh⁶ in Scotland, and from the Airer Gaedhel, or inhabi-

Belach-Dúin may have been Belach-Dúna-Dealgan, "the pass of Dundalk." *Four M.*, p. 756, n. ^b. But Dr. Reeves (*Adamnan*, p. xlv.), identifies Belach-Dúin with Castlekeeran, barony of Upper Kells, co. of Meath, on the Blackwater, three miles N.W. of Kells. *Fersad* is mentioned as if it was a place between Bearnas Mór and the entrance into Tyrone. The *Four M.* call it *Feartas Camsa*. The *Ann. Ult.* call it *Feartais Camsa in Ultu in aenach Conaill* ["Feartais Camsa in Uladh, in Conall's fairgreen"], if so, it ought to have been mentioned after Tir Eoghain; but it is perhaps more probable, that the words *ocus it Tir Eoghain* are an interpolation. *Feartas Camsa*, "passage, or ford, of Camus," was on the river Bann, which separates the counties of Derry and Antrim, near the old church of Macosquin or Camus-juxta-

Bann. *Four M.*, p. 745; Reeves, *Ecccl. Ant.*, p. 342; and *Adamnan*, p. 96-7.

¹ *Purpose*. The *Four M.* say "that he did not get hostages of the Cinel Conaill or Cinel Eoghain," p. 757.

² *His troops*. They are called in the text "the men of *Erinn*," because they had followed Brian in his capacity of Ard-righ, or High King, of Erinn, and not as chieftain of any particular clan or province.

³ *Craebh Tulcha*. See p. clvi., n. ².

⁴ *Interpolation*. See notes, pp. 136-7.

⁵ *Ui Eathach of Munster*. Seated on the S.W. shore of the co. of Cork, round Bandon and Kinsale. See p. cxxvi., n. ²; and B. of Rights, p. 256, n.

⁶ *Lemhnaigh*. The *Leamhnacha*, or men of Lennox, are so called from the Leamhain, a river flowing from Loch Lomond. Lennox is perhaps *Leamhain-uisce*, Leamhain, or Levinwater.

tants of Argyle. This expedition is not mentioned in the Irish Annals, nor, so far as the editor knows, in any other authority.¹ The plunder thus obtained was divided into three parts: one-third was given to the Dublin Danes; one to the warriors of Leinster and of the Ui Eathach; and one "to the professors of sciences and arts, and to those who were most in need," this latter portion having been probably devoted to useful and charitable purposes, as a set off against the questionable morality of the means by which it was acquired.

Then follows (chap. lxxix.) an account of the peace and prosperity² which flourished in Ireland during Brian's administration. He banished and enslaved the foreigners, and rescued the country from their oppression. "A lone woman might have walked in safety from Torach," now Tory Island, off the north coast of the county of Donegal, to Cliodhna, or Carraic Cliodhna, a rock in the harbour of Glandore³ (i.e., through the whole length of Ireland), "carrying a ring of gold on a horse-rod" (chap. lxxx.) He erected or restored churches, among which are particularly mentioned the church of Cell-Dalua, or Killaloe; the church of Inis-Cealtra, an island in Loch Derg; and the Cloichtech (belfry), or Round Tower, of Tuaim-Greine.⁴ He encouraged literature and learning. He made bridges,⁵ causeways, and roads. He strengthened the principal

Peace and prosperity of Brian's reign.

¹ *Authority.* The story, however, although probably exaggerated, may have had some foundation in fact. Policy may have led Brian to turn into a foreign channel that restless spirit of his pirate subjects which might otherwise have found vent nearer home.

² *Prosperity.* The Annals do not confirm this glowing picture of a peaceful reign.

³ *Glandore*, anciently *Cuandor* [Golden harbour], a beautiful bay between the baronies of E. and W. Carbury, S. of the co. of Cork. In this bay is the rock called Cliodhna's rock, upon which beats a wave called Tonn-Chliodhna, *Tun-cleena*, (Cliodhna's

wave), said to utter a plaintive sound when a monarch of the south of Ireland dies. Cliodhna was the name of a fairy princess in an ancient Irish legend. See the *Feis Tighe Chonain* (Ossianic Soc.), pp. 97, 162.

⁴ *Tuaim-Greine.* Now Tomgraney, a parish in the N. E. of the co. of Clare.

⁵ *Bridges.* Maelsechlainn is said by the Four M. to have made causeways or bridges at Athlone and at Athliag (now Lanesborough), with the assistance of Cathal Ua Conchobhair, King of Connaught, "each carrying his portion of the work to the middle of the Shannon." A.D. 1000, and O'Donovan's note f, p. 744.

royal forts¹ and fortified islands of Munster. He dispensed a royal hospitality; administered a rigid and impartial justice; and so continued, in unbroken prosperity, for the remainder of his reign, having been at his death thirty-eight years king of Munster, and fifteen years sovereign of all Ireland.²

Mael-
mordha
arrives at
Kincora.

Our author proceeds (ch. lxxxi.) to mention some curious circumstances which disturbed this prosperity, and led, indirectly at least, to the celebrated battle of Clontarf. We have already spoken of Maelmordha, King

¹ *Royal forts.* It will be remarked that *islands* are included in the enumeration of the different kinds of fortresses: "duns, fastnesses, *islands*, &c.," p. 141. These were the artificial islands or *crannogs* (so called because they were made of *crann*, trees);—the *Pfahlbauten* of the Swiss antiquaries. A list of the fortifications built or strengthened by Brian is given:—They are—1. *Caisil*, or Cashel, a word which signifies a *wall*, and is translated *maceria* in the Book of Armagh; see p. clvi., n. 2. 2. *Cenn-abrat*, or Cenn Febrath, near Killfinan (as Dr. O'Donovan conjectured), S.E. of the co. of Limerick (see p. cxxxviii., n.), where there are still some fine earthen mounds. 3. The island of *Loch Cend*, a lake near Knock-any, co. of Limerick, now dry. 4. The island of *Loch Gair*, now Lough Gur, near Bruff, co. of Limerick. Considerable remains of this crannog exist, which are now the more visible, as modern drainage has very much reduced the depth of the lake. The island is of unusual size, and contains the ruins of a stone fortification. The neighbourhood is full of megalithic circles and cromlechs. In the lake have been found the finest extant specimens of the *Cervus Hibernicus*, or gigantic deer of Ireland. 5. *Dun-Eochair Maige* (or "fort of the bank of the [river] Maigne," co. of Limerick), probably now Bruree. 6.

Dún-Cliath, or *Dún Cliach*, a fort on the hill of Knock-any, territory of Cliach, co. of Limerick. 7. *Dún-Crot*, or *Dun-gCrot*, a ford at the foot of *Sliabh gCrot*, now *Sliabh Grud*, one of the Galtees, in the glen of Aherlagh, co. of Tipperary. 8. The island of *Loch Saiglend*, unknown. 9. The island called *Inis an Goill-dubh* (island of the black foreigner), unknown; see p. xx., *supr.* Four M., 1013, p. 770, n. 10. *Rosach*, called *Rosach-nariogh* in the MS. B, now perhaps *Rossagh*, near Doneraile, co. of Cork, *B. of Lismore*, fol. 148, a. 11. *Cenn-coradh*, or Kincora, Brian's own residence near Killaloe. 12. *Borumha*, or Bel-Borumha, a remarkable fort, about a mile north of Killaloe. It is said that Brian there protected the cattle spoil which he levied from Leinster, under the name of Borumh, or Boromean tribute.

² *Ireland.* See p. 141. The more correct date assigns but 12 years to Brian's reign as King of Ireland, assuming A.D. 1002 to have been his first year. Our author quotes the bard Giolla-Moduda O'Cassidy as his authority for the *fifteen* years, but Keating, quoting the very same stanza, although without naming the poet, reads twelve years. Giolla-Moduda died about 1143. O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. [2]. The metre is not altered by either reading.

of Leinster, and of his sister Gormflaith, who was at this time with Brian at Kincora. She is called by our author "Brian's wife," and "the mother¹ of Donnchadh, son of Brian."

Maelmordha arrived at Brian's residence, bringing with him three large pine trees to make masts for shipping. These were probably the offering or tribute paid by Maelmordha as Brian's vassal. The trees had been cut in the great forest of Leinster, called Fidh-Gaibhli, now

He brings with him three pine masts for ships.

¹ *Mother*. The three "marriages" of Gormflaith are described in some verses quoted by the Four M. (1030), as three "leaps" or "jumps, which a woman should never jump." This seems to hint that the three leaps were not legitimate marriages. They were "a leap at Ath Cliath, or Dublin," when she married Olaf Cuaran; "a leap at Tara" when she married Malachy II.; and "a leap at Cashel" when she married Brian. The Four M., at 1009, record the death of Dubhcobhlaigh, a wife of Brian [daughter of Cathal O'Conchobhair or O'Connor, King of Connaught]. This creates some difficulty; for if Brian's marriage with Gormflaith took place in or after that year, her son Donnchadh could not have been old enough to have taken a command at the battle of Clontarf. If, on the other hand, that marriage took place as a part of Brian's policy to conciliate the Dublin Danes, after Glenmama, A.D. 1000 (see p. cxlviii), Donnchadh could not have been more than 13 years of age at Clontarf. This, it may be said, was probably not too young, according to the customs of the period; the clan would follow the son of their chieftain as a Righdomhna or possible heir; but why did they follow a boy when they might have chosen one of their late chieftain's elder sons? That there was something wrong is evident from the fact, that a prophecy, as we shall see,

was put in Brian's mouth, designating Donnchadh as his heir. See p. 201. A greater difficulty is that we find Gormflaith at Kincora, and she is called by our author "Brian's wife," at the time of her brother's unfortunate visit there with his pine masts. This must have been after 1009, and, therefore, after Gormflaith had been repudiated, and after the death of the wife Brian had married in her place. Possibly after this lady's death Gormflaith may have visited Kincora in the hope of recovering her position; but finding herself coldly received, she became "grim" against Brian, as the Saga says, and resolved upon a deadly revenge.

The only other explanation of the difficulty is probably the true one, that Donnchadh was illegitimate, and so may have been as old, or nearly as old, as Murchadh. We know that very lax notions prevailed in that age amongst the Irish about concubinage and bigamy. The Njal-Saga says that Gormflaith was not the mother of Brian's sons (meaning, perhaps, that she was not the mother of the sons whom it names), and also, according to Dr. Dasent's version (*Burnt Njal*, ii., p. 323), that "Brian was the name of the king that *first* had her to wife." But for the word *first* there does not seem to be any authority either in the original Icelandic, or in the Latin translation, of the Saga.

Figili.¹ This forest extended into the territories of three tribes² (the Ui Failghe, the Ui Faelain, and the Ui Muiredhaigh), at the point where the present county of Kildare unites with the King's and Queen's counties. Each tribe³ furnished one of the three masts, and each tribe sent a party of its men to carry their respective trees. When ascending a boggy mountain a dispute occurred among the men, probably upon the precedency of their tribes, which Maelmordha decided by assisting in person to carry the tree of the Ui Faelain. He had on a tunic of silk, which Brian⁴ had given him, with "a border of gold around it, and silver buttons." By the exertion he made in lifting the tree, one of the buttons came off; and on his arrival at Kincora, he applied to his sister Gormflaith to replace it. She took the tunic and cast it into the fire, reproaching him, in bitter and insulting language, for his meanness in submitting to be a servant or vassal to any man, and adding that neither

¹ *Figili*. Or *Feegile*. The name remains in the parish of Clonsast, King's co., a few miles N. of Portarlinton.

² *Three tribes*. The district inhabited by the Ui Faelain occupies about the northern half of the county of Kildare, including the baronies of Clane and Salt, Ikeathy and Oughterany. *B. of Rights*, p. 206, n. The Ui Muiredhaigh (called by the English. *Omurethi*, O'Toole's original country) were seated in the southern portion of the co. of Kildare, viz., in the baronies of Kilkea and Moone, E. and W. Narragh, with Reban, and parts of Connell. *Ibid.*, p. 210. The territory of Ui Failghe consisted of the baronies of E. and W. Offaly, county of Kildare, those of Portnahinch and Tinnahinch, in the Queen's county, and that portion of King's county which is in the dioceses of Kildare and Leighlin. *Ibid.*, p. 216, n.

³ *Each tribe*. The MS. D, adds to

the three tribes the Laighis or Leix, and the three Commains. O'Clery seems to have rejected this reading, and it is probably an interpolation. If it were true there ought to have been more than three masts. The district of Leix, in the Queen's co., adjoins the site of the ancient wood of Fidh Gaibhli. The three Commains were septs in the N. of the present co. of Kilkenny, and S. of the Queen's co., on the borders of the ancient Oaraighe or Ossory. They were, therefore, at a considerable distance from the wood of Fidh-Gaibhli. For an account of Leix see *B. of Rights*, p. 214, n. p.

⁴ *Brian*. It is worthy of note that one of the *rights* to which the King of Naas (i.e., of Leinster), was entitled from the King of Ireland was "fine textured clothes at Tara," and, therefore, after Tara was abandoned, wherever the King held his court. *B. of Rights*, p. 251.

his father or grandfather¹ would ever have yielded to such indignity.

Her words naturally irritated Maelmordha, and prepared him to resent every insult. An occasion soon presented itself. Brian's eldest son,² Murchadh, or Murrugh, was playing a game of chess with his cousin Conaing,³ when Maelmordha, looking on, suggested a move, by which Murchadh lost the game. Angered at this he said to Maelmordha, "That was like the advice you gave to the Danes, which lost them Glenmama." The other answered, "I will give them advice now, and they shall not be again defeated." Murchadh replied, "Then you had better remind them to prepare a yew tree⁴ for your reception."

This insult set fire to the fuel, and early the next morning Maelmordha quitted the house in wrath, "without permission, and without taking leave" (p. 145).

Brian hearing this sent a messenger to entreat of him to return and listen to an explanation. Cogarán, the messenger (see p. cxxxvi.), overtook him at the bridge of Killaloe as he was mounting his horse. But the King

He takes offence.

Quits Brian's house in anger.

¹ *Grandfather.* Her grandfather was Finn, chieftain of the Ui Failghe (or Offaly), sl. 928, who was the son of Maelmordha, son of Conchobhar, ch. of Offaly (ob. 921). Finn had a son, Murchadh (sl. 970), who was the father of Maelmordha, King of Leinster (sl. at Clontarf, 1014), and of Gormflaith. Finn had also a son, Conchobhair (ob. 977), who was the father of Congalach (ob. 1017), father of Conchobhar (ancestor of O'Concobhair Failghe, or O'Connor Faly), father of Brogarbhan (sl. at Clontarf, 1014). Gormflaith died 1020. Maelmordha, King of Leinster, Gormflaith's brother, had a son, Bran, who was the ancestor of the Ui Brain, or O'Byrne, of Leinster. He was blinded by his cousin, Sitric, King of Dublin (his father's great ally), in 1018 (1017 Four M.).

He died at Cologne, 1052. See *Ann. Ult.*

² *Eldest son.* Brian's first wife was Mór, daughter of Eidhin, ancestor of the OhEidhin (now O'Heyne), of the race of Guaire Aidhne, King of Connaught. See O'Donovan's *Hy Fiachrach* (p. 398). By her Brian had three sons—1. Murchadh; 2. Conchobhar; 3. Flann; all slain at Clontarf. The *Njal-Saga* erroneously states that Brian's son, Donnchadh, was the eldest, misled probably because, owing to Murchadh's death, he succeeded his father as King of Munster. *Burnt Njal*, ii., p. 323.

³ *Conaing.* Son of Brian's brother, Donnucan. Conaing was afterwards slain at Clontarf. Others suppose that Conaing O'Carroll, erenach of Glendalough, was intended. See note ¹, p. 144.

⁴ *Yew tree.* See above, p. cxlix.

Excites the
Leinster
tribes to
revolt.

of Leinster's irritation had not yet subsided; he struck the ill-fated Cogarán a violent blow on the skull with a stick, and "broke all the bones of his head." Maelmordha then returned¹ in haste to his own territory, and lost no time in making known to his tribe the great insult he had received, using all his influence to excite them to avenge his wrongs. They resolved upon a revolt, and messengers were sent to Flaithbheartach (or Flaherty), son of Muirchertach² O'Neill, to Fergal³ O'Rourke, King of Breffné, and to Ualgarg O'Ciardha,⁴ King of Cairbre O'Ciardha (now the barony of Carbury, in the N.W. of

¹ *Returned.* A minute account of the route Maelmordha took on his way to Leinster is given. Leaving Killaloe he spent the first night at Sen Leas Abáinn [old fort of St. Abban], in the district of the *Ui mBuidhi*, which was in the Queen's county (baronies of Ballyadams and Slievemargy), on the river now called Douglas, a tributary of the Barrow. Here he remained for the night at the house of Mac Berdal (now *Berry*), chieftain of the *Ui mBuidhi*. The distance from Killaloe to this place cannot have been less than sixty statute miles, a good day's journey. The next morning he stopped at Garbh-thamhnach [rough field], otherwise Garbh - thonnach [rough mound or rampart], an ancient seat of the kings of Leinster, in the territory of the *Ui Muiredhaigh* (see p. clxii., n²), between Naas and Maynooth. The exact site has not been ascertained. The house seems to have been then occupied by Dunlaing, son of Tuathal, King of Western Liffé, ancestor of the *Ui Tuathail*, or O'Toole's of Leinster. See *Four M.*, 1013, and O'Donovan's note ⁷. At this place Maelmordha summoned the tribes to meet him, and organized the revolt. These particulars of Maelmordha's journey are so accurately consistent with the

geography of the country that they should be regarded as undesigned evidences of the authenticity of the narrative.

² *Muirchertach.* This Muirchertach was son of Domhnall, King of Ireland, and brother of Aedh O'Neill, late chieftain of Ailech, of whom we have already spoken. See *Gen. Table I.*, p. 245. His son Flaithbheartach, who succeeded Aedh, was called an *trostain*, "Flaherty of the pilgrim's staff," because he went on a pilgrimage to Rome in 1030. See *Circuit of Ireland*, p. 63.

³ *Fergal.* This ought to be Aedb, son of Fergal Ua Ruairc, or O'Rourke, if indeed it be not entirely without foundation. Fergal himself was slain in 964 (*Four M.*) = 965 (*Ann. Ult.*) Aedh, son of Fergal, is here called King of Breffné, a district comprising the present counties of Leitrim and Cavan, but formerly a part of Connaught. His father, Fergal, was King of Connaught. *Four M.*, 964. *Topogr. Poems*, xxxvi. (262).

⁴ *O'Ciardha.* This family is now reduced to poverty, and the name, anglicized Keary and Carey, is to be found principally among the peasantry of Kildare and Meath. See O'Donovan, *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 266, note.

the county of Kildare), and these all promised their aid against Brian (p. 147).

They kept their word. Flaherty O'Neill ravaged Meath, and slew Osli [or Flosi] son of Dubhcenn,¹ son of Ivar of Limerick, one of Brian's confidential stewards, whom he seems to have appointed to uphold his interests in Meath. Ualgarg O'Ciardha and Ferghal [or Aedh] O'Rourke attacked Malachy; they plundered the Gailenga,² in Meath, and slew Malachy's grandson, Domhnall, son of Donnchadh, who would have been heir of Tara if the ordinary rule of the succession had been observed. Many other chieftains³ also were slain on this occasion. But Malachy overtook the assailants, and defeated them in a bloody battle, in which Ualgarg O'Ciardha, King of Cairbré, and Tadhg O'Cearnachan, sub-King of Brefné, with many others, fell. This event the Four Masters have assigned to the year 1013.

Encouraged by this success, Malachy pursued his victory, and dividing his forces into "three plundering parties" (p. 149), ravaged the country as far as Ben Edair, now Howth, attacking principally the foreigners.

¹ *Dubhcenn*. See above, pp. cii., ciii.

² *Gailenga*, now the barony of Morgallion, co. of Meath, which is the anglicized pronunciation of Mór-Gailenga, the great Gailenga. Of this district O'Leochain was the chieftain. Another district called Gailenga-beaga, or little Gailenga, nearer Dublin, included the monastery of Glas-Noeidhin, now Glasnevin. The chieftain of this district was O hAenghusa (now Hennessy). There was another settlement of the Gailenga, in the co. of Mayo, in Connaught. The tribe were descended from Cormac Gailenga, son of Tadhg, son of Cian, son of Oilioll Olum, King of Munster. This Cormac was surnamed Gailenga, because he had displaced an ancient tribe of the

Firbolg called *Clanna-Gaileoin*, or Gailenga. *Irish Nennius*, p. 49.

³ *Other chieftains*. Cernach, son of Flann, King of Lini (Luighne, *Four M.*), and Senan Ua Leuchan (Ua Leochain, *Four M.*), King of Gailenga, are mentioned. The Lini or Luighne derived their name from Luigh, son of Cormac Gailenga (see last note), and were, in fact, a branch of the Gailenga. Their territory in Connaught was identical with the diocese of Achadh Conaire (now Achoury), but they were also settled in East Meath, and there their name is preserved in that of the barony of *Lune*, which, however, represents only a small part of their original possessions. Cernach, son of Flann, was King of the Meath Luighne. *B. of Rights*, p. 186, n.

The invasion of Meath.

Defeated by Malachy,

Who plunders Leinster as far as Howth.

But Maelmordha, with his nephew Sitric, son of Olaf Cuaran, gathered the Danish and Leinster forces, encountered Malachy, and cut off the whole of one of his three plundering parties. In this action were slain Flann, surnamed Albanach,¹ son of Malachy, Lorcan, son of Echtighern, King of the Cinel Mechair,² and "two hundred others along with them."

The Danes
and Leinstermen
plunder
Meath.

The foreigners, with their Leinster allies, then organized an expedition to Meath (ch. lxxxv.), into the very heart of Malachy's kingdom,³ which they plundered as far as Fobhar of Fechin,⁴ and carried off captives and cattle innumerable, not respecting even the very Termon or sanctuary of St. Fechin.

After having endured these outrages, Malachy sent messengers to Brian to demand the protection⁵ to which as a vassal he was entitled.

Brian
enters
Leinster.

The war had now commenced. Brian, with his own Munster troops and his allies from Connaught, entered Leinster, and ravaged Ossory (ch. lxxxvi.) His son Murchadh, in command of another army, devastated Leinster as far as the monastery of St. Caemhgen, or St. Kevin, at Glendaloch, in the county of Wicklow. He

¹ *Albanach*, i.e., the Scotch. See note ¹⁰, p. 149. According to the Four M. this battle was fought in 1012, at Draighnen, now Drinan, near Kinsale, county of Dublin. Flann Albanach, son of Malachy, was the ancestor of Diarmaid, commonly called MacMurrough, at whose invitation the Norman knights of Henry II. invaded Leinster.

² *Cinel Mechair*. This family is now *Meagher*, or *Maher*. Their tribe name was *Ui Cairin*, whence the barony of Ikerrin, county of Tipperary.

³ *Kingdom*. This chapter (lxxxv.) does not occur in the O'Clery or Brussel's MS. The Four M. take no notice of this plundering of Meath as far as Fobhar; but it is mentioned in the

Dublin *Ann. Inisfall.* at 1013, doubtless on the authority of the present work.

⁴ *Fobhar of Fechin*. Now *Fore*, a famous monastery in the N.E. of Westmeath, founded by St. Fechin in the 7th century.

⁵ *Protection*. The words are, "praying him not to permit the Brefné [co. of Cavan], or the Cairbre [co. of Kildare], or the Cinel Eoghain [the O'Neills of Tyrone], to come all together against him," p. 149. Is it likely that Malachy, smarting under the great losses here described, would so soon afterwards treacherously join the party of his bitterest enemies against his own true interests, as the Dalcassian authors would persuade us he did?

burnt and ravaged the whole country, carrying off captives and cattle, until he arrived at Cill Maighnenn,¹ and the Green of Dublin, which was probably the plain between Kilmainham and the city.

Here Brian joined him; and they blockaded Dublin, remaining encamped before it from the festival of St. Ciaran² in Harvest to Christmas Day. But the Danish garrison of Dublin kept closely within their walls, and at Christmas, for want of provisions, Brian was forced to raise the siege and return home.

Things remained quiet during the following winter. But in spring, about the festival of St. Patrick (17th of March), Brian began to organize another expedition against Dublin and the King of Leinster (ch. lxxxvii., p. 151), and he had now no time to lose. Sitric, of Dublin, and his mother, Gormflaith, with King Maelmordha, were actively engaged in collecting forces for the final struggle. Our author says, "They sent ambassadors everywhere around them to gather troops unto them, to meet Brian in battle." Brodar, the earl, and Amlaibh, son of the King of Lochlann, "the two earls of Cair³ and of all the north of Saxon land," are particularly mentioned. They are described as pagans, "having no veneration, respect, or mercy for God or man, for church or sanctuary (p. 153). They came at the head of 2,000 men, who are represented as hard-hearted, ferocious mercenaries; "and there was not one villain of that 2,000 who had not polished, strong, triple-plated armour of refined iron or of cool uncorroding brass, encasing their sides and bodies from head to foot."

¹ *Cill Maighnenn*, now Kilmainham, near Dublin.

² *St. Ciaran*. The festival of St. Ciaran, in harvest, i.e., of St. Ciaran of Clonmacnois, was Sept. 9th. The festival of the older Ciaran of Saighir, or Seir-kieran, was March 5th.

³ *Cair*. This is evidently corrupted. See p. 151, note ¹⁴. *Cair* is probably

meant for *Cair-Ebroc*, or York (see p. 165); but in B. Brodar is called Earl of Cair Ascadal, and instead of Amlaibh, we find "Ascadal of Cair Ascadal" associated with Brodar. The Danes of Dublin were always in close connexion with their countrymen in York and Northumberland; but the *Njal-Saga* makes no mention of York.

Dublin
blockaded.

Sitric and
Gormflaith
collect
Scandinavian
allies.

Additional
particulars
supplied by
the Njal-
Saga.

Then our author gives a list¹ of the Scandinavian and other auxiliaries, who, he expressly says, were "*invited*" by the Dublin Danes to join them in resisting Brian. The Njal-Saga supplies some particulars of this invitation, which throw considerable light on the secret springs of the conspiracy. Gormflaith had sent her son Sitric to Sigurd, earl of the Orkneys, who consented to join the confederacy on the conditions that, in the event of its success, he was to be King of Ireland, and to have the hand of Gormflaith. Sitric did not hesitate to promise him this. On his return he informed his mother of the arrangement he had made, and she expressed herself well pleased, but sent him forth again to collect greater forces. She directed him to the Isle of Man, where there lay on the west coast two Vikings, with thirty ships, and she commanded him to engage their services "whatever price they might ask."

Ospak and
Brodir.

Sitric soon found them. They were brothers; one was named Ospak; the other was Brodir, who refused to give his aid except on the conditions, which Earl Sigurd had also required, namely, the kingdom and Gormflaith's

¹ List. See p. 153. These are:—
1. Slugrad, son of Lotar (*Blöðvar*, or Ludovicus), called Sigurd in the Njal-Saga, Earl of Insi Orc, or the Orkney Islands. See his genealogy, *Burnt Njal* ii., p. 11, ch. 84. 2. He was followed by the foreigners from the Orkneys, and from Insi Cat, possibly the Shetland islands. 3. There came also the foreigners of Manann (Isle of Man); of Sci, now Skye; of Leodhus, now Lewis; of Cind-Tiri (Cantire); and of Airer-Gaeidhil, now Argyle. 4. There were also two Barons of Corn Bretan or Cornwall; and Corn-da-bliteoc, of the Britons of Cill Muni (now St. David's, in Pembrokeshire). In another reading of this last clause, which shows that it was obscure to the ancient transcribers, Cornbliteoc

is spoken of as the name of a country. See note 11, p. 153. Corn-da-bliteoc, or Cornablitheoc, is mentioned here and in a subsequent part of the narrative as the name of a chieftain. See pp. 173, 183. 5. Carlus and Ebric, or Elbric, "two sons of the King of France." The King of France was at that time Robert II., son of Hugh Capet; but these may have been the sons of some inferior dynast of France. In another place (see p. 165), Elbric is described as "son of the King of Lochlann." 6. Plat or Plait, "a strong knight of Lochlann," called "son of the King of Lochlann, brave champion of the foreigners." 7. The hero Conmael, or as B. reads, "Maol." He is called Brodar's mother's son, p. 165.

hand. Sitric made no scruple to comply, stipulating only that the agreement was to be kept secret, and that Earl Sigurd especially was to know nothing about it. Accordingly, Brodir gave his word to be at Dublin on Palm Sunday, the day that had been previously fixed with Sigurd¹ and the other conspirators.

"Brodir," according to the Saga, "had been a Christian man, and a mass-deacon by consecration, but he had thrown off his faith and become God's dastard, and now worshipped heathen fiends, and he was of all men most skilled in sorcery. He had that coat of mail on which no steel would bite. He was both tall and strong, and had such long locks that he tucked them under his belt. His hair was black." Such is the Scandinavian description² of the man who was destined, after the battle that followed, to slaughter in cold blood the great King Brian, and to be himself slain at the same moment.

Ospak, however, refused to fight against "the good King Brian;" and certain prodigies, which the Saga describes, determined him to separate himself from his brother. He "vowed to take the true faith, and to go to King Brian, and follow him till his death day." So he escaped with ten ships, leaving Brodir twenty, and sailing westwards to Ireland, "he came to Connaught," to Brian's house, that is to say, to Cenn-coradh, or Kincora, on the Shannon. "Then Ospak told King Brian all that he had learnt, and took baptism, and gave himself over into the king's hand."³

In consequence of Sitric's exertions "a very great

Description
of Brodir.

Ospak
joins
Brian.

The
Muster at
Dublin.

¹ *Sigurd*. *Burnt Njal*, ii., pp. 327, 328.

² *Description*. *Ibid*, p. 329. It has been suggested that Brodir's real name is lost. He was Ospak's brother, and Brodir was mistaken for a proper name. If so, the mistake was made by the Scandinavian authorities as well as by the Irish. Maurer (quoted by Dasent, *Burnt Njal*, i., p. clxxxix.,

note), conjectures that he may have been the Danish sea-king, Gutring, who was an apostate deacon.

³ *The king's hand*. *Burnt Njal*, ii., p. 332. The Irish accounts of the battle make no mention of Ospak, or of his conversion to Christianity; in other respects they are not inconsistent with the story as told in the Saga.

fleet"¹ assembled from various quarters at Dublin. Within the city itself Maelmordha had mustered a considerable force, which he divided into three great battalions, consisting of the "muster of Laighin," or men of Leinster, who were under his own immediate command, with the Ui Cennselaigh, or Hy-Kinshela, whose country was the county of Wexford.

Brian
begins
hostilities.

Brian meanwhile had advanced towards Dublin (ch. lxxxviii.) with "all that obeyed him of the men of Ireland," namely, the provincial troops of Munster and Connaught, with the men of Meath. But these last, although they came to his standard, were suspected of disaffection,

¹ *Fleet*. See p. 153. The unpublished Annals of Loch Cé give the following account of Sitric's auxiliaries:—"There had arrived there [viz., at Dublin] the chosen braves and chieftains of the island of Britain from Caer Eabhrog, and from Caer Eighist, and from Caer Goniath. There had arrived there also most of the kings and chieftains, knights and warriors, and heroes of valour, and brave men of the north of the world: both Black Lochlanns, and White Lochlanns, in companionship and in alliance with the Gaill; so that they were in Ath-clíath with the son of Amlaff, to offer warfare and battle to the Gaedhil. There arrived there Siograd Finn [*the white*] and Siograd Donn [*the brown*], two sons of Lothair, earl of the Orkney islands, with the armies of the Orkney islands along with them. There arrived there moreover an immense army from the Insi Gall [*the Hebrides*], and from Man, and from the Renna or Srenna [*a district of Galloway?*], and from the British [*i.e., Welsh*], and from the Plemenna [*Flemings?*]. There arrived there also Brodar, earl of Caer Eabhrog, with numerous hosts; and Uithir, the black, *i.e., the soldier of Eighist*; and Grisine, the Flemish pugilist; and Greisiam, of

the Normans. There arrived there a thousand heroes of the black Danars, bold, brave, valiant, with shields, and with targets, and with many corslets, from Thafinn [?], who were with them. There were there also immense armies, and the warlike victorious bands of Fine Gall [*Fingall*], and the merchants who came from the lands of France, and from the Saxons, and from the Britons and Romans. There had arrived there, too, Maelmordha, son of Murchadh, son of Finn, chief king of the province of Leinster, with the kings, and chieftains, and stout heroes of Leinster, and with the youths and champions along with him, in the same Following. Great indeed was the Following and the Muster that came there. Warlike and haughty was the uprising that they made there, namely, the warriors and champions of the Gaill and the Gaedhil of Leinster, against the battalions of the Munster-men, and to ward off from them the oppression of Brian Borumha; and six great battalions was the full force of the Danes, *i.e., a battalion to guard the fortress [of Dublin] within, and five battalions to contend against the Gaedhil.*" *Annals of Loch Cé* (MS. Trin. Coll., Dublin), A.D. 1014.

for Brian knew, adds our author, "that they would desert him¹ at the approach of the battle,"—a piece of treachery of which they were not guilty. On his way to Dublin Brian plundered the districts of Ui Gabhla, or Ui Gabhra, and Ui Dunchadha.² He advanced into Fine-gall or Fingall,³ and burned Cill-Maighnenn, now Kilmainham.⁴ Brian then sent his son Donnchadh, or Donogh, with "the new levies"⁵ of the Dal Cais, and the third battalion of Munster, to plunder Leinster, whose people and soldiery, its natural protectors, were now engaged in the garrison of Dublin. He himself remained to watch Dublin, and to plunder the Danish country around it.

The blaze of the burning in Fingall, which included the neighbouring district of Edar, now Howth, soon attracted the attention of the enemy's troops within the city, and they at once sallied forth in battle array to attack Brian in the plain of Magh-nEalta,⁶ "raising on high their standards of battle."

The enemy
make a
sally from
Dublin.

¹ *Desert him.* This accusation was, no doubt, the result of the party spirit, which sought to blacken as much as possible the character of Malachy and his Meath-men, in order to justify Brian's usurpation of the kingdom. See a paper by the editor of the present work, in which reasons are given to clear Malachy of this charge; *Proceedings, Royal Irish Acad.*, vol. vii., p. 498, sq. It may be added that the accusation was evidently disbelieved by the Four M., who make no mention of it. See also Moore's *Hist. of Ireland*, ii., 108.

² *Ui Gabhra, and Ui Dunchadha.* See above, p. cxliii, note ².

³ *Fingall.* So called from *Fine-gall*, "district or territory of the foreigners," who had settled there. See *Four M.*, 1052; Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 108, n. Comp. *St. Patrick, Apost. of Ireland*, 295, n. ³. This was a district in the county of Dublin, extending along the coast from the city to the river Ailbhine

(now the Delvin), the northern limit of the county. Ui Dunchadha was probably that part of the county of Dublin which lies south of the Liffey.

⁴ *Kilmainham.* The MS. B adds "and Clondalkin." These famous monasteries were now in the hands of the pagan enemy, and therefore their sanctity was no longer respected even by Brian.

⁵ *New levies.* Lit. "Gray Levies." See note ¹⁰, p. 154.

⁶ *Magh-nEalta.* "Plain of the Flocks." This was the ancient name of the great plain lying between the Hill of Howth and the Hill of Tamhlacht (now Tallaght), co. of Dublin. That part of it which afterwards got the name of Clontarf, was anciently called *Sen Magh-nEalta Edair*, "Old plain of the flocks of Edair." *Four M.*, A.M. 2550. Edar was a chieftain, who is said to have flourished a few years before the Christian era. *O'Flaherty, Ogyg.*, p. 271.

Brian holds
a council
of war.

Brian was then encamped on the Plain, or Green, of Dublin (p. 155). There he held a council of war with the principal chieftains¹ of his army. We are not told the subject of their deliberations; but the result seems to have been a determination to risk a general engagement on the following morning.

Proposal of
the pirates
to Brian.

The pirates, according to some accounts, had on that night spent their pay (chap. xc., p. 157), and had resolved to return to their homes. They had gone as far as Benn-Edair, or Howth, where they had left their ships. Dreading the valour of the Dal Cais, and of Murchadh especially, they had promised Brian that if he would delay "the burning," that is to say, the burning and plunder of Fingall, until the morrow's sunrise, they would set sail and never come to Ireland again; but now, when they saw that the devastation of the country had begun, they resolved to have their share of the plunder, and prepared to commence the fight in the morning.²

Probable
origin of
the story.

This story seems in itself very improbable; but it may

¹ *Chieftains.* The members present at this council are enumerated thus: 1. The nobles of Dal-Cais. 2. Maelseachlainn, late King of Ireland, now King of Meath. 3. Murchadh, Brian's eldest son. 4. Conaing, son of Brian's brother Donnucan, lord of Ormond. 5. Tadhg an eich-gill [Teige of the white horse], son of Cathal, son of Conchobhair, king of Connaught; with the nobles of Connaught. 6. The men of Munster, meaning, of course, the chieftains. 7. The men of Meath. "But it happened," adds our author, "that Maelseachlainn and the men of Meath were not of one mind with the rest." What the difference of opinion was is not said; but this clause is doubtless connected with the Munster calumny against Malachy and his clansmen.

² *Morning.* The next chap. (lxxxix. p. 155-7) is a manifest interpolation, and does not occur in the O'Clery or

Brussel's MS. B. It tells how Brian, looking behind him, beheld the "battle phalanx" of Fergal Ua Ruairc (O'Rourke), with three score and ten banners of various colours, and especially the victorious "gold-spangled" banner of O'Rourke himself, King of the territory of West Breifné [Leitrim] and of Conmaicne, i.e., of Conmaicne Muighe-Rein, a district nearly co-extensive with the diocese of Ardagh. Besides Fergal himself, these troops had for their leader Dombnall, son of Ragallach [Reilly], ancestor of the family of O'Reilly of East Breifné (county of Cavan), and Gilla-na-naemh, son of Dombnall, and grandson of Fergal, ancestor of the family of O'Ferghail, now O'Farrell. Neither of these chieftains is mentioned in the annals, and indeed the whole story bears internal evidence of fabrication, for Fergal O'Ruairc was slain A.D. 966 [964, *Four M.*], and our author

have been founded on the fact, vaguely reported, and not very clearly understood, that the pagan leaders were anxious to delay the commencement of the battle until Good Friday ; for the Viking Brodir, as we read in the Njal-Saga, had found by his sorcery "that if the fight were on Good Friday, King Brian would fall, but win the day ; but if they fought before, they would all fall who were against him."¹ The pretended flight of a body of the Norsemen, and their promise to Brian to quit Ireland for ever if he delayed the combat, was a not unlikely stratagem to induce him to postpone the battle to the fated Friday morning.

Our author next proceeds (ch. xciv., p. 163) to give an account of the manner in which the "battalions" of the enemy were disposed. The foreign Danes, and auxiliaries, were placed in the front of the army, under the command of Brodir² or (Brodar, as the Irish authorities spell the

Disposition
of the
Danish
forces.

had already set him down amongst Brian's enemies. See p. 147, and p. clxiv, n. 3. The story, however (p. 257), goes on to say that Fergal (who was also King of Connaught), with his attendant nobles, was received with great respect and state by Brian as well as by his son, Murchadh, "who rose up to him, and seated him in his own place" in the tent. Fergal then, in reply to Brian's question, "What news?" informed him that Aedh, son of Ualgarg Ua Ciardha, King of Cairbré (now the barony of Carbury, county of Kildare), had refused to come to the battle. His father, it will be remembered, had been slain by Malachy the year before. See p. 149. Brian thereupon cursed the Ui Ciardha and the Ui Cairbré, and blessed Fergal and the men of Brefné. All this is evidently the clumsy attempt of a clansman to obtain for his chieftain the glory of having been on the victorious side in "the battle of Brian."

The bombastic narrative that fol-

lows (ch. xci. and xcii.) is also a palpable forgery, and does not occur in the MS. B. It contains an account of the arms and armour, first of the Danes, and then of the Dal-Cais ; but the description is evidently unauthentic. It makes no mention of the national battle-axe in speaking of the offensive armour of the Danes, but attributes to the Dal-Cais the possession of "glaring, bright, broad, well-set *Lochlann axes*."

¹ *Against him.* Burnt Njall, vol. ii., p. 333.

² *Brodir.* He is here called Earl of Cair Ebrec, or York, and "chieftain of the Danars." His mother's son, Conmael, cannot have been the same as Ospak, mentioned in the Saga as Brodir's brother, because Ospak had gone over to Brian's side from the beginning. Conmael, when mentioned before (see p. 153), was simply called "the hero." The name is Celtic ; but no notice of him occurs in the Irish Annals.

name), with Conmael, "his mother's son," Sigurd, earl of the Orkneys, and other chieftains of inferior note.¹ A second battalion was formed as a kind of rear-guard in support of the foreign Danes. This was composed of the Danes of Dublin, under the command of Dubhgall, son of Amlaf;² Gilla-Ciarain, son of Glun-iarainn, son of Amlaf, or Olaf Cuaran; Donchadh, grandson of Erulbh;³ and Amlaf or Olaf Lagmund, son of Goffraith. There were also in command of subdivisions of this second battalion Ottir Dubh (or the black), Grisin (or Grifin), Lummin, and Snadgair, four petty kings of the foreigners, and chieftains of ships; with "the nobles of the foreigners of Ireland." The third battalion, formed of the Leinster men and Ui Cennselaigh, was stationed behind the Dublin Danes. They were commanded by Maelmordha, King of Leinster, and other chieftains of that province.⁴

¹ *Inferior note.* P. 165. These are—1. Plait, "the bravest knight of all the foreigners." See p. 153. 2. Anrath, or Anrad, son of Elbric. Elbric is here called "son of the King of Lochlann;" although when he was mentioned before, p. 153, he is said to have been one of the sons of the King of France. 3. Carlus was also (p. 153) said to have been a son of the King of France. Here his name only occurs. These discrepancies show that we can put no great confidence in these lists of chieftains. 4. Torbenn, the black. 5. Sunin. 6. Suanin. 7. "The nobles of the foreigners of western Europe, from Lochlann westwards."

² *Amlaf.* This Amlaf or Olaf was the son of Sitric, King of Dublin. He was slain in an incursion of the foreigners into Munster, in which Cork was burned (*Four M.*, A.D. 1012). Dubhgall was, therefore, Sitric's grandson.

³ *Donchadh, grandson of Erulbh.*

These chieftains are called in the text (p. 165) the four "*crown princes* of the foreigners." The word *righdomhna*, translated "crown prince," signifies not necessarily the next heir to a throne or chieftaincy, but one who was *eligible*, and might legally be elected. The family of O'h-Eruihbh (Heriolf) was of Danish origin, and was seated in the neighbourhood of Kildare. Amlaf, or Olaf, Lagmund was the son of Goffraith (King of the Hebrides and Isle of Man, son of Harold, son of Sitric of Limerick). This Goffraith was slain in Dalaradia, A.D. 989. *Tighernach*; *Ann. Ult.*; *Brut y Tywys.*, 970, 981; *Ann. Cambr.*, 982, 987.

⁴ *Province.* The chieftains named are—1. Boetan, son of Dunlang, King of Western Leinster. 2. Dunlang, son of Tuathal, King of Liffey. His father, Tuathal, was the son of the Ugaire who was slain by the Danes at the battle of Cenn Fuait, in 916, (see p. 35, and p. lxxxix., note ²), and who was the son of Ailill (slain 869), son of

Then follows (chap. xcv.) a description of the disposition of Brian's army.¹ In the van, and immediately opposed to the foreign auxiliaries of the enemy, were the brave Dal-Cais and the Clann Luighdech,² under the command of Murchadh, Brian's eldest son, on whom a bombastic

Disposition
of Brian's
army.

Dunlang (slain 867). Tuathal was the ancestor of the families of O'Tuathail or O'Toole; of Ui Muireadhaigh; Ui Mail; and Feara Cualainn. 3. Brogarbhan, King of Ui Failghe or Offaley. See p. clxiii, n. 1. 4. Domhnall, son of Fergal. He was chieftain of the Fortuatha Laighen, and descended from Finnochadh, son of Garchu, chieftain of the Hi Garraichon, who resisted St. Patrick. For the situation of the Fortuatha Laighen ("foreign tribes of Leinster") in the county of Wicklow, see *B. of Rights*, p. 207, note.

¹ *Army*. There is considerable discrepancy between this account and that of the *Njal Saga*, which makes no mention of Murchadh. We are there told that Brodir, and Sitrygg of Dublin, commanded the wings, and Earl Sigurd the centre of the Danish army. In the Irish army Ulf Hroda, translated in *Burnt Njal*, "Wolf the quarrelsome," commanded the wing opposed to Brodir, Ospak the other wing opposed to Sitrygg, and Kerthialfad the centre. Brodir felled all before him, but although "no steel would bite on his mail," Ulf Hroda thrust at him so hard that Brodir fell before him, and having recovered his feet with great difficulty, fled into the neighbouring wood, where he watched his opportunity, and issued forth to slay Brian. Kerthialfad fought his way to Earl Sigurd in the enemy's centre, and slew the man who bore the Earl's charmed banner; another standard-bearer took his place, and he too was slain; Sigurd called to others to take the banner, but all refused,

fearing the prophecy, that whoever bore it should fall. Then Earl Sigurd tore the magic banner from the staff, and put it under his cloak. This broke the spell, and "the Earl was pierced through with a spear." Ospak, on the other wing of Brian's army, met with a stern resistance, and lost his two sons; but at length Sitrygg fled before him. *Burnt Njal*, ii., p. 334, sq.

According to the Irish account, Sitrygg took no part in the battle, but remained to keep the fortress of Dublin. No mention is made of Ospak, and it is not easy to indentify either Ulf Hroda, or Kerthialfad, with any of the chieftains on Brian's side, known in Irish history. The *Njal Saga* says that Ulf Hroda was Brian's brother, and that Kerthialfad was Brian's foster child:—"He was the son of King Kylfi, who had many wars with King Brian, and fled away out of the land before him, and became a hermit; but when King Brian went south on a pilgrimage, then he met King Kylfi, and then they were atoned, and King Brian took his son Kerthialfad to him, and loved him more than his own son. He was then full grown when these things happened, and was the boldest of all men." *Burnt Njal*, ii., p. 323. It has been suggested that King Kylfi may have been the O'Kelly who led the forces of Hy Many in Brian's army; but the Irish records contain nothing to support this conjecture.

² *Clann Luighdech*. Race of Lughaidh Menn, King of Thomond; a branch of the Dal Cais. See *Geneal. Table III.*, No. 6, p. 247.

panegyric is pronounced (p. 167). In the inferior commands of this battalion, were Torrdelbhach, son of Murchadh (who was at this time but fifteen years of age), and several other chieftains;¹ with "the men of bravery and valour of the Dal-Cais."

A second battalion, formed of the troops of Munster, was stationed in the rear of the Dal-Cais, under the command of Mothla, son of Domhnall, son of Faelan,² King of the Deise, or Decies, of the county of Waterford, with Magnus, son of Annchadh, King of Ui Liathain.³

A third battalion was composed of the men of Connaught (ch. xevi, p. 169), under the command of Maelruanaidh⁴ Ua-h-Eidhin, and other inferior chieftains,⁵ "with the nobles of all Connaught."

¹ *Chieftains.* Those named are—
1. Conaing, son of Brian's brother, Donnucan, lord of Ormond (slain 948, *Four M.*) Conaing is styled "one of the three men most valued by Brian that were then in Ireland," the other two being apparently Murchadh and Torrdelbach. 2. Niall Ui Cuinn or O'Quin. Aongus Cennatium (son of Cas Mac Tail), was ancestor of the Ui Cuinn or O'Quin of the Muinntir Iffernain, originally seated at Inchiquin and Coroslin (Coradh-Fine), in Thomond, the present county of Clare. —See *Topogr. Poems*, p. lxxix. (711); *Four M.*, p. 774, n. *. 3. Eochaidh, son of Dunadach, chief of the Clann-Scannlain (*Four M.*) in Ui Fidhgente (county of Limerick). 4. Cuduiligh, son of Cennetigh, (probably Cennetigh son of Brian's brother Donnucan). These three are said to have been "the three life guards" or "rear guards," of Brian. 5. Domhnall, son of Diarmaid, King of Corcabbaiscinn, in the county of Clare, ancestor of the Muinntir Domhnaill or O'Donnells of Clare. (*O'Huidhrin, Topogr. Poems*, p. 111.)

² *Faelan.* This Faelan was son of Cormac, and died 964. The family of O'Faelain, descended from him, are now Phelan, and some of them Whelan.

³ *Ui Liathain.* Now the barony of Barrymore, county of Cork.

⁴ *Maelruanaidh*, pronounced Mulrooney. This chieftain was the first who could have borne the patronymic of Ua h-Eidhin (now O'Heyne), as he was the son of Flann, and grandson of Eidhin, from whom came the tribe name. His father's sister, Mór, was Brian's first wife. He is called by the *Four M.*, *Maelruanaidh na Paidre*, "Mulrooney of the Pater noster," from which we may infer that he had a character for piety. See his genealogy in Dr. O'Donovan's *Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach*, p. 398. He was at this time chieftain of the Hy-Fiachrach Aidhne, in the S. of the county of Galway.

⁵ *Chieftains.* These were—1. Tadhg Ua Cellaigh or O'Kelly, "King" of Hy Many. (See O'Donovan, *Tribes, &c., of Hy Many*, p. 99, *Four M.*, 1013, n., p. 774.) 2. Maelruanaidh, son of Muirghius, "King" of the Muinnter

The two paragraphs which follow in chap. xevi. are not found in the O'Clery MS. The first contains a statement that Brian's ten stewards (*Mor-maer*) were drawn up with the foreign auxiliaries (probably the Danes of Munster) on one side of the army, and that Fergal O'Ruairc, with the *Ui Briuin*,¹ and the *Conmaicne*² were ordered to the left wing of the army. The other informs us that Malachy, King of Tara, with the men of Meath, refused to take the station assigned him in consequence of his traitorous understanding with the enemy. We have already seen that there is good reason to suspect the truth of these statements about the treachery of Malachy and the presence of Fergal O'Ruairc in the battle.

Interpolations of the Dublin MS.

The *Dal-Cais*, it will be remembered, were placed in

Position of Murchadh.

Maelruanaidh. The title of king is not given to him in the MS. B, and he is not mentioned at all by the Four M. 3. **Domhnall O'Concennainn** (now O'Concannon), chief of the *Ui Diarmada* or *Corca-Mogha*, whose territory is now the parish of Kilkerrin, barony of Tiaquin, co. of Galway. He is omitted in B, and by the Four M. 4. **Ualgarg Mac Cerin** (which name would be now *Ulrick Mac Kerrin*), chieftain of the *Ciarraidhe Locha-na-nairnedh*, barony of Costello, county of Mayo. In the *Annals of Loch Cé* we read: "Brian, however, had not assembled any army or multitude against this immense host of the western world and Gaill, except the men of Munster only, and Malachy with the men of Meath, for there came not to him the province of Uladh, nor the *Airgialla*, nor the *Cinel-Eoghain*, nor the *Cinel Conaill*, nor the *Conachta* (except the *Hy Maine*, and the *Hy Fiachrach*, and the *Cinel Aedha*). For there was not a good understanding then between Brian and Tadhg-an-eich-gill, son of Cathal, son of Conchobhar, King of Connaught; so that on this account

Tadhg refused to go with Brian to this battle of Cluain-Tarbh." Nevertheless, according to our author (see chap. lxxxviii., p. 155) Tadhg-an-eich-gill, King of Connaught, is mentioned as one of those who sat in council with Brian on the night before the battle. (See p. 155.) We do not, however, find any place assigned to King Tadhg among the chieftains in command of the battalion of Connaught enumerated, chap. xevi., p. 169. Possibly the misunderstanding may have arisen at this very council, and Tadhg of the White Steed, with his followers, may have returned to his home in disgust, the night before the battle.

¹ *Hy Briuin.* These were the descendants of Brian, son of Nial of the Nine Hostages; they were called *Hy Briuin Breifni*, or *Hy Briuin of Breifné*, to distinguish them from other tribes of the same name and descent. They were settled at this time in the counties of Leitrim and Cavan.

² *Conmaicne.* These were the *Conmaicne* of Moy Rein, seated in the present county of Longford, and south of Leitrim.

the van of the army, under the command of Murchadh, Brian's eldest son. Another account of Murchadh's position is given (ch. xcvii.) on the authority¹ of "some of the historians of Munster," who said that his troops were "mixed with the battalion of Desmumha," or Desmond, together with his company or body-guard, composed of "seven score sons of kings,"² that were in attendance on him." The obscure story that follows is hardly worth notice; it speaks of a rash attempt on the part of Murchadh, to attack the foreigners opposed to him, with the help of the troops of Desmond only. The story runs, that Brian, observing this movement, sent Domhnall, son of Emhin,³ to remonstrate against it, and a somewhat angry conversation took place, which possibly may indicate the existence of jealousy⁴ or disunion among the leaders of Brian's army. The result, however, was that "the nobles of all Desmond⁵ were killed there, because they endea-

¹ *Authority.* The MS. B has merely — "Others say that Murchadh was placed before the battalion of Desmond," without mentioning historians, or *Senchaidhe*.

² *Sons of Kings.* These are called *amrac*, a word which has been translated "volunteers" (p. 169). They are represented as having placed themselves under Murchadh, as heir apparent of the throne, after [*i.e.*, after the death of] Aedh O'Neill. The word signifies *soldiery*, from *amrac*, a *soldier*, which, as Dr. O'Brien in his Irish Dict. suggests, was probably cognate with *ambactus*; (See Du Cange, in *voc.*)

³ *Domhnall, son of Emhin.* He was *Mor-maor*, Thane, Steward, or Chief-tain of the Eoghanachts of Magh-Gerrginn, or Marr, in Scotland. He was descended from Maine Leamhna, son of Conall Corc, of the race of Oilioll Olum (see *Geneal. Tables*, IV., p. 248), who was also Brian's ancestor. See a curious account of this family from

which the English royal family of Stewart or Stuart was descended, in O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 382, *sq.* Maine Leamhna had that name from the river Leamhain, and his family were thence called Leamhnacha or Lennox. See note ⁶, p. clviii, *supra*.

⁴ *Jealousy.* See p. 171, note ¹⁶.

⁵ *Of all Desmond.* This must be taken with some qualification, for we shall see (chap. cxx., p. 213) that after the battle the surviving chieftains of Desmond were strong enough to revolt against the Dal-Cais, and threaten a battle, from which their own dissensions alone withheld them. Here they are represented as zealous followers of Murchadh. Chap. xcvi. has been omitted by O'Clery, and is an evident interpolation. It describes the arrival of Dunlang O'Hartigan, who accounts for his late coming by telling Murchadh of his having been enticed by fairies, with promises of life without death, &c. (see p. 173), and that al-

voured to follow Murchadh to surround the foreigners and Danes."

On the eve of the battle a challenge to single combat had passed between Plait, "son of the King of Lochlainn, brave champion of the foreigners," and Domhnall, son of Emhin, Mor-maer Mair (high steward of Mar.) On the following morning, when the combat began (chap. c., p. 175), Plait, who was one of the chosen men in armour, came forth between the hosts, calling aloud for Domhnall. Domhnall soon appeared; a terrible fight ensued; both fell dead at the same moment; "the sword of each through the heart of the other, and the hair of each in the clenched hand of the other." "And the combat of these two" (says our author) "was the first combat of the battle" (p. 177).

The next chapter (ci.) is a palpable interpolation,¹ and has been omitted in O'Clery's MS. It was intended to celebrate the prowess of Fergal O'Ruairc, and the chieftains of Breifné, in defence of Brian; but we have seen that Fergal could not have been in this battle, and that

Single
combat
between
Plait and
Domhnall.

The praise
of Fergal
O'Ruairc
an interpo-
lation.

though he had learned from the fairies that it was fated for him to die on the same day with Murchadh, and that both he and his father Brian, and his son Turlogh, were destined that day to fall, nevertheless he (O'Hartigan) was resolved to keep his word, and came to the battle and to certain death; it was then arranged that O'Hartigan should undertake to combat Brodar the Viking, and Cornabliteoc, and Maelmordha, and the Leinstermen. For further information on the Legend of Dunlang O'Hartigan, see Mr. O'Kearney's *Introd. to the Feis Tighe Chonain* (Ossianic Soc.), p. 98, *sq.* The curious account of the battle of Clontarf, there quoted by Mr. O'Kearney, speaks of Dunlang O'Hartigan as being himself a fairy (*sioguidhe*). *Ibid.*, p. 101. See O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 200.

¹ *Interpolation.* This chapter gives an account of the supposed combat between Dunnall or Dunlang, son of Tuathal, King of Liphé, or Lifé, with 1,000 followers, and Fergal O'Ruairc, or O'Rourke, Domhnall Mac Raghal-lach (or Reilly), and Gilla-na-naomh, son of Domhnall O'Ferghail, with the nobles of the Ui Briuin and Conmaicne. The King of Liphé and his troops were on the side of the Danes, the other three heroes were on the side of Brian. Both parties suffered severely, only one hundred of the Ui Briuin and Conmaicne, with their chieftain, survived the battle, and Dunlang Mac Tuathail was beheaded by Mac an Trin, captain of Fergal O'Ruairc's household, who is not elsewhere mentioned. But this is all fiction, and evidently a comparatively modern addition to the original narrative.

if he was, he would have been, most probably, on the other side.¹

Conflict of
the Dal-
Cais.

Then we have an extravagant and bombastic description of the conflict between the Dal-Cais and the Danes (chap. cii., p. 179), which contains no fact of interest, except that the battle was visible from the fortifications of Dublin, and was watched with interest from the battlements by the garrison and their women (p. 181).

King
Malachy's
description
of the
battle.

There follows a description of the same battle attributed to King Malachy (ch. ciii.), as it was seen by him from a distance. He is represented as having been requested by his tribe, the Clan Colmain, to give them an account of what he had seen. The narrative is of course highly favourable to the valour and prowess of the Dal-Cais, but is full of intolerable bombast, and was evidently intended to insinuate that both Malachy and his followers had kept themselves aloof from the battle,² in consequence of their supposed treacherous understanding with the enemy.

Combat of
Dunlang
and Corna-
bliteoc.

The combat of Dunlang O'Hartigan with Cornabliteoc is the next remarkable event recorded (chap. civ.) The foreign chieftain is represented as having led one hundred and fifty of his followers to attack Dunlang, who by his single arm vanquished them all, at least, all of them, to use the language of the text (p. 185), "who waited to be wounded and beaten;" in other words, all who did not run away. Cornabliteoc is said to have been transfixed by Dunlang's spear, the rough point of which "passed through him, both body and body armour," but it is not said that he was slain. All this, however, has been omitted in O'Clery's manuscript; and bears internal evidence of fiction, especially if it should turn out that

¹ *Other side.* See chap. lxxxiv., p. 147, and p. clxiv., *supra*.

² *Battle.* This pretended narrative of the ex-king of Ireland, taken avowedly from the present work, has been

adopted by Keating in his history. The copy of it given in MS. D, exhibits some various readings, and will be found in Appendix C, with a translation.

Cornabliteoc is not the name of a chieftain, but of a *district* of Cornwall.

But both MSS. record the single combat of Conaing, Combat of Conaing and Maelmordha. Brian's nephew, who is here called King of Desmumha, or Desmond, with Maelmordha, King of Leinster (chap. cv., p. 185). After a great number of chieftains of inferior rank had fallen before they themselves met, they both (as our text says) "fell by each other."¹

Then the foreigners of Ath-cliath, or Dublin, and the men of Connaught attacked each other, with considerable loss on both sides. Of the Connaughtmen, one hundred only escaped; of the Danes of Dublin, but twenty. The Danes were pursued to Dubhgall's bridge,² in Dublin, and were there cut to pieces. The last on the side of the Danes who was there slain was "Arnaill Scot;"³ he was

¹ *Fell by each other.* The annals of Loch Cé tell us that Conaing was in the tent with Brian when the furious Brodar, flying from the battle, entered, and beheaded first Brian and then Conaing.

² *Dubhgall's bridge.* It is called "the bridge of Ath-cliath, i.e., Dubhgall's bridge," in the MS. B (see p. 251). It was, therefore, at that time the only bridge across the river at Dublin, and was probably called *Drocheat Dubhgaill*, or Dubhgall's bridge, either (as some think) because it connected the Danish quarter, now Oxmantown, with their fortress and possessions south of the river, or more probably because it was built by some Dubhgall or Dane, whose name has not been preserved. The exact site of this bridge is uncertain. It may have crossed the river at the old ford, called *Ath Cro*, or bloody ford, or perhaps it occupied the site of what was long called the *Old Bridge*, at the end of the present Bridgefoot-street. This much, however, is certain, that the Irish name here given it favours the opinion that

it was the bridge of some individual Dane, or person called Dubhgall, not "Bridge of the Danes," which would be *Droichead na nDubhgall*, as Mr. Gilbert has well observed.—*History of Dublin*, i., p. 320. In later times, however, this bridge was certainly called *pons Ostmannorum*, which was, no doubt, intended as a translation of Dubhgall's bridge. See the valuable paper by Chas. Haliday, esq., "On the ancient name of Dublin," p. 446. *Transact. Royal Irish Acad.*, vol. xxii., part ii. Dubhgall is the source of the family names still common—Dowell, MacDowell, MacDougall, Doyle, Dugald, &c. There was a Dubhgall, grandson of Sitric, King of Dublin; see pp. 165, 207, and p. clxxxv., note 2.

³ *Arnaill Scot.* This curious particular is here mentioned in the Dublin MS. only, but his death is recorded in B, under the name of Ernal Scot, ch. cxvii., p. 207. Nothing is known of him, unless he was the same as Arnljot, Earl Sigurd's Scottish steward. *Burnt Njal*, ii., p. 13.

killed by "the household troops" of Tadhg Ua Cellaigh, or O'Kelly, King of Hy Many.

Panegyric
on Murchadh.

There follows (chap. cvi., p. 187) a very inflated panegyric upon Murchadh, Brian's eldest son, who is described as wielding at the same time two swords, one in his right, and the other in his left hand. He is compared to Hector, son of Priam, to Samson in Jewish history, and to Hercules, as well as to Lugh or Lughaidh Lamhfada,¹ [i.e., Lugh of the Long hand], King of the Tuatha de Danann, a famous hero in Irish legends. Nevertheless the great degeneracy of the human race since Hector's time is fully admitted,² and accounted for by the consideration that the world was in its infancy, unfit for action, before Hector, and was "a palsied drivelling dotard" after Murchadh; therefore there could be no illustrious championship before Hector, nor ever shall be after Murchadh.

¹ *Lugh or Lughaidh Lamhfada.* He flourished, according to O'Flaherty's chronology, A.M. 2764, *Ogyg.*, iii., c. 13, p. 177. His valour and exploits are a favourite subject with the Irish bards.

² *Admitted.* A curious scale or measure of this degeneracy is given on the authority of the "Senchaidhi," or *Historians of the Gaedhil*, p. 187. Hector was a match for seven like Lugh Lamhfada, who was equal to seven like Conall Cernach, who was equal to seven like Lugh Lagha, who was equal to seven like Mac Samhain, who was equal to seven like Murchadh; so that Hector was a match for 16,807 such heroes as Murchadh with all his valour. Conall Cernach was chieftain of the heroes of the Red Branch, and is fabled to have been present in Jerusalem at our Lord's crucifixion. See his pedigree, *Battle of Magh Rath*, note c, p. 328; O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, iii., c. 48, p. 283. Lugh or Lughaidh Lagha, brother of Oilioll Olum, King of Munster in the

third century, is much celebrated in Irish romantic history for his valour. Mac Samhain was a famous Fenian champion, in the service of Finn Mac Cumhaill, the Fingal of Macpherson. It may be here mentioned that the ancient order of Fenians were a body of militia, whose object was the support of the monarchy and the maintenance of law and order. See a full account of them in Keating (Reign of Cormac Ulfada), *O'Mahony's Transl.*, p. 343. Their history is largely interpolated with fiction and the marvellous. There is a copious literature in the Irish language, consisting principally of romantic tales, recording the deeds of Fenian heroes, some of which have been published by the Ossianic Society of Dublin. See Trans. of that Society for 1855, containing "the Pursuit of Diarmaid and Graine," with Mr. Standish H. O'Grady's introduction, where a valuable account of the extant Fenian literature is given.

The narrative now describes the exploits of this great chieftain (chap. cvii.) Murchadh perceived that the mail-clad phalanx of the foreigners was gaining upon the Dal-Cais. He was seized with a terrible fury; "a bird of valour¹ and championship arose within him, and fluttered over his head, and on his breath." He rushed upon the Danish battalion, and forced his way through them (p. 189). It was admitted by his enemies² that he cut down fifty men with each hand, and never repeated a blow; a single cut from one of his swords sufficed to slay his adversary,—neither shield nor coat of mail was able to resist these blows, or protect the body, skull, or bones of the foe who received them. Thrice he passed thus through the thick of the Danes, followed by the Clann Luighdech, or sons of Lughaidh³ (i.e., the troops of Desmond), and the seven score sons of kings⁴ that were in his household.

The battle, as seen from the walls of Dublin, was compared⁵ to a party of reapers cutting a field of oats. It was observed by Sitric, son of Olaf Cuaran, from the battlements, but he attributed the slaughter to the prowess of his allies. "Well do the foreigners reap the field," said he to his wife, who, it will be remembered, was Brian's daughter.

¹ *A bird of valour.* This seems like a description of the Scandinavian *Bersækr*. A parallel passage occurs in the *Battle of Magh Rath*, edited for the Irish Archaeol. Society by Dr. O'Donovan, Dublin, 1842, p. 33. Congal Claen, the hero of the tale, "stood up, assumed his bravery, his heroic fury rose, and his bird of valour fluttered over him, and he distinguished not friend from foe at that time, &c." See the account of the raven banner of Inguar and Ubba, quoted above, p. lvi., n. ⁵. Earl Sigurd had also a raven banner in the battle of Clontarf, woven for him by his mother with magical skill. *Burnt Njal*, vol. i., *Introd.*, p. cxc., note.

² *Enemies.* Namely, "the historians

of the foreigners and of the Laighin," or men of Leinster, as our author says (p. 189). He had a little before (p. 187) spoken of "the historians of the Gaedhil." There were therefore already historians of the battle on both sides. But we have seen that we cannot infer from this the lapse of any very great length of time since the battle. See above, p. cx., note ⁵.

³ *Lughaidh.* See Geneal. Table IV., No. 5.

⁴ *Sons of kings.* See chap. xcvi., p. 169.

⁵ *Compared.* This comparison is attributed to "the old men of Ath-cliath," in O'Clery's MS. See Append. C, p. 255.

ter; "many a sheaf do they cast from them." "The result will be seen," said she, "at the end of the day."

Total rout
of the
Danes.

And so it proved. At the end of the day the Danes and their allies of Leinster were routed with a terrible slaughter (chap. cviii.) They were unable to take shelter in Dublin, for their retreat was cut off¹ between the field of battle and Dubhgall's bridge, and they were forced into the sea. There they found that the receding tide² had carried their ships out of their reach, and many perished by drowning.

Death of
Turlough.

But the loss was great on both sides. Torrdelbhach (or Turlough), Murchadh's young son, followed the enemy into the sea (chap. cix.); there a "rushing tide wave" struck him, and he fell with great force against the weir³ of Clontarf, where he perished along with two, or according to another reading, three, of the foreigners, whom he held in his grasp until they were drowned.

Dialogue
between
Sitric and
his wife.

The flight of the Danes to their ships was seen by Sitric and his wife from the battlements of Dublin, and another conversation between them is recorded. "It seems to me," said Brian's daughter, in bitter irony, "that the foreigners have gained their patrimony." "What meanest thou, woman?" said her husband. "Are they not rushing into the sea," she replied, "which is their natural inheritance? I wonder are they in heat like cattle; if so, they tarry not to be milked?" Sitric, losing temper at this coarse insult, gave her a blow, which, says the O'Clery MS., knocked out one of her teeth (p. 193). Such (according to our author) was the refinement of Danish court manners at that time in Dublin.

¹ *Cut off.* Our author does not say how their retreat was cut off; it is probable that Malachy and his Meath men were posted here, for it was here he met the remnant of the army of Leinster after the battle, and opposed their retreat, with great slaughter, from the river Tolka to Dublin. See *Four M.*

² *Tide.* See above, pp. xxvi., xxvii.

³ *The weir.* Hence this battle is commonly called *Cath Coradh Cluana-tarbh*, "The battle of the Weir of Clontarf." This ancient salmon weir is supposed to have been at the present Ballybough bridge, on the road from Dublin to Clontarf.

Meanwhile Murchadh having passed through and broken the ranks of the enemy, perceived Sigurd,¹ son of Hlodver, Earl of Orkney, in the midst of the Dal-Cais, dealing out wounds and slaughter on all sides; "no edged weapon harmed him;² there was no strength that yielded not, no thickness that became not thin" before him (p. 195). Murchadh rushed upon him, and with a blow of his right hand sword, cut the fastenings of the earl's helmet, which fell back, and thus exposing his neck, Murchadh with his left hand sword dealt him a second well-aimed blow, and Sigurd fell dead upon the field.

Murchadh
slays Earl
Sigurd.

Next follows the account of a single combat (chap. cxii.) between Murchadh and the son of Ebric, or Elbric,³ here called "son of the King of Lochlann," who had rushed into the centre of the Dal-Cais, making a breach, which was "opened for him wherever he went." Murchadh seeing this, turned upon the mail-clad battalion, and killing fifteen on his right and fifteen on his left, cut his way to the son of Elbric. A bombastic description of the fight then follows, in which we are told that Murchadh's sword having become red hot, the hilt or handle⁴ inlaid with silver melted, and so wounded his hand that he

Single
combat
between
Murchadh
and Ebric's
son.

¹ *Sigurd*. His mother was *Edna*, daughter of *Cearbhall*, or *Carroll*, son of *Dungal*, lord of *Ossory*, and king of *Dublin*. *Scriptt. Hist. Island*, iii. Tab. 1. He had been a Christian, for *Olaf Tryggveson* "allowed him to ransom his life by letting himself be baptized, adopting the true faith, becoming his man, and introducing Christianity into the Orkney islands." After *Olaf's* death, however, *Sigurd* abandoned his fealty, and, probably, also his Christianity. *Laing, Kings of Norway*, ii., p. 131.

² *Harmed him*. The text attributes this invulnerability to Murchadh; but it ought rather be understood as belonging to Sigurd, as in *O'Clery's MS*. See App. C, p. 258. It is a manifest allusion to the effect of

Sigurd's charmed banner, as described in the *Njal-Saga*.

³ *Elbric*. See note *, p. 195, where it is suggested that this hero's name may have been *Anroid*. It is so understood by the compilers of the *Dublin Annals of Inisfallen*. *Ebric* or *Elbric* is probably intended for the Scandinavian name *Eric*. In B, it is written *Elbric* and *Ebric*.

⁴ *Handle*. This improbable story is thus amplified by one of the latest historians of Ireland: "Sometimes as their right hands swelled with the sword-hilts, well known warriors might be seen falling back to bathe them in a neighbouring spring, and then rushing again into the *melée*." *Popular Hist. of Ireland*, by *Thos. D'A. M'Gee* (New York, 1864), vol. i., p. 99.

was forced to cast the sword away ; then seizing the foreigner by the helmet, he drew his coat of chain armour off him, and dragged him to the ground. Murchadh being uppermost possessed himself of the foreign chieftain's sword, and stabbed him through the breast three times ; but notwithstanding this, the son of Elbric had time to draw his knife, with which he gave Murchadh a deadly wound, so that " the whole of his entrails were cut out, and fell to the ground before him." The Irish hero, however, had strength enough left to cut off his enemy's head ; nor did he die until sunrise the following morning, when he received " absolution, and communion, and penance," and lived " until he had received the Body of Christ, and had made his will" (p. 197).

Brian's
devotions
in his tent.

Meanwhile Brian, who had not himself entered the battle as a combatant,¹ was engaged in prayer² and devotional exercises, at some distance from the contending armies. He had recited fifty psalms, fifty prayers, or collects, and fifty pater-nosters, when he desired his attendant, Latean, or Laidin,³ to look out and tell him the

¹ *Combatant.* The Dublin Annals of Inisfallen represent Brian as having commenced the battle in person, after having gone through the army, crucifix in hand, exhorting his men, and setting before them the great interests that were at stake. This chronicle, however, is of no authority. It was compiled (from ancient sources, no doubt), by John Conry and Dr. O'Brien, titular bishop of Cloyne, and its compilers were eminent Irish scholars. Its value is diminished by the fact that they both belonged to a school which frequently permitted themselves to be carried away from their authorities by zeal for some favourite hypothesis. Nevertheless these Annals are valuable as showing the interpretation put upon difficult passages of the authentic chronicles by such eminent Irish scholars as Conry and O'Brien.

² *Prayer.* This agrees with what is said in the Njal-Saga, that " Brian would not fight on a fast day, and so a shield-burg [i.e., a ring of men holding their shields locked together] was thrown round him, and his host was drawn away in front of it." *Burnt Njal*, ii., p. 334. When the route began, some of these men were tempted to join in the pursuit ; the shield-burg was weakened ; Brodir perceiving this, easily broke through and slew the king. *Ibid*, p. 337.

³ *Latean, or Laidin.* The O'Clery MS. B, calls him Brian's horse-boy, (ḡilla a éic pein). The family is now dispersed, and have generally taken the name of Ladden. But the allusion to the family in the text is an evident interpolation. See above, pp. xxiv., xxv. The Njal-Saga makes no mention of Latean, but tells us

general appearance of the battle, and especially the position of Murchadh's standard. Latean reported that the strife was close and vigorous, with a confused noise, as if seven battalions were cutting down Tomar's wood,¹ but that Murchadh's standard was floating aloft, and many of the banners of the Dal-Cais around it, and many heads falling wherever it went.

Reports
made to
him of the
battle.

Then Brian said fifty more psalms, and made the same inquiries. This time the answer was that all was confusion; multitudes on both sides had fallen; no man could tell on which side the advantage lay; all were so besmeared with blood and dust that no father could know his own son. But Murchadh's standard still stood and moved through the battalions westward, that is to say, towards Dublin. "As long as that standard remains erect," said Brian, "it shall go well with the men of Erinn."

When he had repeated the last fifty psalms of the psalter, and said his fifty collects and his fifty paternosters, he asked the attendant to look out once more. Latean replied, "They appear as if Tomar's wood was on

Murchadh's
fall.

that "the lad Takt" [i.e., Tadhg, Brian's son] was with him when Brodir rushed upon the aged king. Takt threw up his arm to defend his father, and the stroke of Brodir's sword or battle-axe cut off Takt's arm and the king's head; "but the king's blood" (adds the Saga) "came on the lad's stump, and the stump was healed by it on the spot." *Burnt Njal*, ii., p. 337. The Annals of Loch Cé tell us that Conaing, Brian's nephew, was with him in the tent, and was beheaded along with him. This is evidence that the name of Latean was not in the original narrative. Neither the Four M. nor the Ann. of Ulster mention the tent or the

particulars here given of Brian's murder.

¹ *Tomar's Wood*. This was a wood which seems to have extended from the plain of Clontarf along the north side of the river Liffey to near Dublin. Whether it extended to the south side of the river at this time is uncertain. But anciently the round hill, or Drom, on which the Castle of Dublin and Christ Church Cathedral are built, was called *Drom-choll-coill*, "Hill of the hazel wood;" and recent excavations in the streets of the neighbourhood have shown undoubted evidence of the existence of an ancient hazel wood on the hill. See Haliday, *On the Ancient Name of Dublin*, p. 441.

Brian
refuses to
fly.

His gifts to
the clergy.

fire, its underwood¹ and brushwood destroyed, and its stately trees only remaining. So in the contending armies the private soldiers are cut down ; a few of the chieftains and gallant heroes only are left ; Murchadh's standard has fallen." "Alas !" said Brian, "Erinn has now fallen with it ; why should I wish to survive such losses, even though I should obtain the sovereignty of the world ?" The attendant now recommended an immediate flight to the security of the camp ; but Brian refused to move. "Retreat," he said, "becomes us not. And wherever I go, I know that I shall not escape death, for Aibhill, of Craig Liath,² appeared to me last night, and revealed to me that I should be killed this day, and that the first of my sons³ I should see this day (and that was Donnchadh) should succeed me in the sovereignty." Then Brian gave directions about his will and his funeral ; he left 240 cows to the successor of Patrick, or abbot of Armagh ; to his own cathedral of Killaloe, and the other churches of Munster, their "proper dues," adding, Donnchadh knows that I have not wealth of gold or silver, therefore let him pay them as an adequate return "for my blessing"⁴ (meaning

¹ *Its underwood.* From this place (p. 199) to the end of the work the MS. D is defective, and the conclusion of the narrative is supplied from O'Clery's copy B.

² *Aibhill of Craig Liath*, more correctly Aibinn. This was the banshee [*ben-sidhe*] or boding female spirit of the Dal-Cais, who appeared before the chieftain's death to warn him of his approaching fate. See above, p. cxi., note ². If Brian was not a believer in this superstition, the historian who has recorded the story certainly was.

³ *First of my sons.* The annals of Loch Cé tell us that when Brian received the prediction he sent for Murchadh, his eldest son. Murchadh waited to put on his dress ; meantime

Donnchadh, without waiting to dress, went at once to his father's cell, and thus the prophecy was fulfilled in him to Brian's great discontent, who received both his sons in wrath, and dismissed them his presence. The narrative in the text is evidently written or tampered with by a partizan of Donnchadh. This is at least evidence of its antiquity, for it was probably so interpolated when Donnchadh's claim was doubtful, and certainly before 1064, when Donnchadh died.

⁴ *My blessing.* The original is *mo bhennachtan ocus mo chomarbus*—lit. "for my blessing and my succession," i.e., their blessing of me, and for Donnchadh's succession to me.

for their blessing upon me) "and for his own coming to the throne in succession to me." He even prescribed the route to be observed by the procession in his funeral; first to Sord or Swords, near Dublin; then to Daimhliag of Ciaran, now Duleek, in the county of Meath; then to Lughmagh or Louth, where he requested the "successor of Patrick,"¹ with the Society or Clergy of Armagh, to meet his remains.²

Directions
about his
funeral.

Latean, during this conversation, perceived a party of foreigners approaching. It proved to be Brodar, with two other warriors. Latean described them to his master as "blue stark-naked people." By this description the aged chieftain³ recognized them at once as the foreigners who were in coats of mail. He immediately stood up from the cushion on which he had been praying, and unsheathed his sword. Brodar would have passed him without notice had not one of his companions, who had once been in Brian's service, cried out that this was the king. "No," said Brodar, perceiving that Brian had been at prayer, "that is a priest." "Not so," said the other; "this is the great King Brian." Brodar then turned round, having "a bright gleaming battle-axe in his hand." Brian made a blow with his sword which "cut off Brodar's left leg at the knee, and his right leg at the foot." The savage Viking, however, had time, before he fell, to cleave Brian's head with his axe,

Brodar
murders
Brian.

¹ *Patrick*. The *comharba* or "successor of Patrick" at this time was Maelmuire, son of Eochaidh, of the Race of Colla da Crioich, and of the tribe of Ua Sionaigh, from which were taken the bishop-abbots of Armagh for many generations in hereditary succession. He died on the Friday before Whitsunday, 3 June, 1020, and was succeeded by his son Amhalgaidh, 1020-1050, and then by another son Dubhdaleithe, 1050-1065. This Amhalgaidh was the first prelate of Armagh who exercised jurisdiction over Munster, acting

most probably on the authority of the entry made by Brian's chaplain in the Book of Armagh during his father's incumbency.

² *Remains*. See pp. 202, 203.

³ *Aged chieftain*. According to the Four M., Brian was born in 925, and was, therefore, at this time 89 years of age. The Ulster annals fix the more probable date of 941 as the year of his birth, which would make him only 73 in 1014. See Dr. O'Donovan's note ¹, Four M., p. 772.

and Brian to cut down one of the companions¹ of his assassin.

Panegyric
upon
Brian.

Then follows (chap. cxv.) a panegyric upon Brian, in the style to which the reader of this work has, by this time, become accustomed. No such deed had been done in Ireland since the beheading of Cormac Mac Cuilennain.² Brian was one of the three born in Ireland who had most successfully promoted the prosperity³ of the country, for he had delivered Ireland from the bondage and iniquity of the foreigners, and had defeated them in twenty-seven battles. He is compared to Augustus, to Alexander the Great, to Solomon, to David, and to Moses (p. 205).

Prophecies
of the evils
resulting
from
Brian's
death.

Having cited some prophecies attributed to St. Berchan and to Bec Mac De, predicting evils that should follow on Brian's death, which (it need scarcely be said) are childish forgeries, our author proceeds to enumerate the principal chieftains slain on both sides, whose names⁴ are given in detail.

Return of
Murchadh
with oxen.

After the battle the Munster clans, having collected

¹ *Companions.* All this looks very like romance, and is far less probable than the account of Brian's death given in the *Njal-Saga*. There Brodir or Brodar is represented as knowing who Brian was, and where he was. He broke through the guards, and "hewed at the King." He then cried out aloud:—"Now let man tell man that Brodir felled Brian." Brodir was surrounded and taken alive; but, what follows seems somewhat apocryphal, "Wolf the quarrelsome cut open his belly and led him round and round the trunk of a tree, and so wound all his entrails out of him, and he did not die before they were all drawn out of him. Brodir's men were all slain to a man." *Burnt Njal*, ii., 337.

² *Cormac mac Cuilennain.* He was King of Munster and Bishop of Cashel. Slain 903. See the history of his reign in Keating (*O'Mahony's Transl.*, p.

519), Moore's *Hist. of Ireland*, vol. ii., p. 45, *sq.*

³ *Prosperity.* The other two were Lugh or Lugaidh Lamhfada, and Finn Mac Cumhaill. The former of these heroes (see p. clxxxii.) lived before the Christian era, and was the reputed founder of the Tailten (or Telltown) games. The other was the original leader of the Fenian militia, the Fingal of Macpherson's *Ossian*, whose followers are there called Fingalians.

⁴ *Whose names.* See p. 207. On the side of the Danes there fell—1. Brodar, son of Oali [Flosi?] earl of Caer Ebroc or York, "with a thousand plundering Danars, both Saxons and Lochlanna." This is a curious example of the use of the term *Danars*, to signify robbers, ruffians, or desperados. The thousand Norsemen of the coats of mail are evidently intended. 2. Si-triuc [read Sigurd], earl of the Innai

together their surviving chieftains and men, encamped on the Green of Dublin (p. 211), where they remained for

Orc or Orkney Islands. 3. Of the foreigners of Dublin were slain 2,000, amongst whom are mentioned Dubh-gall, son of Amlaff, son of Sitric, King of Dublin; Gillaciarain, son of Gluniarann, son of Olaf Cuaran (see p. 165); Dunchadh Ua h-Erulf (grandson of Heriolf, see note, p. clxxiv.); Amlaff the Lagman, son of Godfrey (see p. 165, and p. clxxiv., n. 2), King of the Insi Gall, or Hebrides; and Ernal Scot (see p. clxxxii., n. 3). 4. Of the other foreigners are mentioned Oitir the black, Grisin [? Grifin], Luiminin, and Siogradh, four leaders of the foreigners and chieftains of ships. 5. Carlus and Ciarlus, two sons of the King of Lochlann. 6. Goistilin Gall, and Amund, son of Dubhginn [or Dubhcenn], two Kings of Port Lairge or Waterford. 7. Simond, son of Turgeis. 8. Sefraid or Geoffrey, son of Suinin. 9. Bernard, son of Suainin. 10. Eoin Barun (John the Baron?), and Ricard, the two sons of the Inghen Ruaidh [red maiden, see p. 41]. 11. Oisill and Ragnall, the two sons of Ivar O'Ivar. These were evidently the Danes of Waterford; therefore our author adds, p. 207, that it was right they should fall with Brian, because it was by Brian and his brother Mahoun the fathers of all these had been slain.

Then follows a list of the Irish chieftains who fell on the Danish side. These were—1. Maelmordha, King of Leinster. 2. Brogarbhan, son of Conchobhair, King of Ui Failge or Offaly (see p. clxiii., n. 1). 3. Domhnall, son of Fergal, King of Fortuatha Laighen. (See p. clxxv., n.). 4. Dunlang (son of Tuathal), King of Lifé or Liffey. See p. 35, and note 2, p. lxxxix. With these fell 2,000 of the Leinster men, and 1,100 of the Ui Ceinnselaigh,

the total loss of the enemy being 66,000, which is no doubt exaggerated. Brian lost his son Murchadh and his grandson Torrdelbach, with Conaing, his nephew, son of his brother Donnucan. Next to these are enumerated Eochaidh, son of Dunadhach, chief of the O'Scanlainn; Cuduiligh, son of Cenneidigh or Kennedy; and Niall O'Quin, the three "rear guards" or body guards of Brian (see p. clxxvi., n. 1). Domhnall, son of Diarmaid, King of Corcabhaiscinn (Ibid. and *Four M.*, p. 775, n. 2); Mothla, son of Faelan or Phelan, King of the Deisi (Ibid. and *Four M.*, p. 773, n. 1), with Magnus, son of Anmchadh, King of the Ui Liathain (see p. clxxvi., n. 3); Gebennach, son of Dubhagan, King of Fern-Muighe [Fermoy], (*Four M.*, p. 774, n. 6); Dubhdabhoirenn, son of Domhnall, (i.e., of the Domhnall mentioned, p. 218); and Loingsech, son of Dunlang (i.e., of Dunlang, k. of Leinster, No. 4, supra.); Scannlan, son of Cathal, King of the Eoghanacht Locha Lein (or Killarney), *Four M.*, p. 775, n. 1; Baedan, son of Muirchertach, King of Ciarriaghe Luachra (the co. of Kerry). The *Four M.* and *Ann. Ult.* call this chieftain *Mac Beatha*, son of *Muireadhach Claen*, whom Dr. O'Donovan identifies with the ancestor of the O'Connor Kerry. *Four M.*, p. 774, n. 2. The *Ann. of Loch Cé* have copied verbatim the list of the *Ann. Ult.* Maelruanaidh Ua hEidhin (or O'Heyne), King of Aidne (see p. clxxvi., n. 4). *Four M.*, p. 775, n. 3. Tadhg Ua Cellaigh [O'Kelly], K. of Hy Many (p. clxxvi., n. 5, *Four M.*, p. 774, n. 3), and Domhnall, son of Eimhin (son of Cainneach, Mormaor or Steward of Mar in Scotland, *Four M.*) See p. clxxviii., n. 2, and *Four M.*, p. 775, n. 3.

the next two days¹ awaiting the return of Donnchadh, son of Brian, who, it will be remembered, had been sent to plunder Leinster (see p. 135). He returned "at the hour of vespers on Easter Sunday," with eight and twenty oxen, which were immediately slaughtered on the Green of Dublin. Hearing this, Sitric, King of Dublin, sent a message to Donnchadh, demanding a share in the oxen, and threatening, unless his demand was complied with, to attack the shattered troops of the Dal-Cais with his fresh soldiers from the garrison of Dublin. Donnchadh, however, sent back a haughty refusal, and Sitric, we are told, "declined the battle, for fear of Donnchadh and of the Dal-Cais" (p. 211).

Care of the
dead and
wounded.

The next day (Easter Monday) was spent in visiting the field of battle, for the purpose of burying the dead (p. 211) and succouring the wounded. The bodies of thirty chieftains were sent off to their territorial churches to be interred in their family burial grounds; and those who were still living, among the wounded, were carried on biers and litters to the camp.

Dissension
among the
leaders of
Brian's
army.

On this very night, however, dissension broke out among the surviving leaders of Brian's army. Observing the broken condition of the Dal-Cais, the chieftains of Desmond resolved to put forward their claim to the sovereignty of Munster, on the ground of the alternate right founded on the will of Oilíoll Olum. Cian, son of the Maelmuaidh or Molloy, who had taken so active a part in the murder of Brian's brother Mahoun (see p. 85, sq.), resolved to contest the matter before the Dal-Cais had reached their home, or had had time to repair their losses. They had marched with the Dal-Cais, although in separate camps, as far as Rath Maisten;² there the two tribes separated, and Cian sent messengers, to Donn-

¹ *Two days.* Our author notes (p. 211) that Brian's funeral, with that of his son Murchadh, was celebrated in the manner he had directed, and that Donnchadh paid in full all bequests,

as his father had willed.

² *Rath Maisten.* Masten's fort. Now Mullagh-Mast, or Mullamast, an earthen fort, about six miles east of Athy, co. of Kildare.

chadh, to demand hostages, in other words, to claim the sovereignty of Munster. The men of Desmond he said, having submitted to Brian, and to Brian's brother, Mathgamhain, it was now the turn of their chieftain to be received as sovereign. Donnchadh replied that they had submitted to his uncle and to his father from necessity, not in recognition of any alternate right to the throne. Brian had wrested Munster from the foreigners at a time when the chieftains of Desmond had tamely submitted to their tyranny. Donnchadh therefore refused to give hostages in recognition of Cian's claim, and announced his intention of holding the sovereignty by the same force of arms which had given it to his father.

When this answer was received, Cian and his followers at once advanced under arms to give battle to the Dal-Cais. Donnchadh ordered the sick and wounded to be put into the fort of Rath Maisten for protection; but the sick and wounded refused. They "stuffed their wounds with moss," took up their arms, and insisted upon being led into battle. This example of determination alarmed the troops of Desmond, and "they hesitated to give battle" (p. 215). But this was not all. Domhnall, son of Dubhdabhoirenn, was now chieftain of the Ui nEochach of Munster,¹ and joint leader with Cian, of the army of Desmond. A dispute arose between them. Domhnall's father, Dubhdabhoirenn (or Duvdavoren) had been King of Munster. He therefore claimed his share of the territory which Cian proposed to wrest from the son of Brian. This was sternly refused, and Domhnall separated his troops from those of Cian, refused² to fight against the

Cian
prepares for
battle.

His feud
with
Donnell
Mac
Duvdavo-
ren.

¹ *Munster*. See above, p. lx., n. ². The Ui Eochach or Ui nEochdach were the descendants of Eochadh, son of Cas. See the descent of Domhnall, s. of Dubhdabhoirenn; *Geneal. Table IV.*, p. 248. Donnchadh, s. of this Domhnall, was ancestor of the Ui Donnchadha, or O'Donoghue of Munster.

² *Refused*. Domhnall demanded that Munster should be equally divided between himself and Cian. This being declined, he refused to support Cian's claim. His words, as given by our author, were:—"I shall not go with thee against the Dal-Cais, because I am not better pleased to be under thee

Dal-Cais in Cian's quarrel, and from this time "they met not" (says our author) "in one camp till they reached their homes." Before the end of the year, as we learn from the *Annals of Ulster*,¹ the feud had reached its climax. The two chieftains fought a battle, with great slaughter, in which Cian, with his brothers Cathal and Ragallach, was slain. The following year² Domhnall, son of Dubhdabhoirenn, was himself slain in a battle at Limerick, by Donnchadh and Tadhg, the sons of Brian.

Opposition
made by
Ossory and
the men of
Leix.

The wounded Dalcassians were greatly exhausted after their recent excitement in the prospect of a bloody fight; but at Ath-I,³ on the Bearbha (now the Barrow) they washed their wounds in the river, and were refreshed (p. 215). They had still, however, to cross the hostile territory of Ossory in order to reach their homes. There Donnchadh, son of Gillapatrik, King of Ossory, with his allies the Laighsi,⁴ were up in arms, and encamped in battle array on the plain called Magh Chloinne Ceallaigh⁵ to oppose the progress of the Dal-Cais. Besides the hereditary enmity of the two clans, Donnchadh had a private

than under the son of Brian, unless for the profit of land and territory for myself" (p. 215). Nevertheless, Mr. Moore represents him as "calmly expostulating with his brother chieftain, and succeeding in withdrawing both him and the whole of their force quietly from the camp;" ii., 118. The *Dublin Ann. of Inisfallen*, which Mr. Moore continually quotes as if they were an ancient authority, would have corrected this error. Donnell Mac Duvdavoren had no nobler motive than the aggrandizement of his clan and the increase of his own territory.

¹ *Ulster. Ann. Ult.*, 1014. The *Four Mast.* have misplaced the entry of this event at the beginning instead of at the end of the year, so that a reader might inadvertently suppose that Cian had been slain before the battle of Clontarf.

² *Following year. Four M.*, 1014 (=1015), p. 783. *Ann. Ult.*, 1015.

³ *Ath-I.* Properly *Baile-atha-ai*, "Town of the ford of the district," now Athy, a considerable town on the river Barrow, S. of the co. of Kildare. *ai* is a region, district, patrimony.

⁴ *Laighsi.* The inhabitants of Leix, a district in the Queen's county. This tribe was descended from Laeigsech Ceann mór, son of Conall Cernach, a celebrated hero, who flourished in the first century. See *Book of Rights*, p. 214, n. *O'Flaherty, Ogyg.*, iii., cap. 51, p. 293.

⁵ *Magh Chloinne Ceallaigh.* "Plain of the children of Ceallach," or Kelly: called also Magh Dructain, a district inhabited by a branch of the O'Kelly's, in the territory of Leix. See *Four M.*, A.D. 1394, note ¹. *Topogr. Poems*, p. lii. (426).

feud with the sons of Brian, because his father, Gillapatrik, who had sided with the murderers of their uncle, Mathgamhain, had been taken prisoner¹ by Brian, and kept in fetters for a year (p. 217). Knowing this, the son of Brian had his shattered forces drawn up "in martial array" at Athy, expecting opposition; and when the King of Ossory sent ambassadors to demand hostages, in other words, to lay claim to the sovereignty of Munster, the answer given was that whatever pretence the chieftains of Desmond may have had, seeing they were of the Eoghanachts, descendants of Oilioll Olum, and directly concerned in the rule of alternate sovereignty, the son of Gillapatrik, of Ossory, had none; for he was of a different race,² and had no natural right to the throne of Munster.

The wounded men hearing this, again insisted on being led to the battle with the rest of the army; they caused themselves to be supported by stakes driven into the ground, against which they could lean their backs, and in this condition they prepared for action.³ The men of

Heroic
conduct of
the Dalca-
sian
wounded.

¹ *Prisoner.* See chap. lxvi., p. 107. Gillapatrik, father of this Donnchadh, was son of another Donnchadh, son of Ceallach, son of Cearbhall, or Carroll, the great ally of the Danes, and himself Danish King of Dublin. See *Tribes and Territories of Ossory*, by Dr. O'Donovan (reprinted from *Transact. Kilkenny Archaeol. Soc.* for 1850); *Dublin*, 1851, p. 12.

² *A different race.* He was of the race of Heremon of Leinster, whereas the Dal-Cais were of the race of Heber. See *O'Flaherty, Ogyg.*, p. 118; *O'Donovan, Tribes of Ossory*, p. 11.

³ *For action.* This enthusiastic conduct of the wounded is made the subject of Moore's well-known words:—

"Forget not our wounded companions
who stood
In the day of distress by our side,

While the moss of the valley grew
red with their blood,

They stirred not, but conquer'd
and died.

The sun, that now blesses our arms
with his light,

Saw them fall upon Ossory's
plain:—

Oh! let him not blush, when he
leaves us to-night,

To find that they fell there in
vain."

Here the poet assumes that the heroes whose valour he celebrates fell in battle in a national cause; but the original story, as recorded in the present work, is that their enthusiasm was called forth, not in the cause of their country, but in the cause of their clan. "Country" was at that time in Ireland an unknown sentiment; and

Ossory, however, intimidated by this wonderful energy of the Dal-Cais, declined the contest, and the wounded men, when the danger was past, relapsed into intense weakness. One hundred and fifty of them fainted away, and expired. They were buried on the spot, with the exception of the more noble among them, who were carried to their native places, to be interred with their ancestors in their family burial-grounds.

"And thus far¹ the war of the Gaill with the Gaedhil, and the battle of Clontarf."

Complete-
ness of the
victory
due to
Malachy.

Upon the death of Brian, as we have seen, the troops under his command dispersed, each clan to its own proper territory, leaving Malachy to his own resources. His energy in the emergency refutes triumphantly the base calumny² that he was secretly in the interest or pay of the enemy. To him, in fact, if we may credit the Four Masters, was due the completeness of the victory. The remains of the enemy's army, and particularly of the men of Leinster, who had lost their sovereign, were met by him, on the evening of the battle, in their flight to Dublin. "He routed them," say the annalists, "by dint of battling, bravery, and striking, from the Tulcain³ to Dublin." The next year, 1015, Malachy, with his allies of the Northern O'Neill, led an army to Dublin itself against the Danish garrison. They "burned the fortress, and all the houses outside the fortress." They afterwards invaded the territory of Ui Cennselagh (county of Wexford), plundered the whole country, "carrying off many thousand captives

even the author of these romantic fictions about the heroic wounded of the Dal-Cais could conceive nothing more glorious than that they should display their heroism in the cause of their clan.

¹ *Thus far*. This is the well known form in which an Irish historical tale generally ends.

² *Calumny*. See Mr. Moore's *Hist.*

of Ireland, chap. 22, vol. ii., p. 137, *sq.*, where this calumny is conclusively refuted. See also p. clxxi., n. 1.

³ *Tulcain*. Four M., 1013, p. 777. Now the Tolka. A small river running through the village of Finglas, near Dublin. These facts are suppressed by all the Munster historians, as well as by our author.

and cattle,"¹ and thus effectually weakened the power of the Dublin Danes and their allies of Leinster.

The immediate result² of the battle of Clontarf and the death of Brian was to replace Malachy upon his former throne. His right was tacitly recognised; he seems to have resumed the government as a matter of course,³ as if his administration had never been interrupted; and it is remarkable that the annalist, Tighernach, who wrote within the same century, in recording his death and the length of his reign, ignores altogether the twelve years of Brian's usurpation, including them in the total which he assigns to the reign of Malachy. Nothing, as Mr. Moore has remarked, can more clearly show "the feeling entertained on the subject in times bordering on those of Brian."⁴

But although the name of king was thus tamely yielded to its rightful owner, the consequences of Brian's revolution were severely felt. The old constitutional rule under which the Ard-righ, or chief King of Ireland, had been elected exclusively from the descendants of Niall of the nine hostages, was no longer acquiesced in, although it

Malachy
replaced on
his throne.

Constitutional
changes
resulting
from
Brian's
revolution.

¹ *Cattle*. Four M., 1014, p. 783; and Ann. of Clonmacnoise, quoted by Dr. O'Donovan, *ibid*.

² *Result*. It would be out of place here to attempt any lengthened account of the consequences, immediate or remote, of the battle of Clontarf. A good summary of them, and of the whole of this melancholy period of Irish history, will be found in a work already referred to. M'Gee's *Popular History of Ireland*—(New York), 1864. (Vol. ii., p. 101, *sq.*)

³ *Of course*. Warner talks of his having been "restored with the general consent of the *states of the Kingdom*," whatever that may mean; and his follower, Mr. M'Dermot, gives us an account of a formal "*assembly of the states of the Kingdom*, assembled to

elect a successor," in which "they all concurred in restoring" Malachy. Warner, *Hist. of Irel.*, ii., p. 223. M'Dermot, *New and Impartial Hist. of Irel.*, ii., 274. For such a statement there is not the smallest authority.

⁴ *Brian*. Moore, ii., p. 138. The Annals of Ulster and the Four M. have followed the older chronicle; the latter annalists expressly quote "the Book of Clonmacnoise," by which they mean what we now call the Annals of Tighernach. See O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 436. Mr. Moore says that Tighernach "wrote in the following century." By this error he impairs his own argument, for Tighernach died in 1088, before the end of the same century.

had a prescriptive right of five hundred years. The Kings of Connaught and Leinster now asserted their claims to the succession, maintaining that they had as good a title as Brian had to become chief-king in their turns; and thus, from the death of Malachy to the days of Strongbow, the history of Ireland is little more than a history of the struggles for ascendancy between the great clans or families of O'Neill,¹ O'Connor, O'Brien, and the chieftains of Leinster.

The position of the Norsemen of Ireland, not seriously affected.

The Norsemen of Ireland were not seriously affected in their position by the victory of Clontarf. They retained their hold of the great seaports, and the Irish annals, for some years, continue to record the usual amount of conflict between them and the native tribes. We read, however, of but few new invasions, and the design of forming in Ireland a Scandinavian kingdom, which seems to have influenced such men as Sigurd, of Orkney, and the viking Brodar, was certainly abandoned. The national distinction between the Irish and the Danes,

¹ *O'Neill*. In this clan are included the descendants of Malachy II., who was of the Southern Hy Neill. The celebrated Dearbhforgaill, or Dervorgall, "the Helen of Ireland," was the daughter of Murchadh (ob. 1153), son of Domhnall (ob. 1094), son of Flann (sl. 1013), son of Malachy. She was the wife of Tighernan O'Rourke, of Brehne. She eloped with, or was carried off by Diarmaid, called Mac Murchadha, in 1152, and was the cause of his calling to his aid the Norman Knights of Henry II. In 1153 she returned to her husband; was a great benefactor to the Church, and died in the abbey of Mellifont, 1193, aged 85. Diarmaid (see pp. ix., xi.), was descended from Enna Cennsalech (K. of Leinster in the fourth century), and was the ancestor of the MacMurchadha or Mac Murroughs of Leinster, whilst

his sons, Domhnall, surnamed Caemhanach [Kavanagh], and Enna, surnamed from his great ancestor Cennsalach [Kinnsela], were the ancestors respectively of the families of Kavanagh and Kinnsela. The O'Byrnes were descended from Bran, son of Maelmordha, the King of Leinster, who fell in the battle of Clontarf. These are the principal families of Leinster alluded to above. The Mac Lochlainn, or O'Lochlainn, were of the Northern O'Neill, descended from Domhnall, brother of Niall Glundubh. Two of this family, Domhnall Mac Lochlainn (ob. 1121), and Muirchertach, or Morrogh (1156-1166), claimed to be Kings of Ireland in the confused times of the 12th century, which preceded the coming of the Anglo-Normans. O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, pp. 439, 440.

however, continued until after the Anglo-Norman invasion; the Danes then in several places sided with the native chieftains; but in many instances they appear to have recognised in the new comers a kindred origin. In the seaport towns especially a common interest produced alliances by which the peculiarities of the two races were gradually softened down, and both were at length confounded by the Irish under the same generic name of GAILL, or foreigners.

The battle of Clontarf seems to have shaken the foundation of paganism among the Scandinavians of Ireland. About the same time, indeed, Christianity, so called, or, at least, a profession of Christianity, was making considerable progress in the north; and paganism in Ireland was no longer strengthened by any new arrivals. It may have been, as a learned writer¹ holds, that on the field of Clontarf the spells of heathendom were deemed to have been vanquished for ever by the superior power of the faith, so that it was considered hopeless to continue the contest; and it is certain that the next generation saw Christianity the recognised religion of the country; and Bishoprics were founded in the Danish cities of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, at the instance of the Danish inhabitants themselves.² Most true, nevertheless, it is "that the pure doctrines of Christianity were then the possession of a few, while the creed of the common herd was little more than a garbled blending of the most jarring tenets and wildest superstitions of both faiths."³

¹ *Writer.* Dasent, *Burnt Njal*, Introd., p. clxxxix., sq.

² *Themselves.* See Ware's *Bishops*, in loc. Ussher, *Religion of the Ant. Irish*; (*Works* by Elrington, iv., p. 326). *Sylloge Epistt. Hib.* (*ib.*, p. 564).

³ *Faiths.* See *Burnt Njal*, p. cxcviii. One or two instances will suffice to show how King Olaf the Saint pro-

pagated Christianity. In the Uplands he "inquired particularly how it stood with their Christianity; if there were any there who would not renounce heathen ways;" he "drove some out of the country, mutilated others of hands or feet, or stung their eyes out; hung up some, cut down some with the sword; but let none go unpunished who would not serve God." See

Paganism
shaken
among the
Irish
foreigners.

CONCLUSION.

The Editor's
object in
this Intro-
duction.

The Editor must now apologise for the great length to which these remarks have extended. His object was, as far as possible, to identify every *place* mentioned in the present work by pointing out its modern name and geographical position, that the reader might be enabled to trace on the map of Ireland the ancient stations and fortresses of the Norsemen, and the sites of their principal battles.

He has also endeavoured to give, as accurately as he could, the genealogies of the Irish chieftains as well as of the Danish or other Scandinavian leaders who are mentioned in the work. The corruption of the names of the latter, as they are represented by Irish transcribers, was a serious obstacle to accuracy in this attempt, and to it was added the further difficulty caused by the Editor's imperfect acquaintance with the language of the Sagas. It is hoped that his mistakes will be viewed with indulgence, when it is remembered that this is the first attempt ever made to harmonize the genealogies of the north with Irish historical records.

It appears to the Editor to be an object well worth the time and labour he has expended upon it, if he has succeeded in proving that the minute history of the two countries can be made to dovetail satisfactorily into each other. This will be an unanswerable evidence of the

Laing, *Sea Kings of Norway*, ii., p. 79. Again, at Heligoland, "he threatened every man with loss of life, and limbs, and property, who would not subject himself to Christian law." *Ibid.*, p. 147. In the Drontheim country he surprised the people at a heathen sacrifice; Olver, in whose farm called Egge the feast was held, he commanded to be put to death, with "many other men besides." "The King also let all the bonders

he thought had the greatest part in the business be plundered by his men at arms;" and of the men he judged most guilty, some he ordered to be executed, some he maimed, some he drove out of the country, and took fines from others." *Ibid.*, p. 152. After this fashion Christianity was established in Norway by King Olave the Saint, and such were the missionary services to the Church that won him that title.

authenticity of both ; for it would be clearly impossible that the author of a mere fiction, or of a dishonest forgery, should be able to make the genealogy of his heroes, as well as the geography of his narrative, tally with the facts of the history at the precise period to which his story belongs. In the present instance it will be found that, except in the case of some mere errors of transcription, or of some palpable interpolations, this work will fully stand the test.

Nevertheless, the Editor cannot but regret that this tract, so full of the feelings of clanship, and of the consequent partisanship of the time, disfigured also by considerable interpolations, and by a bombastic style in the worst taste, should have been selected as the first specimen of an Irish Chronicle presented to the public under the sanction of the Master of the Rolls. His own wish and recommendation to His Honor was, that the purely historical chronicles, such as the Annals of Tighearnach, the Annals of Ulster, or the Annals of Loch Cé, should have been first undertaken. The two former compilations, it is true, had been already printed,¹ by Dr. O'Connor, although with bad translations and wretchedly erroneous topography; and a rule which at that time existed prohibited the Master of the Rolls from publishing any work which had, even in part, been printed before. This rule has since been judiciously rescinded;² and it is hoped that His Lordship will soon be induced to sanction a series of the Chronicles of Ireland, especially the two just alluded to, which, it is not too much to say, are to the history of Ireland and of Scotland what the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is to that of England. The Annals of Loch Cé³ belong to

Defects of
the present
work.

Importance
of publish-
ing the
Irish An-
nals of
Tighearnach
and Ulster.

¹ Printed. The Ann. of Ulster are given only to the year 1181. The Dublin MS. extends to 1503. The *Chronicon Scotorum* is not here mentioned, because it is already on the list of the Master of the Rolls, edited by Mr. W. M. Hennessy.

² Rescinded. New editions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the *Annales Cambrie*, and the *Brut y Tywysogion*, have already appeared in the series.

³ *Loch Cé*. Or "Annals of Inis Mac nErinn in Loch Cé," (*pron.* Lough Kè.) These Annals (of which only a single MS. exists) were formerly called *Tigernachi continuatio*, and for a short time the *Annals of Kilronan*. But Mr. O'Curry (*Lectures*, p. 93, *sq.*) has satisfactorily shown that they are the Annals of Loch Cé, mentioned by Abp. Nicholson in Appendix, No. IV., to his Irish Historical Library.

a later period. They begin with the battle of Clontarf, 1014, and continue the history, with some few gaps, to 1590.

Until these and other original sources of history are made accessible, it is vain to expect any sober or trustworthy history of Ireland; the old romantic notions of a golden age, so attractive to some minds, must continue to prevail; and there will still be firm believers in "the glories of Brian the brave," the lady who walked through Ireland unmolested in her gold and jewels, and the chivalrous feats of Finn Mac Cumhaill and his Fenians.

Authors of
the popular
histories of
Ireland
avowedly
ignorant of
the Irish
language.

The authors of our existing popular histories were avowedly ignorant, with scarcely an exception, of the ancient language of Ireland, the language in which the real sources of Irish history are written. It was as if the authors of our histories of Rome had been all ignorant of Latin, and the writers of our histories of Greece unable to read Greek. Even this, however, would not fully represent the real state of the case as regards Ireland. Livy and Tacitus, Herodotus, and Thucydides, are printed books, and good translations of them exist. But the authorities of Irish history are still, for the most part, in manuscript, unpublished, untranslated, and scattered in the public libraries of Dublin, Oxford, and London, as well as on the Continent of Europe. Hence our popular histories leave us completely in the dark, and often contain erroneous information. Wherever the Irish names of persons or places are concerned, they are at fault; they are entirely silent on the genealogies, relationships, and laws of the clans and their chieftains, a subject so essential to the right understanding of Irish history; and we are not correctly informed either who the actors are, or where the scenes of the narrative are laid. All interest in the story is therefore lost.

Anti-
quarian
theories of
the last
century,
respecting
Ireland.

Along with this total neglect of the original Irish records, the antiquarian scholars of the last century had perplexed themselves with untenable theories as to the ancient history of the country. The old Celtic language was a dialect of the Punic or Carthaginian. The aboriginal inhabitants of Ireland were a colony from Tyre or from

Carthage. Their religion was the worship of Baal or Astarte. The Round Towers were temples for the adoration of fire. The cromlechs, stone circles, and other megalithic monuments, were altars or theatres for the public immolation of human victims. To these theories, for which not the slightest evidence exists, but which have not yet lost their hold on the public mind, the whole history of Ireland was made to bend. Antiquity was ransacked for arguments to support them; and arguments were piled together from the remains of pagan Greece and Rome, from Persia, from Scandinavia, from India—from every quarter of the globe except Ireland.

But a decided change for the better has now begun; and our more recent histories, even though they continue to exhibit a strong party bias, contrast most favourably with the similar publications of the last century. The beginning of this change is mainly due to the noble design of publishing historical Memoirs of the counties and towns of Ireland, planned, and in a measure carried out, by the enlightened officers¹ then at the head of the Ordnance Survey of Ireland. The new feature in this work was, that it was resolved from the beginning to make use of all the accessible records extant in the Irish language. The original orthography of the names of towns and townlands, with their true etymologies, was carefully studied, and the anglicized spelling corrected, according to the laws which appeared to regulate the passage of the old Irish names,² into their present modern representatives. A body of Irish scholars was engaged for this work, and for the collection of materials for the "Memoirs;" and at their head was placed the late ever to

Improve-
ment in our
more recent
popular
histories.

¹ *Officers.* Although we speak here in the plural number, it is well known that the real designer and organizer of the Memoirs was one, whose appointment to his present office has been of such great and permanent benefit to Ireland. It is lamentable to think that such a work, after the publica-

tion of a single volume of the highest merit, should have been abandoned.

² *Names.* See a paper "On the changes and corruptions of Irish topographical names," by Patrick W. Joyce, esq., in the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy (read May 22, 1865).

be lamented GEORGE PETRIE. A more judicious selection could not have been made. He was a man singularly devoid of all party prejudice; an accomplished antiquary, of rare judgment and of ripe scholarship; characterized in a remarkable manner by the love of historical truth. Among the staff under his direction were John O'Donovan¹ and Eugene O'Curry, men of very different genius and character, but who both became, under the advantages thus afforded them, scholars of the highest eminence.

The
assistance
given to the
Editor of
this work
by his
friends.

To Petrie, and to the two distinguished men just named—all three now alas lost to us—the Editor is deeply indebted for invaluable assistance in translating and editing the present work. By Mr. O'Curry the original MSS. were transcribed for collation, and a rough translation of the text prepared. From these transcripts the Editor carefully collected the various readings, which will be found in

¹ *O'Donovan*. One good result of the preparations made for the Ordnance Survey Memoirs was the publication of the *Annals of the Four Masters*, a magnificent work, which we owe to the spirit and patriotism of our great Dublin publisher, Mr. George Smith. In the copious notes with which Dr. O'Donovan has enriched his translation of these *Annals*, a large portion of the matter collected by him when engaged on the Survey has been preserved. He has also published a great mass of valuable information, of the same kind, in the works so ably edited by him for the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Societies. To these publications the improved tone of our modern Irish historians, above noticed, is mainly due. The new translation of Keating's *History of Ireland*, lately published at New York (Haverty, 1857) by Mr. John O'Mahony, is largely indebted to O'Donovan's notes upon the *Four Masters*. Notwithstanding the extravagant and very

mischievous political opinions avowed by Mr. O'Mahony, his translation of Keating is a great improvement upon the ignorant and dishonest one published by Mr. Dermot O'Connor more than a century ago (*Westminster*, 1726, *Fol.*), which has so unjustly lowered, in public estimation, the character of Keating as an historian; but O'Mahony's translation has been taken from a very imperfect text, and has evidently been executed, as he himself confesses, in great haste; it has, therefore, by no means superseded a new and scholarlike translation of Keating, which is greatly wanted. Keating's authorities are still almost all accessible to us, and should be collated for the correction of his text; and two excellent MS. copies of the original Irish, by John Torna O'Mulconry, a contemporary of Keating, are now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. The work, however, is not suited for Lord Romilly's series of chronicles.

the notes under the text ; and corrected the translation to the best of his judgment, having in every instance the opinion and advice of Dr. O'Donovan and Mr. O'Curry upon all difficulties. The whole text of the work, to p. 217, with the translation, was in this way gone over and printed before those great masters of the ancient language and history of Ireland were called to their everlasting rest.

From Dr. O'Donovan especially the Editor received a large amount of information, communicated in the shape of notes upon the narrative. From these notes invaluable aid was derived in the identification of the topographical names, and in the Irish genealogical researches.

To Dr. Reeves the Editor owes his most grateful thanks, for his kindness in reading, with his characteristic accuracy and care, the proof-sheets of the Introduction, and Genealogical tables in the Appendix ; and particularly for the free communication of that extensive topographical and other information, of which he is an inexhaustible fountain.

He is deeply indebted also to his excellent friend, Charles Haliday, esq., who kindly placed in his hands the materials of a work on the connexion between the Norsemen of Ireland and Northumberland, containing much valuable genealogical and historical information. By these papers the Editor's researches were directed to the best sources of Scandinavian history, and he was enabled to test the accuracy of the results at which he had himself independently and previously arrived.

His thanks are due to Mr. W. M. Hennessy, for very able assistance in reading the sheets, and for several corrections and suggestions, which he hopes he has duly acknowledged in every instance.¹ To Mr. Hennessy also the reader is indebted for that most necessary appendage to every book of this kind—THE INDEX.

¹ *Every instance.*—The correction of the text (p. 37) where *τομῶν*, "measure," was mistaken for a proper name (see p. xcii, n. ³), is due to Mr. Hennessy.

Facsimiles
of the
Manu-
scripts.

Lithographed facsimiles of the two principal manuscripts used in forming the Irish text of the work will be seen prefixed to the title page. These MSS. have already been described;¹ but it should be stated that the facsimiles of them have been executed under considerable disadvantages. The rules of the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, did not permit the removal of the originals to London. Accordingly photographs were taken of the selected specimens by Mr. Mercer, of Dublin, and sent to London to be lithographed by Messrs. Day and Co. In the case of the older MS. designated by the letter L, the difficulty was very great, owing to the darkness of the parchment, and the almost entire obliteration of the writing on the page selected. It was desirable, however, to give that page on account of its containing the commencement of the work, deficient in the other MS.; and for the sake of the ornamented initial letter, which is characteristic of this class of Irish manuscripts. To meet the difficulties it became necessary to render the letters more distinct, by carefully retracing them, before sending the photograph to the lithographer, and also to omit altogether the second column² of the page, which was found too dark and obliterated to be restored by this process. It is, however, to be feared that notwithstanding the great care and accuracy with which the letters were retraced, a blurred appearance has been given to the writing, which does not do full justice to the sharp definition and elegance of the original character. The other MS. (marked D), is much more accurately represented.

The Editor in conclusion has to return his thanks to Lord Romilly for so kindly allowing him, without any pressure, his full time to complete the work. He is

¹ *Described.* See pp. ix., xiii.

² *Column.* It has been stated (p. ix.), that this MS. is written in double columns. The passage given, Plate I, occupies about a third of the first column. It will be found in ordinary

type, with a translation, in Appendix A, p. 221. The passage selected from the MS. D, Plate II., will be found at the beginning of p. 62, line 2, *sq.* It represents a full page of the original.

ashamed to put on record the date at which it was first announced for publication. In his own defence he has to plead the occupation of his time by professional avocations, as well as the peculiar difficulties of the work itself, which nothing but time could overcome. The translation required the greatest consideration, owing to the immense number of Irish words, to whose true signification our dictionaries give no clue. The labour of forming a correct text by a careful collation of the existing manuscripts of the work was necessarily irksome and tedious. The topographical and historical matter collected in the Introduction and Appendices, required much time and patient research, as every one who has ever been engaged in such studies, will readily admit. Each statement had to be well weighed, the authorities checked, and many paragraphs written and rewritten before the matter was given to the printer.

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN,

October, 1866.

coḡaoh ḡæoheḷ re ḡaḷḷaibh.

THE WAR OF THE GAEDHIL WITH
THE GAILL,

OR

THE INVASIONS OF IRELAND BY THE DANES
AND NORSEMEN.

coḡaroh ḡævohel re ḡallaiḃh.

The period
of the
Danish
invasions,
170, or, as
some say,
200 years.



CC1 docraitte ionḡnað adbal mór ar Éirinn
uile ḡo poirleṡan, ó ḡenntiḃ ḡormḡlara
ḡurmarā, ocup ó ḡanaraiḃ doilḡe tur-
époideacha, pṡí pé éian, ocup re haimpṡ
ṡada, .i. pṡí penṡer deiḡ mḃliaðan ocup
oét pṡit, no da éed iar pṡoirinn .i. ó
penṡer Aṡṡṡṡ mic Caṡail mic Pṡḡaine,
co penṡer Úṡian mic Cinnéttiḡ; ocup
o penṡer Aṡṡa mic Héill ṡṡarraiḡ mic
Pṡḡaile, co Maolpṡclainn mac Doṡ-
nall.

The kings
of Munster
during that
time.

II. Oét pṡḡ dée hi eCaṡṡul pṡṡṡṡṡ pé rin. It iar
annṡo an annanna, .i. Aṡṡṡṡ mic Caṡail mic Pṡ-
ḡaine; ocup Pṡolinnṡ mac Éṡomṡainn; Olcódar mac
Cinaet; Ailḡenán mac Dṡḡaile; Maolḡuala mac
Dṡḡalaḡ; Cennṡaelaḡ mac Mṡṡchaḡ; Donnchaḡ
mac Duiḡdaḡpenn; Duḡlachṡna mac Maelḡuala;
Pṡḡaine mac Laeḡaṡe Cennḡḡḡan; Cṡṡmac mac
Culennan; Pṡaiṡṡṡṡṡ mac Ionṡainen; Lṡṡcan mac
Connḡḡán; Ceallaḡan mac Úaṡaḡan; Maelṡaṡṡṡṡ

¹ *Gaedhil*. That is, "the War of the Irish," who in their own language call themselves *Gaedhil* or *Gael* (in Welsh *Gwyddil*), "with the Gaill," strangers or foreigners, a generic name given to all invaders of Ireland. See O'Donovan's *Transl. of Book of Rights*, p. 51, n. 9. The original terms are here retained without translation, because of the alliteration which was evidently intended.

² *Awfully great*. L. omits the expletive adjectives and reads, *Úi docraitte mór poir pṡaraiḃ hÉṡenn*, "there was a great oppression on the men of Ireland." See Appendix A.

³ *Gentiles*. L. reads, *lochlanneaiḃ*, omitting the adjectives *ḡormḡlara*, *ḡurmarā*.

⁴ *Fierce*. L. reads, *tulḡṡ tur-époideaiḃ*, the ancient and more grammatically correct forms. The

THE WAR OF THE GAEDHIL' WITH THE GAILL.

THERE was an astonishing and awfully great² oppression over all Erin, throughout its breadth, by powerful azure Gentiles,³ and by fierce,⁴ hard-hearted Danars, during a lengthened period, and for a long time, namely, for the space of eight score and ten years, or two hundred, according to some authorities, that is to say, from the time of Airtri, son of Cathal, son of Finguine, to the time of Brian, son of Cenneidigh,⁵ and from the reign of Aedh, son of Niall Frassach,⁶ son of Ferghal, to Maelsechlainn,⁷ son of Domhnall.

The period of the Danish invasions, 170, or, as some say, 200 years.

II. There were eighteen⁸ kings in Caisel during that time. These are their names—viz., Airtri, son of Cathal, son of Finguine; and Feidhlimidh, son of Criomhthann; Olehobhar, son of Cinaeth; Ailgenan, son of Dungal; Maelguala, son of Dungal; Cennfaeladh, son of Murchadh; Donnchadh, son of Dubhdabhoirenn; Dubhlachtna, son of Maelguala; Finguine, son of Laeghaire, *surnamed* Cenngegain; Cormac, son of Cuilennan; Flaithbhertach, son of Ionmhainen; Lorean, son of Connligan; Cellachan, son of Buadhachan; Maelfathartaigh, son of Bran; Dubh-

The kings of Munster during that time.

reader will observe the alliteration in the adjectives ó gennuib 5. 8 ó danarab d. d.

³ Cenneidigh. L. adds, i Carrul, "in Cashel."

⁶ Niall Frassach. L. adds, i Tem-puig, "in Teamhar or Tara." L. also omits the genealogical particulars, giving only the names of the kings, without the names of their grandfathers.

⁷ To Maelsechlainn. L. omits the words "to Maelsechlainn, son of Domhnall."

⁸ Eighteen. L. reads, se riu de, "sixteen kings," and omits the list of names, which is therefore probably an interpolation. The text gives nineteen names—one name has, therefore, probably been interpolated. See Appendix B.

mac Úrain; Dubdaiborpenn mac Doimnaill; Fergaradh mac Cleirg; Donnchað mac Cellai; Maíghaínn mac Ceinneitici; ocuṛ Úrain mac Ceinneitici.

The kings of Ireland during the same period.

III. Da riṣ dec imorro, rop Teimraic, ruy an re rin, .i. Coð Oirniðhe mac Heill Fharrai, Concobhar mac Donnchaða, Hiall mac Ceða, Maelrechlainn mac Maelpuanaið, Coð Finnliat, Plann mac Maelreclainn, Hiall Glunou, Donnchað mac Floinn, Congalað mac Maelmici, Doimnall ó Heill, Maelrechlainn mac Doimnaill, ocuṛ Úrain mac Ceinneitici. Ruy reimeṛ na riðṣ rin, ocuṛ na ruyreð tra, moṛ do ðuað ocuṛ do ðoðar, do ðár ocuṛ do ðarcarre, timneð ocuṛ deccomnarṛ po ṛoðaimpior ruyte raeṛa ruiṛeṛa nanṣaeðel, ó Danmarceaðaib allmarðuib, ocuṛ ó diṛeṛaib barðarðuib.

The first invasion of the foreigners.

IV. 18 re reimeṛ tra Airtri mic Caðail, ocuṛ Coða mic Heill, po timreairreṛ Ṣoill inoṛað Epenn ar túr, oáig ir nanaimpior rin tangadar Ṣoill i ṣCamar ó Foðar Típe .i. riðe ar céð long; ocuṛ po hinoreð leó an tui, ocuṛ po harreð ocuṛ po loirceð leó Inir Labrainn, ocuṛ Dairinir; ocuṛ tugṛað Eoṣanaæt loða Léin cað oóib, ocuṛ po marðað re rir deṣ ar .cccc. do gallaib anṁ, .i. an bliaðain ar marðað Dómain Arar rin, .i. .x. mbliaðna arnécc Airtri mic Caðail.

Another invasion, A.D. 821-823.

V. Táinig longer ele iar rin .i. an dara bliaðain iarngaðail riðe do Feidlim mac Criméann, co po inoṛairreṛ Corcai, ocuṛ Inir Teimn, ocuṛ po hin-

¹ *Cellach*. Read *Cellachan*. See Appendix B.

² *Temhair*: i.e., in Tara. As the kings of Munster are designated as kings in *Caisel*, or Cashel, their royal seat or fortress—so the kings of Ireland are called kings in *Tara*, although the royal palace there had ceased to be the actual residence of the supreme king, for some time before

the Danish invasions. Here again L. omits the list of names.

³ *During the time*. L. omits the expletives in this paragraph. See Appendix A.

⁴ *Airtri*. In this passage B. puts the king of Munster first, and the king of Ireland second. The order is inverted in L. This latter MS. was not written in Munster.

dabhoirenn, son of Domhnall; Fergraidh, son of Clerech; Donnchadh, son of Cellach¹; Mathghamhain, son of Cenneidigh; and Brian, son of Cenneidigh.

III. But in Temhair² there were twelve kings during the same period—namely, Aeth Oirdnidhe, son of Niall Fras-sach; Conchobhar, son of Donnchadh; Niall, son of Aedh; Maelsechlainn, son of Maelruanaidh; Aedh Finnliath; Flann, son of Maelsechlainn; Niall Glundubh; Donnchadh, son of Flann; Conghalach, son of Maelmithigh; Domhnall, grandson of Niall; Maelsechlainn, son of Domhnall; and Brian, son of Cenneidigh. During the time³ of those kings and chieftains, much hardship and oppression, contempt and indignity, fatigue and weakness, were submitted to by the learned and accomplished nobles of the Gaedhil, from pirate Danmarcachs, and barbarous robbers.

IV. It was in the time of Airtri,⁴ son of Cathal, and of Aedh, son of Niall, that the foreigners first began the devastation of Erin; for it was in their time the foreigners came into Camas ó Fothaidh Tire⁵—viz., an hundred and twenty⁶ ships, and the country was plundered and devastated by them, and Inis Labrainn and Dairinis were burned by them. And the Eoganachts of Loch Lein gave them battle, when four hundred and sixteen men of the foreigners were killed. This was the year after⁷ that in which Diman of Aradh was killed, A.D. 812. and ten years after the death of Airtri, son of Cathal.

V. There came another fleet after that—viz., in the second year after the accession to the throne of Feidhlim, son of Crimhthann, and they plundered Corcach, and Inis

The kings of Ireland during the same period.

The first invasion of the foreigners.

d. 821 AD

⁵ *Camas ó Fothaidh Tire.* Cammup hui Pataio Tipe L. Caoimhir o bPataio (Fair Island of Ui Fothaidh), Keating. Introd., p. xxxvi., n. 2.

⁶ *An hundred and twenty.* L. has the same number, but Keating reads, luét tpi píet long a lion, "the crews of three score ships was their number."

⁷ *After.* L. omits the notice of Diman's death, and reads, a. in dechmaro bliadain penecc Oirtri: "i.e., the tenth year before the death of Artri." See App. A. and B. Another instance of the same difference will be found, chap. xxiii. (p. 22, note 3), where the Four M. understood after, although here they understood before.

Temhni¹; and Bennchair,² and Cluain Uamha, and Ros-Maelain,³ were plundered by them. Scelleg Michil was also plundered by them; and they took Edgall⁴ with them into captivity, and it was by miracles he escaped, and he died of hunger and thirst with them.

VI. There came, after that, another fleet into the north of Erin, four years after the death of Aedh, son of Niall, at Ath-dá-Fert; and they plundered Bennchur of Uladh, and brake the shrine of Comhghall, and killed its bishop,⁵ and its doctors, and its clergy: they devastated, also, the plain.⁶

VII. Another fleet came to Ui Cennselaigh, and they plundered Teach Munnu, and Teach Moling, and Inis Teoc. They afterwards went into Osraighe, and the country was devastated⁷ by them. The Osraighe gave them battle; and there were killed of them there one hundred and seventy.⁸ By them were demolished Dun Dermuighe,⁹ and Inis Eoganain, and Disert Tipraiti; and they devastated Leas Mor, and burned Cill Molaisi, and Cluain-ard Mubeoc¹⁰; Lann Leri,¹¹ also, and Cenn Slebhi were plundered by another party of them. There were plundered¹² also by them Sord Coluim-cilli, and Damliag Chianain, Slaini,¹³ and Orlla-saile,¹⁴ and Glenn-dá-Locha,

Bangor in
Ulster
plundered,
A.D. 824, 5.

Invasion of
Hy Cenn-
selaigh, and
plundering
of the
principal
churches
of Munster.

¹ *Dun Dermuighe*. *Dun Derps-múine*, B. "Dun Dergmuine."

¹⁰ *Mubeoc*. *Mobeccoc* L. *Mobeóg*, B. *Mobeoðog*, Keating. The reading of L. is more correct, being the devotional form of the name of St. Bec (diminutive *Becoc*, or *Becan*), with the pronoun *mo*, my, *Mobeoc*, "My Becog." Cf. *Lanigan, Eccl. Hist.*, iii., p. 20. L. puts the plundering of Dun Dermuighe, &c., after that of Lismore, Cill Molaisi, and Cluain-Ard-Mobeoc.

¹¹ *Lann Leri*. These words, to the next full stop, are omitted in B. In L. the clause is given thus: *Ra gab pempo pa thuaird iatann co Snám Aigneé co po millpet lann Lepu*

ocur Cellp̄leibí: "They afterwards went northwards to Snám Aigneé" [Carlingford bay], "so that they spoiled Lann Leri, and Cell Shleibhi" [Killeavy]. *Cellp̄leibí* is a more correct reading than the *Cenn Slebi* of the text.

¹² *There were plundered*. L. reads *Cc tuaird apur̄ doib co po uir̄pet*: "They returned again" [i.e., from the north of Ireland] "and plundered." "Damhliag Chianan," was at first written in the MS. *Duncianan*, *Dun Chianan*, but corrected by a later hand.

¹³ *Slaini*. Omitted in B.

¹⁴ *Orlla-saile*. L., B., and Keating read, *Cell uair̄le*.

ocur Cluain Uama, ocur Munghart, ocur upmor cell Erenn.

A fleet enters Limerick harbour, A.D. 834.

VIII. Tanic longer ele for cuan lumnig, ocur po hinrut Corco Daircinn, ocur Traopraig, ocur u Conill Gabra leo. Tuerat o Conaill cat doib ic Senatib .i. Donchad mac Scannlan pi ua Conaill, ocur Miall mac Cindraelad; ocur ni per ea lin ropocair andrin dib.

Turges in the north of Ireland, assumes the sovereignty of the foreigners, A.D. 839.

IX. Tanic iarrin ruglonger adbulmor la Turger, i tuarcept Erenn, ocur po gab rugi Gall Erenn, ocur po hinped tuarcept Erenn leo, ocur po pailret po Leit Cuinn. Ro gab tra longer dib for Loč Eatač; ocur po gab longer ele ic Lugbud; ocur po gab longer ele for Loč Rai. Ocur pa hinped tra Arda Mača po tri iunnin mif leo rin, ocur po gab Turgeir fein abbdan Arda Mača, ocur po hinnarb Paranan abb Arda Mača ocur arda comarba Padraic, co toračt Mumain, ocur repin Padraic leir; ocur bui ceŕi bliadna im Mumain, ocur Turgeir inn Arda Mača, ocur irrigi tuarcept Erenn; amail po tairngir Bercan, primpait nim ocur talman,—

St. Ber- can's prophecy.

¹ *Erian*. Upmor cell nErenn uile, L., "the greater part of the churches of all Ireland." So also Keating.

² *Tradraighe*. The reading of L., B., and Keating, is here adopted. D. reads *tartraig*. Instead of po hinropo.....leo, as in B. and D., L. has pa hinropu.....uacuraoe.

³ *Senati*. Seanad, B. Seanad, Keating. The place of this battle is not mentioned in L.

⁴ *Donnchadh, son of Scannlan*. Donnadhach, 4 M. The clause mentioning the names of these chieftains omitted in the text of L., is added in the margin in a later hand: but instead of Niall, son of Cennfaeladh, as he is called here, and also by the Four Masters (A.D. 845), this marginal addition in L. reads "Domhnall, son

of Cennfaeladh, king of the Hi Cairbri." See Appendix A., p. 224.

⁵ *There slain*. Topcair ann doib, B., "was slain there." Topochair ann, L., "fell there."

⁶ *Was plundered*. Ro inropairiot, B., "they plundered." B. omits leo.

⁷ *Leth Chuinn*. The northern half of Ireland, called *Leth Chuinn* or Conn's half.

⁸ *Of them*. For dib, the reading of L. and D., B. has ele, "another fleet."

⁹ *Lugbudh*. Lugmud, L. Lugmagh, B. and Keating. Now *Loath*.

¹⁰ *Loch Rai*. Loch Ri, L. Loč Ri, B. and Keating.

¹¹ *In the same month*. Po tri rinne oen mif leo, L. Po tri in en mif

and Cluain Uamha, and Mungairt, and the greater part of the churches of Erinn.¹

VIII. Another fleet came into the harbour of Luimnech; and Corco-Baiscinn, and Tradraighe,² and Ui Conaill Gabhra were plundered by them. The Ui Conaill defeated them at Senati,³ under Donnchadh, son of Scannlan,⁴ king of Ui Conaill, and Niall, son of Cennfaeladh, and it is not known how many of them were there slain.⁵

A fleet enters Limerick harbour, A.D. 834.

IX. There came after that a great royal fleet into the north of Erinn, with Turgeis, who assumed the sovereignty of the foreigners of Erinn; and the north of Erinn was plundered⁶ by them, and they spread themselves over Leth Chuinn.⁷ A fleet of them⁸ also entered Loch Eathach, and another fleet entered Lughbudh,⁹ and another fleet entered Loch Rai.¹⁰ Moreover, Ard Macha was plundered three times in the same month¹¹ by them; and Turgeis himself¹² usurped the abbacy of Ard Macha, and Farannan,¹³ abbot of Ard Macha, and chief comharba of Patrick, was driven out,¹⁴ and went to¹⁵ Mumhain, and Patrick's shrine with him; and he was four years in Mumhain, while Turgeis was in Ard Macha,¹⁶ and in the sovereignty¹⁷ of the north of Erinn, as Bercan¹⁸ prophesied, chief prophet of heaven and earth,¹⁹—

Turgeis in the north of Ireland, assumes the sovereignty of the foreigners, A.D. 839.

St. Ber-
can's pro-
phesy.

leo, B. These are merely differences of orthography, except that B. omits pin, reading "in one month," instead of "in the same month."

¹² Himself. B. omits fein, and merely says "Turgeis," instead of "Turgeis himself." The name of this chieftain is Turgeis in B. throughout. D. has Turgeis, nom., Turgeis, gen.

¹³ Farannan. Forannan, L. and B. throughout. Comharba, is the name given to a successor in an episcopal or abbatial see.

¹⁴ Driven out. Ro hinreacht ocuf ro hinreacht, B., "was driven out and banished." Ro innreacht arf, L., "driven away."

¹⁵ Went to. Lit. reached. Κορροέτ, L. ὤν ὁ ἔρχομαι, B., "came to."

¹⁶ In Ard Macha. In abbacy of Ard Macha, B., "in the abbacy of Ard Macha."

¹⁷ And in the sovereignty. L. reads ocuf nept tuarceit hēneō aice, "and the power of the north of Erinn was with him."

¹⁸ Bercan. L. introduces this prophecy thus: ἰρ ἀνθρώπων ἡ κομὰ-
λας παρτὸν Ὀρχαν ἰν πρὸν
ἴστα: "It was on this that the prophecy of Berchan, the eminent prophet, was fulfilled."

¹⁹ And earth. B. adds ocuf atbert, "and he said."

Tiepat genti dar muir mall
 Mercaput sor peapais Epend
 Uib uatib abb ar cae cill
 Uib uatib ius sor Epend.
 Seact bliadna doib, ní seidm pando,
 In narpurigi na hEpend,
 In nabbadani cae cill
 Du dubgentib Duiblinni.
 Diaid abb ar mu cillpea de,
 Ní tiepa don epuncirge,
 Can pater, ip can queda,
 San goedilg, ait gaill bepla.

The pro-
 phesy of St.
 Colum
 Cille.

Ro tairngir tra Colum Cilli in ní cetna sor, conebarut,
 In longer rin laea Rai
 Ria do moiaid gall genti
 Uib uatib abb ar Uro Maia
 Uib sorlainur anlaea.

The
 prophecies
 of Ciaran
 the older,

X. Ro tincell, ona, ren Ciaran Saiḡru in reel cetna
 .i. Danar po trí do gabail Epend, .i. dam uib ar
 Colum Cilli dinnarba, ocup dam uib in maó a pa-
 rapaḡti rian i Tailltin, ocup dam in maó trapei nan
 apptal i Tempas. Comó arpin po can in filid ocup
 in paí .i. Uec mac Ué. comó arbeir,

and of Bec-
 mac-Dé.

¹ *Soft.* Keating reads, meann, "over the glorious sea."—*Curry's Copy*, p. 590. Keating quotes only the first quatrain of this prophecy.

² *The men.* L. reads, pepand, "the land."

³ *Over every church.* Abard pop cae cill, L. For this and the next line, B. substitutes the last two lines of the quatrain, attributed to St. Colum Cille: this was probably an error of transcription, arising from the initial words of the lines being the same.

⁴ *A king.* Hept, L., "power over Erinn."

⁵ *Seven years.* This quatrain is omitted in B.

⁶ *Black Gentiles.* L. reads do Sentiab dam Duiblini, "the Gentiles of the fort of Dublin."

⁷ *My church.* Mo cillpea de, B. Popmucillpe de, L. In the next line B. reads, ní tairceóia in narp-meirge, a more modern but less correct orthography.

⁸ *Without Pater:* i.e., ignorant of the *Pater noster* and *Credo*—mere pagans.

⁹ *Without Irish.* Can Latin, L., "without Latin." But the alliteration of Gaedhilg, and Gaill, in D. and B., seems intentional.

¹⁰ *Colum Cille.* "Item Colum Cille." L. Ebarut is, perhaps, an error of the scribe for Ebarut.

"Gentiles shall come over the soft¹ sea;
 They shall confound the men² of Erinn;
 Of them there shall be an abbot over every church³;
 Of them there shall be a king⁴ over Erinn.
 Seven years⁵ shall they be; nor weak their power,
 In the high sovereignty of Erinn.
 In the abbacy of every church
 The black Gentiles⁶ of Dubhlinn.
 There shall be of them an abbot over this my church,⁷
 Who will not attend to matins;
 Without Pater⁸ and without Credo;
 Without Irish,⁹ but only foreign language."

Colum Cille¹⁰ also foretold the same thing, when he said—
 "This fleet of Loch Rai,¹¹
 By whom¹² are magnified the Gaill-Gentiles;
 Of them there shall be an abbot over¹³ Ard Macha;
 It shall be the government¹⁴ of a usurper."

The prophecy of St. Colum Cille.

X. The old Ciaran, of Saigher, foretold also the same—
 viz., that Danars would three times conquer Erinn; that
 is, a party of them [in punishment] for the banishment of
 Colum Cille¹⁵; a party of them, for the insult¹⁶ to [Ciaran]
 himself at Tailtin; and a party for the fasting of the
 Apostles¹⁷ in Temhair. And it was of this the poet and
 prophet Bec-mac-De sang, as he said¹⁸—

The prophecies of Ciaran the older, and of Bec-mac-Dé.

¹¹ *Loch Rai.* *Locha Ri, L. Locha Rið, B.*

¹² *By whom.* For *ῖα*, "by whom," L. and B. read, *maíe*, "has well exalted," or "magnified." Keating reads, *baíe maíe do móraíe* *Seimne*, "the Gentiles shall be well exalted."—*Curry's Copy, p. 581.*

¹³ *Over.* L. and B. omit *ap*, and read, "an abbot of Ard Macha."

¹⁴ *Government.* *Ollanmaíe*, L., "the rule" or "sovereignty."

¹⁵ *Of Colum Cille.* *Ci. yon Colum Cille*, B., "because of Colum Cille's banishment." The meaning is, that the Danes were sent by Providence to

punish the country for the three national sins mentioned.

¹⁶ *Insult.* The word implies a *sacrilegious* insult. *Ci. ῖaparaḡeῖ rium fein*, B., "the sacrilege offered even to himself," or "to his very self."

¹⁷ *The Apostles:* i.e., of the apostles or twelve eminent saints of Ireland—*naem hEirenn*, L., "of the saints of Erinn."

¹⁸ *As he said.* The words, *Comro apbeir*, are omitted in B. L. gives the prophecy of Bec-mac-Dé immediately after that attributed to Colum-cille, and then explains the allusion to the three invasions said to have been

Diarm ben clog i Tailltin re,
 Ciaran ren farobh Saighre,
 Do gell [dEinn] comma tri
 Dama Danar dublongrí.

Cio tra aet tancatar na tri cantana rin, ocur po comollit na partim; [anail po eairnsir zach naein piren poireclise].

Turgeis
 enters
 Loch Ree,
 and plun-
 ders the
 monasteries
 of Meath
 and Con-
 naught,
 A.D. 838-
 845.

XI. Tanic [tra Turgeir Arda Maeda, ocur po tocc-
 aib] longar ar Loch Rai, ocur po hinped Mithi uad
 ar, ocur Connaeta; ocur po hinped Cluain mic Noir
 leir, ocur Cluain ferta Brenainn, ocur Loira, ocur
 Tir da Glar, ocur Inir Celtra, ocur cella Dergdheir
 arcena; ocur ir and dobered Ota ben Turger a
 hupich ar altoir Cluana mic Noir. Tucrat, imor-
 po, Connaeta cat doib du in dprocair Maelduin mac
 Muirgerra righdomna Connaet.

Invasion of
 Dublin and
 Leinster.

XII. Tancatar iarrin .ii. longar ocur tri rict, cor
 gabrat in Dublino Aeta Cliaet, ocur po hinped Lakin
 co farzi leo, ocur Mas mberg. Tucrat, ona, Dail-
 peta cat ele doib, du in dprocair Eogan mac Oengurra
 ri Dalraitai.

foretold by Ciaran: see App. A., p. 225-6; it is evident, however, that Ciaran of Clonmacnois must have been intended: for it was he, not Ciaran, surnamed the Old, who was insulted by King Diarmaid at Tailltin or Teltown. Old Ciaran (of Saigher) is said to have lived before the coming of St. Patrick.

¹ *Saigher*. The original reading may have been *raig*, "the sage," which was mistaken by copyists for *raighe*, "of Saigher."

² *To Erinn*. These words, necessary to the metre, are supplied from L. and B.

³ *Should be*. Co ra tri, L. Co ba tri, B. These are differences of spelling only.

⁴ *And now*. This paragraph to the

end of the chap. is omitted in L. For tri cantana rin, B. reads, *trican- ta*, "prophecies." The clause within brackets is supplied from B., but is unnecessary.

⁵ *Turgeis*. The words within brackets in the Irish are substituted from B. for the words in D.—*iarrin Tur- geir co hArda Maeda, ocur po co- tait*: "Afterwards Turgeis came to Ard Macha, and there came a fleet," &c. L. reads, *Tanic iarrain Turgeir por Loch Ri*, "afterwards Turgeis came upon Loch Ri," which was, most probably, the original reading.

⁶ *By him*. B. omits *leir*.

⁷ *Derg-dheir*: i.e., the churches on the islands in Loch Derg-dheir, now Loch Derg. D. has *cella derg- ceir*, for which *cella dergdheir*,

"When the bell was rung in warm Tailltin,
Ciaran the Old, the wealthy, of Saigher,¹
Promised [to Erinn²] that three times there should be³
Parties of Danars of the black ships."

And now⁴ these three predictions came to pass, and the prophecies were fulfilled, [as every righteous and true saint had foretold].

XI. There came [now Turgeis,⁵ of Ard Macha, and brought] a fleet upon Loch Rai, and from thence plundered Midhe and Connacht; and Cluain Mic Nois was plundered by him,⁶ and Cluain Ferta of Brenann, and Lothra, and Tir-dá-glas, and Inis Celtra, and all the churches of Derg-dheire,⁷ in like manner; and the place where Ota,⁸ the wife of Turgeis, used to give her audience was upon the altar of Cluain Mic Nois. The Connachtmen, however, gave them battle, in which Maelduin, son of Muirghes, royal heir apparent of Connacht, was slain.

Turgeis enters Loch Ree, and plunders the monasteries of Meath and Connaught, A.D. 838-845.

XII. After this⁹ came three score and five ships, and landed¹⁰ at Dubhlinn of Atheliath, and Laghin was plundered to the sea by them, and Magh Breg. But the Dal Riada¹¹ met them in another battle, in which was slain Eoghan,¹² son of Oengus, king of Dal Riada.

Invasion of Dublin and Leinster.

the reading of L. and B., has been substituted. B. omits *apcena*.

¹ *Ota*. B. has *Otur*, and L. *Otta*. For *α η-υριελι*, "her audience," L. and B. read, *α ηρεαρηθα*, "the place where she used to give her answers."

² *After this*. *λαρριν*, omitted in B., but the word occurs in L.

¹⁰ *And landed*. L. omits *σπογαβρατ*, and reads, *co Dublino*, "to Dublin," &c. D. reads, *Magh mreg*, for which the more correct spelling of B. has been substituted.

¹¹ *The Dal Riada*. L. reads, *Ταυρατ Ταλριαται* *cath don lohzi* *pein*, "the Dalriadans gave battle to this fleet." B. agrees with D., omit-

ting only the word *ele*, "another." L. adds here the following note, which does not occur in the other MSS.:—*Uair na éuatar lam clepi hEreud ra thuair an milliuo laseu ocu* *hreg*: "Afterwards many of the clergy of Erinn went to the north after the plundering of Laigin and Bregh."—See App. A., p. 226.

¹² *Eoghan*. In L. and B. he is more correctly called *Eoghanan*, son of Oenghus. He was the 31st king of the Dalriadans of Scotland, according to O'Flaherty. *Ogygia*, p. 481. L. gives the tribe name in the *nom.* *Talriatai*, *gen.* *Talriatai*. B. gives the *nom.* *Talriata*, and *gen.* *Talriata*; making the inflexion

Simulta-
neous inva-
sions in
various
places of
Munster.

Farannan,
of Armagh,
carried off,
A.D. 845.

Turgeis
taken and
drowned,
A.D. 845.

The battle
of Roscrea,
A.D. 845.

XIII. Tame iarpin tola mupbucta mor du gal-
laib inn Eriinn, co naē pabi aipō innēi can longer.
Iy leopide do hargeat ūmzobant, ocur po marbat
Treppaē mac Meāill. Ro gab, am, longer iḡCiap-
raizī Luācra, ocur po hinpet leo co Cill Iti, ocur
co Cill Einn, ocur po hinpet, tra, pe longer Luimnig
Martini na Muman, ocur puepat Parannan comarba
Arda Maēa o Cluain Comairdi co Lumneaē, ocur po
buppridar pepin Patraic.

XIV. Iyī yin bliadain po gabat Turgeir pe Mael-
reclann, ocur po baiteat iarpin i loē Uair .i. in
bliadain pēmbatūo Heill Cailli yin, ocur inḡara
bliadain pe nec Pedlemeta mic Cunnthaind, ocur iy
pe pemur na deipri yin doronaic na ḡnīma yin uli.
Ocur ap marbat Turgeir, inoipō, doluio Parannan
abb Ardamāēa apin Muman [co Ardamāēa], ocur po
dangniced pepin Patraic leir.

XV. In bliadain, dūa, po gabat Parannan ocur
po bupet pepin Patraic, ocur po hinpet cella
Munhan, iy ant yin taneatar [ḡall] co Roḡ Creta,
la peil Poil ocur Pedair, ocur int aenaē inmlti
ant; ocur tucad caē doib, ocur po muid for ḡalluib
tra paē Poil ocur Pedair, ocur po marbat co di-
airniti ant; ocur po bualed Onpīle iapla ant do

in ūal. The readings of the text, which are from D., seem ungram-
matical, ūalpetā, in the *nom.*, and
ūalpetan, in the *gen.*

¹ *Sea-cast floods.* Mupbucta, lit. "sea-belched," or "vomited;" a participle. Tola, floods.

² *Into Eriinn.* L. has i Muman, "into Munster," which is probably the true reading.

³ *Thereof:* i.e., of Munster, if the reading of L. be adopted. B. reads, aipō in Eriinn, "not a point in Eriinn."

⁴ *Mechill.* B. reads, Treppach mac Meircill, "Tressach, son of Meircill." L. omits this notice of the

plundering of Brigobhann, or Brigown, and the death of Tressach, a personage who is not mentioned in the Irish Annals.

⁵ *Martini.* Martchin, L. Martine, B.

⁶ *Ard Macha.* L. reads, Comarba Patraic o Cluain Comarba leo: "The comharba," [or successor] "of Patrick, from Cluain Comharda, with them." B. has Comarba Phatrance o Cluain Comarba.

⁷ *This year:* i.e., the same year in which Farannan was captured, and Patrick's shrine broken. D. reads po gab Turgeir, which does not make

XIII. After this there came great sea-cast floods¹ of foreigners into Erin,² so that there was not a point thereof³ without a fleet. It was by these that Bri-Gobhann was plundered, and Tressach, son of Mechill⁴ killed. A fleet came to Ciarraighe Luachra, and all was plundered by them to Cill Ita and Cuil Eimhni; and the Martini⁵ of Mumhain were plundered by the fleet of Luimnech, who carried off Farannan, Comharba of Ard Macha,⁶ from Chuain Comairdi to Luimneach, and they broke Patrick's shrine.

Simultaneous invasions in various places of Munster.

Farannan, of Armagh, carried off, A.D. 845.

XIV. It was in this year⁷ Turgeis was taken prisoner by Maelsechlainn; and he was afterwards drowned in Loch Cair,⁸ viz., the year before the drowning of Niall Cailli, and the second year before the death of Fedhlimidh, son of Crimhthann; and it was in⁹ the time of these two that all these events¹⁰ took place. Now, when Turgeis was killed, Farannan, abbot of Ard Macha, went out of Mumhain¹¹ [to Ard Macha], and the shrine of Patrick was repaired¹² by him.

Turgeis taken and drowned, A.D. 845.

XV. Now the same year in which Farannan was taken prisoner,¹³ the shrine of Patrick broken, and the churches of Mumhain plundered, [the foreigners] came to Ros Creda¹⁴ on the festival of Paul and Peter, when the fair had begun; and they were given battle, and the foreigners were defeated through the grace of Paul and Peter, and countless numbers¹⁵ of them were killed there; and Earl Onphile¹⁶ was struck there with a stone by which

The battle of Roscrea, A.D. 845.

sense. The reading of B. is substituted.

⁶ *Loch Cair.* *Uloc Éuair,* B.

⁹ *And it was in.* This clause is omitted in L.

¹⁰ *Events.* *Na gnuimhnaí,* B.

¹¹ *Out of Mumhain.* *Fo éuair,* B., "to the north." The words "to Ard Macha" are inserted from L.

¹² *Repaired.* *Leppaíod,* L. *Damhnaíod,* B.

¹³ *Taken prisoner.* *Ro gáid,* B. This repetition of the events of the

year does not occur in L., where we read only *Tangarap. na gail co Roppce pin bliarain seo*, "the foreigners came to Roscrea this year."

¹⁴ *Ros Creda.* *Roppce,* L. *Roppce,* B., and in v. xvii., p. 16. The word *gail* is added from L.

¹⁵ *Countless numbers.* *Co daup-mití,* lit. "innumerabiliter." *Co hambaíl na,* B., "they were slain prodigiously."

¹⁶ *Onphile.* *Oilein,* B. *Oileinn,* Keating (p. 636).

he was killed.¹ Much, indeed, of evil and distress did they receive, and much was received from them in those years, which is not recorded² at all.

XVI. There came after that a fleet³ of three score ships of the Northmen upon the Boinn; and Bregia and Midhe were plundered by them. [Another⁴] fleet came and settled on Loch Echach,⁵ and these plundered all before them to Ard-Macha.⁶ Another fleet came and settled⁷ on the river of Liffe, and Magh Bregh was plundered by them, both country and churches.

XVII. There came after that a very great⁸ fleet into the south⁹ of Ath-Cliath, and the greater part of Erin was plundered by them; they plundered, also, Hí of Colum Cille,¹⁰ and Inis Muireoc,¹¹ and Damhinish, and Glenn dá Loch, and the whole of Laighin, as far as to Achadh Ur, and to Achadh Bó, and to Liath Mocaemhoc,¹² and to Daire-mór,¹³ and to Cluain Ferta Molua, and to Ros Cre, and to Lothra, where they broke the shrine of Ruadhan, and they spoiled Cluain Mic Nois, [and as far as Saighir,¹⁴] and on to Durmhaigh.

XVIII. There came after that a fleet¹⁵ into the south of Erin, and they plundered¹⁶ Scellig Michil, and Inis Flainn,¹⁷ and Disert Domhain,¹⁸ and Cluain Mor, and they killed Rudgaile,¹⁹ son of Trebtade, and Cormac,

them went at once." *Tanic tona longer ba lia antaíante.*

⁹ *The south.* L. and B. omit *in tēp-
cūp.*

¹⁰ *Hí of Colum Cille.* *Hí Colaim Cille,* L., B.

¹¹ *Inis Muireoc.* A corrupt spelling: more correctly *Inis Muirtois,* L., and in modern spelling, *Inis Muirtois,* B.

¹² *Liath Mocaemhoc.* D. reads, *Mocemo,* which is evidently a mistake. The reading of L. and B. has been adopted in the text.

¹³ *Daire-mór.* D. reads, *co hCp-
mop:* but the reading of L. and B. has

been substituted, as being evidently correct.

¹⁴ *Saighir.* The words *ocur co Saighir* are added from L. and B.

¹⁵ *Fleet.* L. reads *longer o Luim-nuc,* "a fleet from Limerick."

¹⁶ *Plundered.* *Suip mūpetur ocur suip in tēpata,* B., "they spoiled and they plundered."

¹⁷ *Inis Flainn.* *Inis Faithlend,* L., B.: now Inisfallen, in the Lower Lake of Killarney.

¹⁸ *Disert Domhain.* *Disert Donnain,* L. *Disert Damhain,* B.

¹⁹ *Rudgaile.* L. reads, "Rudgaile, son of Trebhtaidhe, and Cormac, son of Selbach, the anchorite."

* C

Battle of
Corca
Laighe.

The fleet of
Dublin
plunders
Kildare,
Clonenagh,
&c.

The Black
Gentiles
contend
with the
Fair Gen-
tiles, A.D.
851.

ocur ip dorioe po oplate angeal po tri ocur por
cenglar cae uair. Ocur po hinpet, ona, leo Corcae,
ocur po lorced Ror Ailiēri, ocur Ceno Mara, ocur
upmor Muman, ocur [tuccrat Muīa Medonaē cae
doib] po cupet a nar ic Aro Fearadaig. Tuccrat,
ona, dercept Epend cae doibrioē, ocur Doncad mac
Amalghada rīs Eoganaēt ua Neit, ocur drocair Cloēna
rīs Corcalaisi leo and.

XIX. Ro hinpet leo, ona, Cell Dapa, ocur Cluain
Eoneach, ocur Ceno Etig, ocur Cell Aēo la longer
Aēa Cliaē por; ocur po toglaē Dun Maie .i. du in
drocair Aēo mac Duibdaerū, comarba Colum mic
Crimtāno ocur Fintān Cluana Eomig. Ocur po
hinpet leo, ona, Cenannur, ocur Maniptir Buti, ocur
Damliac Cīanan, ocur Soru Colum Cilli, ocur Fint-
glar Cānnig; ocur po lorced rin uli leo ocur po
hinpet.

XX. Tancadar iarrin Dumbgeinti Danarda, ocur po
laeret po Eriuo, ocur da badar ic duicup na Fint-
genti a hEriuo, ocur tuccrat cae, ocur do marbrat .u.
mili dono Fingentib ic Snam Epsda. Tanc iarrin
longer ele po sab iCiarras, ocur po hinpet leo co
lumneē, ocur Cell ita, ocur imleac ibair, ocur Carrel

¹ *The anchorite.* Anchora, L.,
Anscapre naem, B., "the holy an-
chorite."

² *Every time.* Sac lae, B., "every
day." L. reads, na hopleic angel
po ti, ocur porcenglaip na gail
cae nuairi: "The angel set him
loose twice, and the foreigners used to
bind him every time."

³ *They burned.* Loirged leo, B.,
"was burned by them."

⁴ *Cenn Mara.* L. adds, ocur Aēo.

⁵ *Mumha Medhonach:* i.e., the men
of Middle Munster. The words within
brackets in the text are inserted from
B.

⁶ *Ard Feradaigh.* B. reads, Carn
Fearadaigh, which is also the reading

of the Four M. L. has Aro Fepa,
Ardfert.

⁷ *Under.* D. reads, ocur Donncaē,
"and Donnchad." The reading of B.
is preferred.

⁸ *Ua Neit.* An error for Ua Neic, or
Ua nEochach (see p. 137). h.netac,
L. Ocur Ua nEchach, B., "and of Ua
nEchach." The word *and* is a mistake.
The meaning is, that Donnchadh, son of
Amhalghaidh [*pron.* Awley] was king
of the Eoghanacht Ua nEochach, that
is of those Eoghanachta, or descendants
of Eoghan Mor (son of Oilioll Olum,
king of Munster,) who were also de-
scendants of Eochaidh, son of Cas,
son of Corc, king of Munster. See
Gen. Table, IV., p. 248, and Table of

son of Selbach, the anchorite,¹ and he it was whom the angel set loose three times, though he was bound again every time.² Moreover, Corcach was plundered by them, and they burned³ Ros Ailithri and Cenn Mara,⁴ and the greater part of Mumhan; but [the Mumha Medhonach⁵ gave them battle and] their slaughter was completed at Ard Feradaigh.⁶ The south of Erin also gave them battle under⁷ Donnchadh, son of Amhalgaidh, king of the Eoganacht Ua Neit,⁸ and Clochna,⁹ king of Corca Laighe, was killed by them there.

Battle of Corca Laighe.

XIX. Cell Dara, also, and Cluain Eidhneach, and Cenn Etigh, and Cell Ached were plundered by them, that is, by the fleet of Ath Cliath; and Dun Masc was demolished, where fell Aedh, son of Dubh-da-Crich, Comharba of Colum Mac Crimhthainn, and of Finntan of Cluain Edneach. They also¹⁰ plundered Cennannas, and Mainister-Buite, and Damhliac-Cianan, and Sord-Coluim-Cille and Finnghlas-Cainnigh; and all these were burned by them and plundered.

The fleet of Dublin plunders Kildare, Clonenagh, &c.

XX. There came after this Black-gentile Danars, and they spread¹¹ themselves over Erin, and they endeavoured to drive the Fair-gentiles out of Erin; and they engaged¹² in battle, and they killed five thousand of the Fair-gentiles at Snamh Ergda¹³. After that another fleet came and landed in Ciarraighe,¹⁴ and all was plundered by them to Luimnech, and Cill-Ita; and Imleach-Ibhair, and Caisel

The Black Gentiles contend with the Fair Gentiles, A.D. 851.

the Descendants of Oilíoll Olum, *Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 341. L. adds .i. acCorcach ro marbado: "viz., it was at Corcach he was killed."

⁹ *Clochna*. L. omits all notice of the death of Clochna.

¹⁰ *Also*. For the expletive *ona*, B. reads, *éna*, "in like manner." L. omits the mention of Finntan of Cluain Edneach, and all that follows, as far as the word *Cennannas*, and instead reads, *Rucpar leo imMumhan ocup ra-pia ocupparao ruarlanéti*

raip ocup ipreo naé ruar. Ra la longer ata clat ocup mainiprip buti, etc. Some words are illegible. See Appendix A.

¹¹ *Spread*. *Ro leatatar*, B.

¹² *Engaged*. *Tuccpar fein cat ra ceile*, B., "they engaged in battle with each other."

¹³ *Snamh Ergda*. *Snamh Oengusa*, B. *Snamh Eidhneach*, Four M. (A.D. 850). *Snamh Aidhneach*, Ann. Ult. (A.D. 851). *Snam Oigheé*, L.

¹⁴ *Ciarraighe*. B. reads *Tamric iarp-*

na rí, ocur aipeo Cētrai, ocur Lia Mocaemoc.
1 nemir Peolemeta mic Crimthainn do ponat uli na
hargni rin.

Various
defeats
sustained
by the
foreigners.

XXI. Mor, dona, do buao [ocur do dochar] ruaradar
rrurin nemir rin. Ro bripedar am Cenel Conaill cat
porpēo ic Oer Ruaid. Da bripedar Dail Cairr cat
ele porpu por Loč Deirdeir. Da bripedar Ua Neill
cat ele ic Oer Drecan. Ro marbratar, dona, U Chol-
gan Saxulb iarla. Do pain Olcubur mac Cineda rí
Cairil, ocur Lorcan mac Cellais rí Lagen cat Scaoit
Nehtain porpu, du i orocar tanairri ri Ločlann, ocur
da cet dec do mantib Ločlann umi. Ro toglaig, dona,
Olcubur cētna i Tulais na Rigna porphu, du i or-
car rochari; ocur ro marb le Moga uli iat.

Battle of
Sciath
Nechtain,
A.D. 847.

Several
other de-
feats sus-
tained by
them.

XXII. Ro brip tra Maelreclainn rí Tempa cat
Carlen Glinni porpēu, du i orocaradar .iii. cet. Ro
brip, dona, Tigernas cat [porpa] ic Dairi Driurc
Daonna, du i orocaradar .u. cet. Ro brip, dona, Olcu-
bur cētna, ocur Eoganaet Cairil cat porpu ic Dun
Maeltuli du i orocaradar da picet dec. Orocaradar,
dona, tri cet .lxiii. la Fingenti. Orocaradar da

rin longer ele gur gab hi cCiarr-
raige: "After that came another
fleet, and landed in Ciarraighe."

¹ *Mocoemhoc.* Mocaemoc, D. The
reading of L. and B. is preferred. See
p. 17, note 12.

² *In the reign.* B. reads, ocur ir
pe nemir Feidlimid mic Crimth-
thann do ponat uile na rogla rin:
"And it was in the reign of Feidhli-
midh, son of Crimththann, that all
these inroads were made." L. has, in
amirir Feidlimid mic Crimththann
da ponat na huile rin: "In the
time of Feidhlimidh, son of Crimh-
thann, these evils were committed."

³ *And damage.* The words ocur do
dochar are inserted from B., which MS.
reads also ruaradar rin Epenn

rrur an pe rin, "did the men of
Ireland suffer during that time." The
text, on the contrary, states that the
foreigners suffered toil and damage;
and proceeds to describe the defeats
sustained by them.

⁴ *Earl Saxulb.* Raalb iarla, L.,
"Earl Ralph."

⁵ *Heir.* In the original tanairri
or *Tanist*. The Four M. name him
Tomrar, or *Tomhrair* (A.D. 846).
Domrair, Ann. Ult. (A.D. 847).
B. omits da cet dec do mantib
Ločlann, "twelve hundred of the
nobles of Lochlann;" but these words
occur in the Four M. In the next line
B. reads mOlcobur cētna, which
seems more correct, although the mean-
ing is the same.

⁶ *Tulach-na-Rigna.* Literally, "in

of the Kings, and the eastern Cethtraighi; and Liath Mocoemhoc.¹ It was in the reign² of Feidlimidh, son of Crimhthann, that all these ravages were perpetrated.

XXI. Much of toil [and damage³] did they suffer during that period. The Cenel Conaill defeated them in a battle at Eas Ruaidh. The Dal Cais defeated them in another battle on Loch Deirdreirc. The Ui Neill defeated them in another battle at Ard Breacain. The Ui Colgan killed Earl Saxulb.⁴ Olchobhar, son of Cinaedh, king of Caisel, and Lorcan, son of Cellach, king of Laighen, defeated them in the battle of Sciath Nechtain, where the heir⁵ of the king of Lochlainn fell, and twelve hundred of the nobles of Lochlainn along with him. The same Olchobhar demolished Tulach-na-Rigna⁶ against them, where numbers of them were killed; and Leth Mogha⁷ killed all of them.

Various
defeats
sustained
by the
foreigners.

Battle of
Sciath
Nechtain,
A.D. 847.

XXII. Maelsechlainn, also, king of Temhar, defeated them in the battle of Caislen-Glinni,⁸ where seven hundred were killed. Tighernagh, too, defeated [them] in a battle at Daire-Disiurt-Dachonna,⁹ where five hundred¹⁰ fell. The aforesaid Olchobhar,¹¹ and the Eoghanachts of Caisel, defeated them in a battle at Dun-Maeltuli,¹² where twelve score¹³ fell. There fell, also, three hundred and sixty-eight¹⁴ by the Fair-gentiles. Two hundred of them fell

Several
other de-
feats sus-
tained by
them.

Tulach-na-Rigna:" but B. omits i, "in," and reads, *Tulaé na Rigna*, more correctly.

⁷ *Leth Mogha*: i.e., the people of Leth Mogha. B. reads *no manbaro iLeth Mogha uile iro*, "they were killed in Leth Mogha all of them."

⁸ *Caislen-glinni*. *Cair-glinne*, B. *Glairglinne*, Keating, p. 591; but, p. 602, he mentions also a battle of *Caisglinne*. B. says that 710 were slain in this battle, *ou i corpcair pecc cco .x.* Keating gives the same number; the text is supported by L.

⁹ *Daire-Disiurt-Dachonna*. *Disiurt Daconna*, B. The word within paren-

theses in the text is inserted from B. and L.

¹⁰ *Five hundred*. *Da pice .x.* B. Keating, and Four M. (A.D. 846), "twelve score." *Da cet veg*, Ann. Ult. (A.D. 847), "twelve hundred."

¹¹ *Olchobhar*. *An t-Olcobair cet-na*, B.

¹² *Dun Maeltuli*. This name is omitted in B. *Dun Mael*, L.

¹³ *Twelve score*. *Cuic cet*, B. L. "five hundred;" and the same number is given, Four M., A.D. 846, Ann. Ult., A.D. 847.

¹⁴ *Three hundred and sixty-eight*: *ccc.lxxviii*, L. *Ceatpar ar tri piceib ar tri cetuib la hu pro-*

ceo d'ib re Cianaēt ic Inir Finníc; ocur iorocradar, d'na, t'ri cet d'ib for re Cianaēta i c'no m'ir iarrin ic Ráiē Altan. Ro b'ur, d'na, Maelreclainn cat ele forēu ic Ráiē Commair. Ro b'uridar, d'na, Ciarrasgi Luāēra cat ele forēu.

Arrival of
Amlaibh
with a pro-
digious
fleet, A.D.
853.

XXIII. Tanic iarr rin Amlaib [mac] ri Lochlano ocur longer adbul mor leir .i. deē m-bliadna apnec Maelreclainn, for gab ri gi Gall Epend, ocur ir leir po baēto Concubar mac Donēada ri gdomna Tempaē. Ir leoride po rona cat Cluana daim forr na Deri, du i iorocairdar maēi na Deri uli. Ir leo romarbad mac Cindraelad ri g Murcraigi Dreoḡain, ocur po muēto Muēdaigren mac Reaētabraē in nuaim. Ir leo po marbad Caetil Finto Lin a Longpuir. Ir leo po marbad Maelguala mac Dungailē ri g Carril, .i. a d'ruim da b'urid im cloiē. C'no t'ra aēt iorocradar rin uli for ic fepaib Muman .i. Ona ocur Scolph, ocur Tomar, teora ocur ceo.

Arrival of
Ossil, and
his defeat.

XXIV. Tanic iarrin Orrill mac ri g Lochlano, longer ele, ocur po hinped urmor Epend leo. Iorocradar

geinnti, B., i.e., "364 by the Ui Fidh-geinnti."

¹ *Inis Finnic.* Inir Fintomac, L. Inir Fintomec, B.

² *Rath Altan.* Rat Altan, L. Rat Altan, B.

³ *Ten years after.* Sin deēmto bliadain penec Maelreclainn, L., "in the tenth year before the death of Maelsechlainn," [i.e., before 863.] *O'Flah. Ogyg.* p. 484. This seems the correct reading, and is followed by the Four M., 851, and by the Ann. Ult. 852 (=853). These Annals agree also with L. in calling this chieftain mac ri g Lochlann, "son of the king of Lochlainn;" not "king of Lochlainn," as in B. and D. See Appendix A., and chap. xxx., *infra*, where the MSS. B. and D. themselves, call this Amlaibh, "son of the king of Lochlainn." The

word mac has, therefore, been inserted within brackets in the text. Keating says that Amhlaibh arrived "about the time when Olcobhar, king of Munster, died;" an event which the Four M. date 849 (=852).

⁴ *Son of Donnchad.* Mac Cindaēta, B. Mac Donnēada Letri M'ide, Ann. Ult. 863; Four M. 862.

⁵ *Cluain-Daimh.* Ir leir in longer rann po memaro cath cluana daim, L., "it was by this fleet was gained the battle of Cluain-daimh, &c." Ocur ir leir po r'raimēo cath, 7c, B.: "And it was by them was won the battle, &c." D. reads cat clunam, but for this, cat cluana daim has been substituted in the text, on the authority of L. and B.

⁶ *Was suffocated.* For po muēto, "was suffocated," (the reading of L.

by the Cianachta at Inis-Finmic¹; and there fell, too, three hundred more of them by the Cianachta in a month after that, at Rath-Altan.² Maelsechlainn gained another victory over them at Rath-Commair. The Ciarraighi Luachra also gained another victory over them.

XXIII. After that came Amlaibh, [son of] the king of Lochlainn, with a prodigious fleet, i.e., ten years after³ the death of Maelsechlainn, and he assumed the sovereignty of the Gaill of Erin; and it was by him that Conchobhar, son of Donnchad,⁴ heir apparent of Temhair, was drowned. It was by them the Desi were overthrown in the battle of Cluain-Daimh,⁵ where all the nobles of the Desi fell. It was by them the son of Cennfaeladh, king of Muscraighe-Breoghain, was killed, and Muchdaighren, son of Reachtabrat, was suffocated⁶ in a cave. It was by them Caetil Find⁷ was killed, with his whole garrison. It was by them Maelguala, son of Dungaile, king of Caisel, was killed: i.e., his back was broken by a stone. However, they were all killed by the men of Mumhain,⁸ i.e., Ona, and Scolph, and Tomar, an hundred and three.⁹

XXIV. There came after that Ossill,¹⁰ son of the king of Lochlainn, with another fleet, and the greater part of Erin was plundered by them. These, too, fell by

Arrival of Amlaibh with a prodigious fleet, A.D. 853.

Arrival of Ossill, and his defeat.

and D.) B. reads, *ocur po Murchadh mac Muictigern mic Reachtabra*; *Murhain*: meaning that Cennfaeladh was killed by the Lochlainns, "and by Murchadh, son of Muictighern, son of Reachtabra, in Munster." Over the words *murhain*, "in Munster," a later hand has written *uel in uamh*, "or in a cave." The text is undoubtedly the true reading. L. has *ra mucaró Muictigern* [mac] *Rechtabhra* in uamh. See Appendix A.

¹ *Caetil Find*. Catal *Find*, B. *Caup Find*, L.

² *Men of Mumhain*. Ra *ripu*

hErinn, *ocur na toepig ro*, L.: "By the men of Erin, and also their leaders," [i.e., their leaders also were destroyed by the men of Erin].

³ *An hundred and three*. The names of the leaders are omitted by B. L. reads *Scolph, ocur Ona, ocur Tomar, ocur Turgeir*, 7c. It seems probable that 7c., "et cetera," and 7c., "and one hundred," were in some way confounded, and the name of one of the chieftains mistaken for *teora*, "three."

¹⁰ *Ossill*. *Oirli*, L. *Curle*, Ann. Ult. A.D. 862, 865. *Uailri*, Four M. A.D. 861. Perhaps the name is *Vailsi*, *Falsius*, or *Flosius*.

Colphin
and the
fleet of Dun
Medhoin
destroyed.

Earl
Baethbarr
drowned.

Battle of
Loch Foyle,
A.D. 866.

Leinster
and Mun-
ster plun-
dered by
Baraid and
Amlaff's
son, with
the Dublin
fleet.

rin for la searab Erend. Drochair, am, intOiril
ocur .u. ced leir ic searab Erend i Mumain in oen
lo. Ir irin bliadain i drochair Colphin ocur longer
Duni Medoin i Cind Cupraig. Ro bar ica marbad o
Cind Cupraig co Lip Mor, ocur do drochairda rocaioi
uib .i. la Rečtabrat mac DRAIN. Da čuair, dna,
baethbarr iarla ocur rocaioi don lučt maoma leir co
Ač Cliač. Iarppin po bačed ic Ač Cliač tpe mibbúilid
Ciapan ocur Aeda Scannail for a rabadar ic por-
bairri. Ir irin bliadain i drochair Tomur iarla la
Drenaind, i cind tpe la arnargain Cluana Septa da.
Ir irin bliadain po bair Aed Finoliač mac Neill
cač forču ic loč Febail, du i drochairda da cet deš
cend in oen inač uib, ocur puc a nuili inmair ocur
a reodu.

XXV. Ro hinrut, dna, la Dapaid ocur la mac Am-
laib Lagin ocur pír Muman la longer Ača Cliač
corruačtadar Ciapraig, gunar řacrat uaim po řalmain
and řan řačailt, ocur nír řacrat ní o Lumneič co
Corraig can inped, ocur po lorřet Imleč Ibar, ocur
po hinřet na Deri deirřur. Ro inřudar, dna, in
lučt cetna da bliadain řemirřin Míoi ocur Connačta,
co řancadar Corcumpuad ocur Leim Cončulaind. Dro-

¹ *This Ossill.* B. reads, ocur tor-
čair in tOirill le searab Mu-
rhain, ocur cuic ced leir i naen
lo: "And this Ossill fell by the men
of Munster, and 500 with him in one
day." L. reads also, le searab Mu-
rhain, "by the men of Munster," but
omits "and 500 hundred with him in
one day."

² *Colphin.* Perhaps *Golfin*. This
name does not occur in the Annals.

³ *Was continued.* Literally, "they
were in their being killed, from Cenn
Curraigh to Lis-mor."

⁴ *Earl Baethbarr.* B. calls him
Drobar, "Badbarr," omitting the
title of iarla, or Earl.

⁵ *Was drowned.* B. reads, ocur po
baithed iatt occ Ač Cliač, tpe
mibbúilidh Ciapan ocur Aeda
ocur Scannail: "And they were
drowned at Ath Cliath, by the miracles
of Ciaran and Aedh and Sgandall."

⁶ *Twelve hundred heads.* Da ced
deš in aen ionad, B., "twelve
hundred in one spot." Da řicit, L.,
"two score," but the words following
are illegible in this MS. Keating
has, řo řuř ceatřačad čeann
řaorřř uib leir, iar marbad da
čed ar mile ločlonnac oile do:
"Forty heads of their chieftains were
borne off by him, after he had killed
1,200 other Lochlainns." The Four M.

the men of Erinn; and this Ossill,¹ with five hundred men along with him, fell by the men of Erinn in Mumhain in one day. It was in that year that Colphin,² and the fleet of Dun Medhoin, were destroyed at Cenn Curraig. And the slaughter of them was continued³ from Cenn Curraig to Lis-Mor, and numbers of them were killed by Rechtabrat, son of Bran. The Earl Baethbarr,⁴ however, escaped with many of the defeated party to Ath Cliath. Afterwards he was drowned⁵ at Ath Cliath, through the miracles of Ciaran, and Aedh Scannail, whom they were besieging. It was in that year that Earl Tomar was killed by St. Brendan, three days after he had plundered Cluain Ferta. It was in that year that Aedh Finnliath, son of Niall, gained a battle over them at Loch Febhail, where there fell twelve hundred heads⁶ of them in one spot; and all their wealth and all their jewels were taken.

Colphin and the fleet of Dun Medhoin destroyed.

Earl Baethbarr drowned.

Battle of Loch Foyle, A.D. 866.

XXV. Then Laighen and the men of Mumhain were plundered by Baraid,⁷ and Amlaibh's son, with the fleet of Ath Cliath,⁸ until they reached Ciarraighe⁹; and they left not a cave there under ground that they did not explore¹⁰; and they left nothing from Luimnech to Corcach that they did not ravage. And they burned¹¹ Imleach Ibhair, and they ravaged the southern Desi. The same party, two years before,¹² had ravaged Midhe and Connacht, until they came

Leinster and Munster plundered by Baraid and Amlaibh's son, with the Dublin fleet.

say "twelve score heads," A.D. 864. Ann. Ult. 865.

⁷ *Baraid.* *Baraidh, L. Baraidh, B. Baraid, Ann. Ult. (A.D. 880). Baraid, Four M. (A.D. 878).*

⁸ *With the fleet.* *Leo longer, D., a mistake of transcription, for which la longer, the reading of B. and L., has been substituted. L. has simply, "Laighin and the men of Mumhain were plundered by the fleet of Mac Amhlaibh:" instead of "the fleet of Ath Cliath," and without any mention of Baraid in this place.*

⁹ *Ciarraighe.* *Ciarraige luacra B.*

¹⁰ *Explore.* *Lit. "without exploring*

it." Can telac, L., "without exploring." San iarrad ocuf gan tochant, B., "without searching and without exploring."

¹¹ *They burned.* *B. reads, gan in-orneo ocuf gan loicead; ocuf no loicead Imleac luban, ocuf no anocciot na Desi deircent: "They left nothing from Limerick to Cork that they did not ravage and burn: and they burned Imleach Ibhair, and spoiled the southern Deisi." Na des deircent de muir, L., "the southern Deisi from the sea."*

¹² *Two years before.* *Omitted in L. D. reads, luc for luat.*



cairdar rin for la fearaib Ereno. Ro cuped iapum ár ar mac Ragnall ocur ar Galluib, la h-Áed mac Neill ic in fleio do ponad do mac Ragnall Áta Cliath. Ro cuirpet fein caté etarro .i. Fintgeintí ocur Dubgeintí, .i. Barith ocur mac Ragnall du i roochar mac Ragnall ocur rochar umi, ocur ro gonad Barith and. Ocur ro ponrat caté for fearaib Alban, du iroochar Constantín mac Cineda airde Alban ocur rochar umi. Ir and rin da muig in talum ro fearaib Alban.

A cessation of invasions for forty years, ending A.D. 916.

Hacon and Cossanara take Waterford.

Defeated by the Ciarraigh.

XXVI. Dai, imorro, apali cumrana fearaib Ereno rin pe .xl. bliadan can inpet gall .i. o remir Maelreclainn mic Mailpuanad cupin mbliadan pe nec Flainn mic Mailreclainn, ocur co gabail rígi do Niall Glunoub. Ir and rin ro haclínad Eriu do longrib gall. Ir and ona tanic longer la Haconn ocur la Corra Nara corgabrat ar loé Dacaech ocur cor hinpet Mumain leo. Ro bripedar, ona, Ciarigi caté foréu, du iroochar Tomar Cinn Cete. Ro bripedar, ona, Ua Fataig ocur O Oengura caté ele foréu. Ro bripedar Connaéta ona, for longer lunnig caté ele.

¹ *These were also.* Da roéparan rann uile beor, L., "all these were killed together."

² *Were slaughtered.* Lit. "a slaughter was put upon Ragnall's son, &c." Ári moir, B., "a great slaughter." L. adds oc Áthcliath, "at Ath Cliath," i.e., Dublin.

³ *Aedh, son of Niall.* L. reads, "Aed Finnliath Mac Neill:" but B. has la hÁed uá Neill, "by Aedh O'Neill," which is clearly wrong.

⁴ *Of Ath Cliath.* In Áthcliath, L., "at Ath Cliath."

⁵ *Barith.* The same person who is called *Baraid*, at the beginning of this chapter, and who appears to have been the Commander of the *Fair Gentiles*, as Ragnall's son was of the *Black Gentiles*.

⁶ *Wounded.* L. adds, ocur ba

bacac riath iapann he, "and he was lame ever after that." Sup ba bacac iapann da eise, B., "so that he was lame ever after."

⁷ *A battle.* L. reads "The black Gentiles after this were driven out of Erinn, and went to Alba (Scotland) where they gained a battle over the men of Alba, in which were slain Constantine, son of Cinaedh, chief king of Alba, and a great many with him." See the original, App. A. B. omits the clause, "in which fell Constantine, &c., and many with him."

⁸ *Under the men.* Fo éorand rep nAlban, B., "under the feet of the men of Alba."

⁹ *Forty years.* There is probably a mistake in this number. See Introduction.

¹⁰ *Haconn.* This is the reading of L.

to Corcumruadh and Leim-Conchulainn. These were also¹ killed by the men of Erinn. After this Ragnall's son and the foreigners were slaughtered² by Aedh, son of Niall,³ at the banquet that was made for Ragnall's son of Ath Cliath.⁴ A battle was fought between themselves, viz., between the Fair Gentiles and the Black Gentiles, that is to say, between Barith⁵ and Ragnall's son, in which fell Ragnall's son and many with him; but Barith was wounded⁶ there. And they gained a battle⁷ over the men of Alba, wherein fell Constantine, son of Cinaeth, chief king of Alba, and many with him. It was on that occasion that the earth burst open under the men⁸ of Alba.

XXVI. Now, however, there was some rest to the men of Erinn for a period of forty years,⁹ without ravage of the foreigners: viz., from the reign of Maelseachlainn, son of Maelruanaidh, to the year before the death of Flann, son of Maelseachlainn, and the accession to the throne of Niall Glundubh. It was then that Erinn became again filled with the fleets of the foreigners. It was then came a fleet under Haconn¹⁰ and under Cossa-Nara,¹¹ and seized on Loch da Caech, and Mumhain was plundered by them. The Ciarraighe then defeated them in a battle, where fell Thomas Cinn Crete.¹² The Ui Fathaigh,¹³ also, and the Ui Oenghusa defeated them in another battle. The men of Connacht also gained another battle over the fleet of

A cessation of invasions for forty years, ending A.D. 916.

Hacon and Cossanara take Waterford.

Defeated by the Ciarraighe.

and B. which has been adopted, instead of *Cond*, the reading of D.

¹¹ *Cossa-Nara*. *Cossanara*, B. The Annals, although they notice this invasion of Loch da Chaeach, or Waterford harbour, do not give the names of the leaders.

¹² *Thomas Cinn Crete*. Dr. O'Donovan suggests, that Cenn Crede may be the place called *Credan head*, barony of Galtier, east of county Waterford, where the Danes had a settlement; and that Thomas of Cenn Crete was a Dane of that place, who seems from

his name to have been a Christian. B. omits the whole passage, *Ro bfuirear na Ciarraigí* [so in D., but read *Ciarraigí*] *cat portu, 7c.*, to *O Oengusa cat ele portu*, inclusive; substituting only *Da bfuirear uatár cat portu*, which is evidently wrong.

¹³ *Ui Fathaigh*. The inhabitants of Iffa and Offa, county Tipperary. The Ui Oenghusa were the descendents of Oenghus Mac Nadfraidh, king of Munster, who was killed A.D. 489 (Four M., where see Dr. O'Donovan's note).

Luimneach. Moreover, the Ciarraighe and the Corcobh-aiscinn¹ gained another battle over them at Lemain; in which fell Rolt Pudarill,² and three hundred with him, and Muraill.

XXVII. After this came the prodigious royal fleet of the children of Imhar to Ath Cliath; and the greater part of all Erin was plundered by them; Ard Macha, also, was pillaged³ by them; and they gained a battle over Flann, son of Maelsechlainn, in which fell Aedh, son of Conchobhar, and Lergus, son of Cronecan,⁴ bishop of Cill Dara, and Donchadh, son of Maelduin,⁵ abbot of Delga; viz, the year in which Maelsechlainn⁶ was killed was the year; and Lis-mor was plundered and burned by the son of Imhar, and Cluain Uamha plundered, and Fergal, son of Finachta, bishop and abbot of Cluain⁷ killed, as well as Uanan, son of Cerin, the prior.⁸ This was also the year in which were killed Donnchadh, son of Duibhdaibhorenn, king of Cassel, and Sitriuc, king of the foreigners⁹; and they fought many other battles against the Laighen this year.¹⁰ Four years after this¹¹ the foreigners left Erin, and went to Alba under Sitriuc, son of Imhar.

The fleet of Dublin under the children of Ivor.

Synchronisms of the war.

The foreigners invade Scotland.

B. begins a new paragraph. In bliathain no manbaró Maelsechlainn i n-áth Cliath, &c.: "The year Maelsechlainn was killed was the same year in which Lismore," &c.

⁶ *Maelsechlainn*. L. reads, "the year in which *this* Maelsechlainn was killed." There is evidently some error which has caused a confusion in the Chronology—for Maelsechlainn died [and was not killed] on Tuesday, the 30th November, A.D. 863 (860 of the Four M. Comp. O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 434), upwards of twenty years before the events here recorded. See App. A., and note.

⁷ *Of Cluain*. B. omits Cluana. The Four M. (A.D. 885), call him abbot [not abbot and bishop] of Cluain Uamha. L. reads also Cluana uama, Cloyne, not Clonmacnois.

⁸ *Prior*. Secnop [Secnap, B. Secnabb, L.], lit. "sub-abbot." The Four M. call him ppriór, "prior," (A.D. 885.) His name is variously given Uanan Mac Cernin, B. Uanan Cerin, L. Uamanán Mac Cérén, Four M.

⁹ *Sitriuc, King of the foreigners*. Sitriucc mac rí gail, B., "son of the king of the foreigners." Siugrad mac Imair rí gail, L. "Singrad, son of Imar, king of the foreigners." The Annals of Ulster (A.D. 887), have "Sichfrith Mac Imair, rex Nordmannorum a fratre suo per dolum occisus est."

¹⁰ *This year*. I n-áth Cliath céanna, B., "in the same year."

¹¹ *After this*. B. omits i n-áth Cliath, "after this." L. omits altogether this clause, recording the invasion of Scotland.

Ragnall
and Ottir
land at
Waterford
Bay with
innumera-
ble hordes.

XXVIII. Tanic, imorro, iarrin tola mor diairmuē
pe Ragnall hua nimaip, ocur pe hOttir iapla cor
gabrat ar Loch Dačaeich, ocur po marbat leo Dom-
nall mac Dunchada ríghomna Carril, ocur po hinri-
Murepaigi ocur Uí Carrpi, ocur po roinret etorro
irí iarrin .i. a trian i Corcaig, ocur a trian i nInis
na hEoinig, ocur a trian ic Glair Linn, ocur po hinret
Mumain uli leo rin, su na rabi teag na teni o lui
roder. In bliadain penec Flainn mic Maileclainn
rin. Ir leir in longrin, dona, po marbat Gebennač
mac Aeda rígh Ua Conaill, ocur rucrat a cent leo ar
na marbat, conid de arbert in filid—

Mor in rcel a Dé do nim,
A beir ic muintir Tomair,
Fegair uaid cent rígh Gabra
Minn amra iréair domain.

A.D. 916. 18 leo rin po marbat Anle mac Cačail rí Uačn
Fíobair, ocur Longreac mac Setna rí Uačn Tiri.

For *facrat* here, and in many other places, (see p. 24, lines 18, 19,) D. reads *acrat*, omitting the quiescent initial *f*. So also *deparib* for *ofeparib* (p. 26, line 7.)

¹ *Ragnall*. The arrival of a great fleet of foreigners at Loch dá Caech [Waterford], is recorded by the Four M., A.D. 912 (Ann. Ult. 913); and they are called "the foreigners of Loch dá Caech," Ann. Ult. 914, 915. The Four M. (A.D. 915), and Ann. Ult. (A.D. 916), speak of the fleet under Ragnall, as having come to reinforce a previously established settlement at Loch dá Caech. But neither of these authorities mention the Earl Ottir, who is called *Oisr* in B: *le Ragnall ó nlorhan ocur le hOisr iapla*. D. spells the name *hctir*, omitting *o*, probably by an error of the scribe. The Saxon Chron. men-

tions an Earl "*Ohter*," alain A.D. 910. For *tola mór diairmuē* (*tola mór diairmuē*, B.) "innumerable hordes," L. reads *mór coblač*, "a great fleet."

² *Domhnall*, son of *Donnchadh*. B. omits this name.

³ *Afterwards*. *A trian*, B., "they separated into three." *Ra rcanlret iarrain*, L., "they separated afterwards."

⁴ *Inis na hEdnighi*. *Inis na hEoinig*, B. *Inis na hEoinig*, L. This place is in the county Kerry, now called Iny.

⁵ *From Lui*. *O laoi*, B. *O lui*, L. and D., meaning, no doubt, the river Lee.

⁶ *The year*. B. reads *in bliadain pe nécc Flainn mic Maileclainn*: "There was not a house or a hearth from the Lee southwards, in the year before the death of Flann, son of

XXVIII. Afterwards came innumerable hordes under Ragnall,¹ grandson of Imar, and the Earl Ottir, and they landed at Loch dá Caech; and Domhnall, son of Donnchadh,² heir apparent of Caisel, was killed by them: and they plundered Muscraighe and Ui Cairpre; and they afterwards³ separated into three parties; one-third settled in Corcach, and one-third in Inis na hEdnighi,⁴ and one-third in Glas-Linn; and the whole of Munster was ravaged by them, so that there was not a house or a hearth from Lui⁵ southward. This was the year⁶ before the death of Flann, son of Maelsechlainn. It was also by that fleet that Gebennach, son of Aedh, king of Ui Conaill,⁷ was killed, and they carried away his head after killing him. Wherefore the poet⁸ said—

Ragnall
and Ottir
land at
Waterford
Bay with
innumera-
ble hordes.

Great is the pity, O God of heaven,
That the people of Tomar should have it!
Behold the head of Gabhra's king is taken from you!
Illustrious gem of the west of the world!

It was by them were killed Anle,⁹ son of Cathal, king of A.D. 916.
Uaithne-Fidhbhaigh, and Loingsech, son of Setna, king of
Uaithne-Thiri.

Maelsechlainn." This clause is omitted in L.

¹ King of Ui Conaill: i.e., of the Ui Conaill Gabhra, or barony of Conelloe, west of county Limerick. The Four M. call him king of the Ui Fidhgeinte (A.D. 914), which is not a real difference. For the relation between the Ui Conaill Gabhra and the Ui Fidhgeinte, see Dr. O'Donovan's notes, *Leabhar na gCeart*, pp. 67, 76.

² The poet. B. omits, in *fidhgeinte*. In line 2 of the quatrain, B. reads *oc bith ag*; and L. *oc bith oc Thomair*. Line 3 in L. is illegible, but in B. is thus given, *Ƴegair lib cenro Ƴug Ƴabpa glain*, "behold the head of bright Gabhra's king is taken from you." *Ƴabpa*, D., for which *Ƴabpa* is sub-

stituted from B. "Muintir Tomair;" the people or family of Tomar, a name given to the Danes of Dublin. See the Poem quoted by the Four M., A.D. 942; and Dr. O'Donovan's Pref. to the *Book of Rights*, p. xxxvi, sq. Line 4, *ƳapƳair*, B., which is more correct.

³ Anle. B. reads, *Ƴinrolo mac Catani Ƴi uantne Ƴipe*, omitting the notice of Loingsech, by an error of transcription. Uaithne-Fidhbhaigh, called also Uaithne-Cliach (now Owney beg), is a barony north-east of the county Limerick. Uaithne-Tire (now Owney), is an adjoining barony, county Tipperary. Anle, is called son of "Cathan, not Cathal, in L.; Four M. (A.D. 914), and Ann. Ult. (A.D. 915-16).

An extra-ordinary slaughter of the foreigners, at Dunmain, A.D. 869.

Battle of Cell Ua nDaighre, A.D. 869.

XXIX. Ro toglaod dha, Dun Main iniartur Ependo, ocur po cuped ar dermair diarneir for Galluibh and la Coinligan mac Mailceoin, ocur la hEoganaet Laea Lein, ocur pe Flanabrat Ua nDunadach, ri Ua Connaill, ocur pe Congalaet mac Laetna ri Ciaraigi, ocur la iartur Ependo ar cena. 1r ri rin bliadain iorocair Colphin i Cind Cupraig, ocur po baetod Baetbarr. 1r ri rin bliadain po aig Amhlaid mac rig Lochlann laer Mor; ocur po loirce Foenteran mac Droghnean, ocur Fir Mugi leir, longport Amhlaid pe naidi ind, ocur po maib a bratair fein iarpin .i. Oisill, ocur ba mibul do Mucudu rin. 1r ri rin bliadain, imorro, po bair Conchubar mac Taidg ri Conaet, ocur Aed Findlaet mac Neill Caill cat ele portu .i. cat Cilli ua nDaighri, du iorocair .u. cet do na Findgentib, du iorocair mac Connach ri Dremage apoen ruu, ocur Diarmait mac Eterpceoil ri Laea Gabair .i. pe bliadna iarnec Mailreclaind mic Mailpuanad. 1r ar rin do rigi ingen Neill .i. riur Aeda ocur matair Flaind,

Supran, durrar, deyrce, droicel
Maom cata ruaid remaig,
Supran rig do rigi failid
Durrar ri porrar maig.

¹ *Demolished.* B. reads, Ro toglaod leo Dun Manne, "Dunmaine was demolished by them;" and for "west of Ireland," a marginal note suggests an iartur Murhan, "west of Munster."

² *Indescribable.* B. omits diarneir, and reads, ar mór dermair, "a great, enormous slaughter."

³ *Dunadhach.* D. reads, "Ua Dunardaigh:" an error which has been corrected from B. Comp. Four M., A.D. 833, 834; Ann. Ult. 834.

⁴ *With him.* B. reads, Fir Mugi mailli riur. This defeat of Amlaff and Oisill, at Lismore, seems to be the

same that was mentioned above, chap. xxiv.; where mention is also made of the death of Colphin, and the drowning of Baethbarr.

⁵ *Own brother:* i.e., Amhlaibh's own brother.

⁶ *Mochuda.* St. Mochuda; the patron saint of Lismore. The victory is ascribed to his miraculous aid.

⁷ *Connacht.* B. reads, Ciannachta, which is evidently wrong. See the Four M. (A.D. 866), and Dr. O'Donovan's notes.

⁸ *Five hundred.* B. reads, .ix.c., "nine hundred." It appears from the account given by the Four M., that this was

XXIX. Dun Main, in the west of Erin, was demolished,¹ and an extraordinary and indescribable² slaughter of the foreigners was effected there by Conligan, son of Maelcron, and the Eoganachts of Loch Lein, and by Flannabrat, grandson of Dunadach,³ king of Ui Conaill; and by Congalach, son of Lachtna, king of Ciarraighe; and by the whole west of Erin. This was the year in which Colphinn fell at Cenn Curraigh, and Baethbarr was drowned. This was the year in which Amlaibh, son of the king of Lochlainn plundered Leas Mor; and Foenteran, son of Drognean, and the Fir Muighi with him,⁴ burned Amlaibh's camp before night in revenge, and he killed his own brother⁵ after that, viz., Osill; and these were the miracles of Mochuda.⁶ This was the year, also, in which Conchobhar, son of Tadhg, king of Connacht,⁷ and Aedh Finnliath, son of Niall Caille, gained another battle over them, viz., the battle of Cell ua nDaighre, in which fell five hundred⁸ of the fair Gentiles; where fell the son of Conang, king of Bregh-Magh, along with them, and Diarmait, son of Eidirscel, king of Loch Gabhair, six years after the death of Maelsechlainn, son of Maelruanaidh. It was upon it⁹ that Niall's daughter,¹⁰ i.e., the sister of Aedh, and mother of Flann, composed *these lines* :—

An extraordinary slaughter of the foreigners, at Dunmain, A.D. 869.

Battle of Cell Ua nDaighre, A.D. 869.

Joy! woe! good news! bad news!
The defeat of a bloody battle by him,
Joy to the king who won, let him rejoice!
Sorrow to the king who was defeated!

really a battle between Aedh Finnliath, king of Ireland, and Flann, son of Conang, king or lord of Bregia; the Finngaill, or Fair Gentiles, acting as auxiliaries to the latter.

⁹ Upon it: i.e., upon the battle.

¹⁰ Niall's daughter. The mother of Flann, king of Bregh-magh, or Bregia, who fell in the battle, was the sister of Aedh Finnliath, king of Ireland, and daughter of Niall Caille; so that Flann was fighting against his uncle on the

side of the Norsemen. The verses here quoted, as the composition of Flann's mother, are given in the Leabhar Gabhala of the O'Clerys (p. 204), and also in the Four M. From these copies we gather the following various readings: *Line 2*, Remaig) Roimio, B. Rae-naig, Four M. and L. Gabh. *Line 3*, so pignu pailio) dia nbeagna fa-oilro, Four M. and L. Gabh. *Line 4*, forpar maig) forr roemio, B., Four M. and L. Gabh.

D

Ragnall
and Ottir
slain in
Scotland,
A.D. 916.

Ro innarbait iarrin tpa arin Mumain, ocur dacua-
tar in nAlbain, ocur tucrat caē [do] Constantin mac
Acda .i. do riḡ Alban, ocur po marbait apoen and, .i.
Ragnall ocur Ottir, ocur ár a muntiri leo.

Arrival of
Sitriuc,
grandson
of Imar.

Battle of
Cenn Fuait,
A.D. 916.

XXX. In bliadain po gab Niall Glunub riḡe nErend
rin, tainic, dona, longer ele la Sitriuc ua nImar cop
gabrat i Cind Ruait, ocur po hinrit Lagin leo, ocur po
rainret caē for Ugaru mac Aillella .i. for ri Lagen,
du inrocair baiðein ocur Maelmorða mac Muer-
gean ri iartir lipe, ocur Mug[róin mac Ceinneitriḡ
ri Laiḡre, ocur na tri Comann, ocur Cionaeē mac
Tuatail riḡ O nEneclair, ocur Maelmaeðoc mac Dia-
mata ab Glinne Uiren, ocur airðerpuḡ Laiḡen, ocur
rai ecna na nḡaoiðel, ocur re cēt apaen riu, im
caeccat riḡ. Ro haircced Cell Dapa leo ar rin, acur
urthor cell nErend.

Kildare
plundered.

Sitriuc, the
blind, takes
Dublin.

XXXI. Tainic iarrin riḡloinger adbal mor la Sit-
riuce, ocur la cloinn iñair, .i. la Sitriuce caēē ua
nloñair, gur gabrat ar eiccin i nDuiblinn Acā Chiaē,
ocur do ponrat forbairi ann. Do ponad dona moir-
tionól Leiðe Cuinn la Niall Glunub mac Acda], co
tuc caē doib ic Acā Chiaē du inrocair Niall bairðe

The battle
of Dublin,
A.D. 919.

¹ *Banished.* For po innarbat iarrin tpa arin Mumain, B. reads, do marbad tpa rin uile rin Mumain, "they were all killed then in Mumain," which is inconsistent with what follows, that they went into Scotland.

² *Into Albain.* L. omits the whole of this chapter except the concluding paragraph beginning with these words. See Appendix A. And it is evident that this paragraph is out of its place in the text, and ought to be read in continuation of the preceding chapter, for it was the fleet of Loch da Caech (Waterford bay), there mentioned, that went into Scotland under the command of Ragnall and Ottir, and were defeated by Constantine III., in

or about A.D. 916. See Four M., in anno, and Keating, p. 623. B. transposes the words, In bliadain po gab Niall Glunub [read, Glunub] riḡi nErend rin, giving them after Sitriuc ua nImar. The meaning is the same.

³ *A battle.* The Ann. Ult., Four M., and Keating, state distinctly that this battle was fought at Cenn Fuait: but Keating makes Imar (not the grandson of Imar), the leader of the foreigners on the occasion.

⁴ *Western Life.* D. and Keating read, iartair lipe, "western Liffey." But the Ann. Ult., Leab. Gabh., Four M., and B., read airtir, "eastern," which is probably correct.

⁵ *Mughron.* The remainder of this

They were afterwards banished¹ from Mumhain, and went into Albain²; and they gave battle to Constantine, son of Aedh, king of Albain, in which both were killed, viz., Ragnall and Otir, and their people slaughtered with them.

Ragnall and Otir slain in Scotland, A.D. 916.

XXX. The same year in which Niall Glundubh became monarch of Erinn there came another fleet with Sitriuc, grandson of Imar, and they settled at Cenn Fuait; and Laighin was plundered by them, and they gained a battle³ over Ugaire, son of Ailill, king of Laighin, in which he himself was killed, and Maelmordha, son of Muireigean, king of western Lifé,⁴ and Mugh[roin],⁵ son of Cenneidigh, king of Laighis and of the three Comanns, and Cionaeth, son of Tuathal, king of O nEnechlais, and Maelmaedhog, son of Diarmaid, abbot of Glenn Uisen and archbishop of Laighin, a learned sage of the Gaedhil, and six hundred with them, together with fifty kings. Cell Dara was then plundered by them, and the greater part of the churches of Erinn.

Arrival of Sitriuc, grandson of Imar. Battle of CennFuait, A.D. 916.

Kildare plundered.

XXXI. There came after that an immense royal fleet with Sitriuc and the children of Imar, i.e., Sitriuc, the blind,⁶ grandson of Imar; and they forcibly landed⁷ at Dubhlinn of Ath Cliath, and made an encampment there. The great muster of Leth Cuinn⁸ was made by Niall Glundubh, son of Aedh,] and he gave them battle at Ath Cliath,⁹ where Niall fell, who was¹⁰ the monarch of Erinn, and

Sitriuc, the blind, takes Dublin.

The battle of Dublin, A.D. 919.

chapter, (after the first syllable of this word,) and the first five lines of the next, as marked by brackets in the text, are wanting in D., owing to the loss of a portion of a leaf in the MS. The deficiency is supplied from B.

⁶ *Sitriuc, the blind.* Called Sitriuc Gáile (gáile) in the L. Gabh. (p. 210), and by the Four M. (A.D. 817). He is expressly called grandson of Imar, and therefore was probably the same as the Sitriuc, grandson of Imar, who settled at Cenn Fuait, as mentioned in the foregoing chapter.

⁷ *Forcibly landed.* The Four M. give 636, as the date of the first occupation

of Dublin by the foreigners. In the interval the Irish may have recovered possession.

⁸ *Leth Cuinn.* See p. 8, note 7.

⁹ *At Ath Cliath.* The Ann. Ult. (A.D. 918-19), and Four M. (917), tell us that this battle was fought on Wednesday, 17 Kal. Oct. [not 17 Oct., as Dr. O'Donovan has printed it], and that Easter fell that year on the 7 Kal. of May. These criteria, as O'Flaherty remarks (*Ogyg.* p. 434), determine the year to be 919.

¹⁰ *Who was.* *Urbesim arproi Epienn,* B. a difference of spelling only.

Niall Glan-
dubh, and
twelve
other kings
slain.

arbori Epend, ocur da pi dec do rigaib Epend umi .i. Niall baden, ocur Concubar mac Mailreclaind, rigdomna Tempač, ocur Conaing mac Flaind rídomna Epend, ocur Flaithbertač mac Domnaill rí[domna] eile Epend, ocur Aed mac Eochada rí Ulad, ocur Mailmíis mac Flannugan rí Brege, ocur Erimon mac Centneitig flaith Ceneil Mam, ocur Congalač mac Celi rí Ua Macuair, ocur Congalač mac Dremain rí Crimtaine, Maelmuru mac Cúberta rí Mugornd, ocur Deocan mac Domnaill rí Cianačta, ocur Dunan mac Cerballan, ocur Brenan mac Fergusa, ocur urmor mači Leči Cuind apoen iu rín, ocur rluas diairmíe ele.

Gothrin
plunders
Armagh,
A.D. 921.

Defeat of
the foreign-
ers at Tigh-
Mic-Deic-
thig.

XXXII. Ro hinped, dñā, tuarcept Epend re Gothrin mac Imar iarrín, ocur po hairgen Ardomača. Cio tpa ačt tarur forpēo rón in cač rín, romam Tomair re cent mbliadna; dais po bpur Dončad mac Mailreclaind cač forpēo rom iarrín ic Tis Mic Deicēis, ocur

¹ *Himself*. Forsem, B. The kings who fell with Niall in this battle are differently enumerated in the authorities; and, except in D., the number *twelve* is not retained. Conchobhar, son of Maelsechnaill (as in B., D., and Keat.) is termed *grandson* of Maelsechnaill, by the Ann. Ult., L. Gabh., and Four M. Aedh, son of Eochadh, is called son of Eochagan, by L. Gabh., Four M., and Keat. Eremhon, son of Cennedigh, is called *Cromman*, son of Cennedigh, in L. Gabh. and Four M.; but his name, with all that follow, is omitted in Ann. Ult. L. Gabh. and Four M. mention him, but omit all that follow him. B., although retaining the statement that *twelve* kings were slain, names *fifteen*, (see note ⁴), agreeing in other respects with the text, except that Dunan, son of Cerballan, is called *Diman*; Conaing, son of Flann, is called *Conchobhair*; Congalach, son of Dremán, is called son of *Dremnan*.

² *Heir apparent*. B. adds *eile*, "another."

³ *Erian*. Om., B. D. reads, *pi eile*, "another king," instead of *rigdomna eile*, B., "another heir apparent."

⁴ *King of Bregia*. After this name B. inserts, ocur Maelcraib rí Airghiall, Maelcraib mac Doilgen, ocur Ceallach mac Faghartaig rí deirceir Brege: "And Maelcraib, king of Airghiall" [Maelcraibhe Ua Dubhsionaigh, lord of Oirghiall, Leab. Gabh., Four M., and Keat. Maelcraib Mac Dubhsionaigh king of Airghiall, Ann. Ult.] "Maelcraib, son of Doilgen" [L. Gabh. and Four M. add, *pi Tortan*, king of Tortan], "and Ceallach, son of Faghartaig, king of south Bregia." [Tigairna deirceir Brege, "lord of south Bregia," L. Gabh., and Four M.]. This interpolation increases the list of slain kings to fifteen instead of twelve. It was probably taken by the transcriber from

twelve kings of the kings of Erin along with him, viz., Niall himself¹; and Conchobhar, son of Maelsechlainn, heir apparent of Temhair; and Conaing, son of Flann, heir apparent² of Erin; and Flaithbheartach, son of Domhnall, another heir apparent of Erin³; and Aedh, son of Eochaidh, king of Uladh; and Maelmithigh, son of Flannagan, king of Bregh⁴; and Eremhon, son of Cennedigh, chief⁵ of Cenel Mani; and Congalach, son of Cele, king of Ua Macuais⁶; and Congalach, son of Dreman, king of Crimhthainn; Maelmuire, son of Ainbith, king of Mugornn;⁷ and Deochan, son of Domhnall, king of Cianachta; and Dunan, son of Cerbhallan; and Brenan, son of Fergus; and the greater part of the nobles⁸ of Leth Cuinn with them, and a countless army besides.

Niall Glundubh, and twelve other kings slain.

XXXII. The north of Erin, also, was plundered by Gothrin,⁹ son of Imar after that, and Ard Macha was spoiled. Notwithstanding, however, that this battle was gained over them, Tomais¹⁰ submitted before the end of a year; for Donnchadh, son of Maelsechlainn,¹¹ gained a battle over them at Tigh-Mic-Deicthig,¹² and it was im-

Gothrin plunders Armagh, A.D. 921.

Defeat of the foreigners at Tigh-Mic-Deicthig.

the Leabhar Gabhala, and inserted without regard to the number.

¹ Chief. D. reads, 7 p̄l̄ant, "and the chief," but the 7, "and," is probably a mistake of the scribe for .i. "i.e."

² King of Ua Macuais. p̄l̄ant o uib mac Cuair, B., "prince of [or from] the tribe of Mac Cuais."

⁷ Mugornn. Muḡoorn, B., which is more correct.

⁸ Nobles. B. omits mat̄i, and reads, up̄h̄on l̄erte Cuinn uile an aen p̄ir, oc̄ur p̄luaiḡ up̄r̄ime an̄c̄ena: "The greater part of all Leth Cuinn along with him, and an innumerable army likewise."

⁹ Gothrin. B. reads, ḡop̄raḡ ūa n̄l̄maḡ, "Gofraigh, grandson of Imar," which is confirmed by the Four M., who call him Gofraith, grandson of Imar, and date the spoiling of Armagh 919, "on Saturday, the day before St.

Martin's festival" [not "the Saturday before," as Colgan and Dr. O'Donovan translate it]. It follows that 921 must have been the true year.

¹⁰ Tomais. So in both MSS.; but it seems evident that Tumar or Tomar, the chieftain mentioned in the next chapter, was intended.

¹¹ Son of Maelsechlainn. So in both MSS.; but it ought to be grandson, for Donnchadh, king of Ireland, who succeeded Niall Glundubh, was son of Flann Sionna, and grandson of Maelsechlainn. The L. Gabh. and Four M. say, that the battle here described took place in the first year of Donnchadh's reign. If so, it must have been in 919, two years before the sacking of Armagh by Gothrin or Goffrey. There is, therefore, some confusion.

¹² Tigh-Mic-Deicthig. "In Cianachta Bregh, i.e., Tigh-Mic-nEathach," Four

po pemed a airium and ar marbad do gallaibh. Dais
ni mo na lin inuini rael do cuais leo ar do gallaibh.

Tamar, son
of Elge,
at Inis
Sibhtonn,
A.D. 922.

XXXIII. Tainic iarrin Tamar mac Elgi ruz longer
aobalmor; gor gab ar Inir Sibhtonn [ar cuan Luimniġ,
ocur po hinoraġ urthor Muġhan leo ar eirir ċealla
ocur tuatā. Lorcain mac Conligain ba ri Cairil an
tan rin.

The
churches of
Loch Derg,
the Shan-
non, and
Lough Ree
plundered,
also west
Meath and
south Con-
nacht,
A.D. 922.

XXXIV. Tainic iarrin coblaċ ar loċ Dergderc,
sur airgettar Inir Celtra, ocur po baġriot a repine,
ocur a mionna, ocur a liubra, ocur po aircepiot tna
Muiciniur Riagaill, ocur cella Dercderc; ocur po
aircepiot Tir da glar, ocur loġra, ocur Cluain Pertaie,
ocur Cluain mic Noir, ocur Inir Cloġrann, ocur Inir
bo rinne, ocur cella loġa Riġ arċena; ocur iartair
Miġe, ocur deirceirt Connaċt, ocur po marbrat Duach
ri Alġne, ocur roċaġe ele, ocur po riaċtattar plān
arir co Luimneċ, gan caġ ocur gan cliathaġ.

Ir ias rin airġniamartha cloinne Elgi ocur loingri
Alġa Cliaġ hi leiġ Cuinġ, ocur hi laiġniġ. Al cernaġa
imorro, ocur a morġala, ocur a ccliaġġa, ni fuilit hi
ccuġine, ocur ni hairimter hi leabraiġ.

History of
the Danes
in Munster.

XXXV. Imtura imorro na Muġhan ocur cloinne
lġair inirter runn co leicc, dōig po roġaimriot a
naenar leiġ doċair ocur doċraite re hġrinn uile.

Tainic tna Oirir duġ iarla, luġt .c. long co Porc

M. The L. Gabh. says, "in Cianachta
Bregġ," without mentioning Tigh-Mic-
nEathach. See Reeves, Adamnan, p.
110, note ¹. B. reads, "Dōig po buri
Donnchar mac Maileġlainn caġ
forrae i ttaġ meic Neġtaġ ocur
ni po cumainġriot airġh ar mar-
baġ do Gallaiġ ann: "For Donn-
chad, son of Maileġlainn, gained a bat-
tle over them at Tigh meic nEchtaigh"
[house of the son of Eochadh], "and it
was not possible to count the number
of the foreigners that was killed there."

¹ Landed at. For gor gab ar
Inir, B. reads, in Inir. Inis Sibh-
tonn (now King's Island), is called by

the Four M., *Inis Ubbdain*, which is
only another form of the name (A.D.
965 and 969), but they make no
mention of Tamar's settlement there.
The Ann. Ult. (921-2) mention the
fleet of Limerick under the son of
Ailche [Ailgi. Four M. 920], as hav-
ing plundered Clonmacnois and the
islands of Loch Ree. See O'Dono-
van's *Book of Rights*, Introd. p. xli.
After the words Inir Sibhtonn, there
occurs a considerable defect in D.,
which has been supplied from B. It
extends from this place to the seventh
line of chapter xxxvii., as indicated
by the brackets in the text.

possible to count the number that was there killed of the foreigners. For of the foreigners not more than enough to tell what had happened escaped.

XXXIII. After that came Tamar, son of Elge, king of an immense fleet, and landed at¹ Inis Sibhtonn, [in the harbour of Luimnech; and the chief part of Mumhain was ravaged by them, both churches and chieftainries. Lorcan, son of Conligan, was king of Caisel at that time.

Tamar, son of Elge, at Inis Sibhtonn, A.D. 922.

XXXIV. There came after that a fleet on Loch Derg-derc, and they plundered Inis Celtra, and they drowned its shrines, and its relicks, and its books; and they plundered Muc-Inis of Riagall² and the churches of Derg-derc; and they plundered Tir-da-glas, and Lothra, and Cluain-Ferta, and Cluain-mic-nois, and Inis Clothrann, and Inis-bo-finne, and the churches of Loch Ribh, in like manner; and the west of Midhe and the south of Connacht; and they killed Duach, king of Aidhne,³ and numbers of others; and they arrived safely again at Luimnech, without battle or conflict.

The churches of Loch Derg, the Shannon, and Lough Ree plundered, also west Meath and south Connacht, A.D. 922.

These were the mighty deeds⁴ of the sons of Elge, and of the ships of Ath Cliath, in Leth Cuinn and in Laighin. But their plunders, and their battles, and their conflicts, are not fully in recollection, and are not enumerated in books.

XXXV. We proceed now to relate here the history of the [men of] Mumhain and of the sons of Imar, for they⁵ alone sustained half the troubles and oppressions of all Erin.

History of the Danes in Munster.

The Earl, Oiter Dubh,⁶ came with an hundred ships to

² *Muc-Inis of Riaghall*: i.e., the Hog Island of St. Riaghall or Regulus. For a curious series of errors about this island, see Dr. O'Donovan's valuable note, *Four M.*, A.D. 743, p. 345.

³ *Duach, King of Aidhne*. This is probably the same person who is called by the *Four M.* "Maol mic Duaich, lord of Aidhne," and who they say was slain by the foreigners A.D. 920 [922].

⁴ *The mighty deeds*. This summary marks the termination of a first part

or division of the work, in which the author has collected whatever he could find recorded of the deeds of the pirates in all parts of Ireland. The remainder treats almost exclusively of their ravages in Munster.

⁵ *For they*: i.e., the men of Mumhain or Munster.

⁶ *Oiter Dubh*, Oiter or Otter, the Black. We have had mention in chapter xxviii., of the arrival of an Earl Otter, at Loch da Caech [Water-

**Earl Otter
the Black,
arrives at
Waterford.**

Láirge, ocur ro hinorað leir airðer Muman, ocur a
 deircept, ocur ro ðairðir ro ðain, ocur ro ðeillrine
 gall uile iad, ocur ro ðoccaib a ðior rioðra forpa. Do
 lionað Muñia uile do ðola epaðail, ocur do mur-
 bruct diairneiri long, ocur lairðeng, ocur coblaç, conaç
 pailde cuan, na calaðþort, no dún, no ðaingen, no ðingna
 i Muñain uile ðan loingear Ðanmarccach ocur all-
 murach.

**Names of
the princi-
pal chief-
tains who
invaded
Munster.**

XXXVI. Tainicc ann ań loinger Oibepo, ocur loinger Oduind, ocur loinger Drippin, ocur loinger Snuatgairp, ocur loinger Lařmuind, ocur loinger Epuilb, ocur loinger Sitpuča, ocur loinger Đuindin, ocur loinger Đipndin, ocur loinger Liagurplač, ocur loinger Toirbearpdař, ocur loinger Eoan Đapun, ocur loinger Milio Đuu, ocur loinger Suimin, ocur loinger Suainin, ocur loinger na hlinřine Ruairde pa đeoiř. Cio tpa ačt ropad neřini olc da řpuair Eirp : načřegađ uile na řeđna řin.

**The rav-
ages com-
mitted by
them in
Munster.**

Ro hinorath an Muinu uile go coitcionn leo rin ar
gañ leñ, ocur po hairceeb. Ocur po peccoilriot pon
Muñain, ocur do ponaitt dúin, ocur daingne, ocur
calatpuit do Eriinn uile, co na raibe ionat in Eriinn
gan loinger lionmar do ðanmarceacaid, ocur dallmur-
choib ann; co nðerriat perann cpeicē, ocur cloidom, ocur
porgabala go foirleñan, ocur go coitcenn [di]; ocur po
airceirit a tuatā, ocur a ccella cadair, ocur a neimēda,
ocur po peccoilret a repine, ocur a mionna, ocur a
liubra. Ro dilatpiceirit a ttemplu caemū cumñac-
ta, doig ni raibe cadur, no onoir, no comairce, ag
termonn, no anacal do cill no do neimēd, do Dia, no

ford harbour], who afterwards went to Scotland and was killed in battle there by Constantine III., A.D. 916 (chap. xxix., and note ², p. 84). The Otter Dubh here mentioned settled at Port Lairge, another name for Waterford, and this naturally leads us to suspect that he is the same as the Earl Otter of chap. xxviii.

¹ *A Dún.* The words here used, *Dún, Daingen, Dingna*, all signify a fort

or fortress. It is not easy to define the precise difference between them. *Dún*, is in Scotland *Doon*; in Wales, *Din*; in Gaulish, *dūnon*; Latinized, *dunum*, as in Lug-dunum, Augusto-dunum, &c.; in England, *ton*, *town*. It seems to signify a fortified hill or mound. *Daingean* (dungeon) is a walled fort or strong tower; hence *daingnigim*, I fortify.—*Dingna*, is apparently only another form of the same word. Cf. *Zeus*, p. 30 n.

Port Lairge, and the east of Mumhain was plundered by him, and its south ; and he put all under tribute and service to the foreigners ; and he levied his royal rent upon them. The whole of Mumhain became filled with immense floods, and countless sea-vomitings of ships, and boats, and fleets, so that there was not a harbour, nor a landing-port, nor a Dún,¹ nor a fortress, nor a fastness, in all Mumhain, without fleets of Danes and pirates.²

Earl Otter the Black, arrives at Waterford.

XXXVI. There came there, also, the fleet of Oiberd, and the fleet of Oduinn, and the fleet of Griffin, and the fleet of Snuatgar, and the fleet of Lagmann, and the fleet of Erolf, and the fleet of Sitriuc, and the fleet of Buidnin, and the fleet of Birndin, and the fleet of Liagrishlach, and the fleet of Toirberdach, and the fleet of Eoan Barun, and the fleet of Milid Buu, and the fleet of Suimin, and the fleet of Suainin, and lastly the fleet of the Inghen Ruaidh.³ And assuredly the evil which Erin had hitherto suffered was as nothing compared to the evil inflicted by these parties. The entire of Mumhain, without distinction, was plundered by them, on all sides, and devastated. And they spread themselves over Mumhain ; and they built Dúns, and fortresses, and landing-ports, over all Erin, so that there was no place in Erin without numerous fleets of Danes and pirates ; so that they made spoil-land, and sword-land, and conquered-land of her, throughout her breadth, and generally ; and they ravaged her chieftainries, and her privileged churches, and her sanctuaries⁴ ; and they rent her shrines, and her reliquaries, and her books. They demolished her beautiful ornamented temples ; for neither veneration, nor honour, nor mercy for Termonn,⁵ nor protection for church, or for sanc-

Names of the principal chieftains who invaded Munster.

The ravages committed by them in Munster.

¹ *Danes and pirates.* The words here used are *Danmanccach* (Danzonians), and *allmupach*, foreigners who come from beyond the sea, barbarians, pirates.

² *Inghen Ruaidh* : i.e., the red-haired maiden.

³ *Sanctuaries.* *Nemet*, a temple,

a sanctuary (*nemet*, *gl. sacellum*. Zeuss, p. 11, old Bret. *nemet*, *silva*. ib. p. 102, 186), glebe land. Gaulish, *nemeton*. See Petrie's *Eccles. Architect. of Ireland*, p. 58-64.

⁵ *Termonn.* The Termonn lands were districts in connexion with the churches possessing the right of sanctuary and

do duine, as an tpoing glionnair glipriúg geinnelidhe
 ainmarparcraig ainmarba rin. Cú tra aét go nairim-
 tiór gaineim mara, no fer forraithe, no pettlanda
 nime, ni hura a tuirioim, no a aipeim, no a inuiri, in ro
 fódaimriot gaoibil uile co coitcionn; itir fforu, ocur
 mna, itir maca ocur inxena, ocur laocha ocur cleirciu,
 etir raera ocur daera, etir rena ocur ócca, to éar ocur
 do éarchairri, do dochar, ocur deccomharu uaitib. Cú
 tra aét ro marbrat rioxa, ocur taoiriú, rioxomna,
 ocur rioxflata Epenn. Ro marbrat tpeoin, ocur tpei-
 tall, ocur tpen mileba, anraib, ocur amraiú, ocur oic-
 tigeir, ocur forccla laégaile ocur gairceib na ngaoibil
 uile; ocur for tairbirriot ro éain, ocur ro seillirne
 iad, ro daera, ocur ro moxranaisit iat. Mor tra
 do danneractaib blaithe bite, ocur dingeraib maorba
 mine macbaeta, ocur docemnaib ruarca raera penga
 pulglara, ocur do macaomaihb maerba morglana; ocur
 do gairanraib garta gniohaeta, ruccrat a ndocar, ocur
 i ndaire tar fairrge leáinglaif leo. Uéán! ba hiomba
 ocur ba minic ghuada glana glegarta go pliué der-
 raeta dubaé doimhenmnaé annrin, oc rcaréain meic re
 haéair, ocur inxen le maéair, ocur braetar re céile,
 ocur coibnera re a ccenel, ocur re a naicmi.

Victory of
 the Danes
 of Dublin,
 at the
 battle of
 Muine
 Broccain,
 A.D. 949.

XXXVII. 18 re loinger áeta Cliaé for, ocur cloinne
 loimair ro rraoineab cat Muini Broccain, du itoréuir
 Ruairi o Cananóain pí Típe Conuill, ocur ri Epenn
 iar fforuinn ele, ocur maite in tuairceirt leir .i. triocha
 bliabain iar marbaé Neill Glunduib leó. Di bliabain
 iar marbaé laétin mic Dorraeta, ocur] a cetair imorro
 ar marbaé Muirceirtaig mic Neill. Ir ri rin bliabain

other privileges. The boundaries of these lands were marked by crosses or other conspicuous objects, and hence, no doubt, the name Termonn, *Terminus*. See Ussher "On the original of Corbes, Herenaches, and Termon Lands." *Works* by Elrington, vol. xi., p. 419, *seq.*

¹ *Field*. *Faitce*, lit. a fair-green,

a common, or field for village sports. See *Irish Nemius*, p. 93, note ².

² *Was gained*. The Ann. Ult., L. Gabh., Four M., and Keat., represent the Danes as having been defeated in this battle; and Keating makes Congalach, king of Ireland, the leader of the victorious party. As Congalach was certainly opposed to Ruaidhri O'Canan-

tuary, for God, or for man, was felt by this furious, ferocious, pagan, ruthless, wrathful people. In short, until the sand of the sea, or the grass of the field,¹ or the stars of heaven are counted, it will not be easy to recount, or to enumerate, or to relate what the Gaedhil all, without distinction, suffered from them: whether men or women, boys or girls, laics or clerics, freemen or serfs, old or young;—indignity, outrage, injury, and oppression. In a word, they killed the kings and the chieftains, the heirs to the crown, and the royal princes of Erin. They killed the brave and the valiant; and the stout knights, champions, and soldiers, and young lords, and the greater part of the heroes and warriors of the entire Gaedhil; and they brought them under tribute and servitude; they reduced them to bondage and slavery. Many were the blooming, lively women; and the modest, mild, comely maidens; and the pleasant, noble, stately, blue-eyed young women; and the gentle, well brought up youths, and the intelligent, valiant champions, whom they carried off into oppression and bondage over the broad green sea. Alas! many and frequent were the bright and brilliant eyes that were suffused with tears, and dimmed with grief and despair, at the separation of son from father, and daughter from mother, and brother from brother, and relatives from their race and from their tribe.

XXXVII. It was by the fleet of Ath Cliath, and of the sons of Imar, that the battle of Muine Broccain was gained²; in which were killed Ruaidri O'Canannan, king of Tir Conaill, and king of Erin, according to other people, and the nobles of the North along with him; thirty years after Niall Glundubh was killed by them. Two years after Lachtín, son of Goffraidh, was killed]; and four after Muirchertach, son of Niall,³ was killed. This was

Victory of the Danes of Dublin, at the battle of Muine Broccain, A.D. 949.

nan, and there were probably Danes or Norsemen on both sides—these statements may not be inconsistent.

³ *Muirchertach, son of Niall.* Surnamed "of the leather cloaks," slain

A.D. 945. See the "*Circuit of Ireland of Muirchertach Mac Neill*," edited with a Translation and notes, by Dr. O'Donovan, for the Irish Archaeological Society.

po hairgeget gail Cenannur Colum Cilli, ocur pucrat .x. cet do brait ar. 18 y rin bliadain ar marbad Cendetis mac Lopean y Tuad Mumain ocur ydomna Cairil.

Death of
Congalach,
king of
Ireland,
A.D. 956.

Battle of
Kilmoon,
co. Meath,
A.D. 973.

Battle of
Cathair
Cuan.

XXXVIII. 18 leo, tna, aopocair Congalač mac Mailmuitis y Tempač ocur Epend uli, ocur mači pear Míoi umi; di rabi ie forbairi for laigmb, pečt bliadna ar marbad Ruadu; .xiii. iar Congalač y Leo do pameo cač Cilli Mona for Domnall mac Muirceptais for yz Tempač, du iopocair Ardul mac Maducan y Ulađ, ocur Dondeuan mac Maelmuiri y Airgell, ocur Cinait mac meic Cronghaili, ocur Maelbriđi mac ġarbičta y Ua nEčtač, ocur Pepsur Fial y Codlađi, ocur počairi moí opoen yu rin. 18 leo, tna, po marbad Muirceptač mac Domnall ydomna Tempač ocur Epend, ocur mac Domnall me Congalađi ydomna ele Epend .i. očt mbliadna iariu cač pemunt. 18 yrin bliadain tucad cač Cačrač Cuan im Mumain y ġrian.

¹ *Plundered*. (Cp. airgeetar, B.)

² *Ten hundred*: cer. B., "one hundred." This plundering of Cenannus, or Kells of Meath, is mentioned by the Four M., at 949, but the number of prisoners is perhaps exaggerated; the Ann. Ul. (A.D. 950, *al.* 951), say "ubi capta sunt tria milia hominum vel plus;" and the Four M. give the same number.

³ *Cennedigh*. Cenneititig mac Lopean, B.

⁴ *All Erinn*. Uile apcena, B., "all Ireland together."

⁵ *Of Midhe*. Peps nEpend, B., "men of Ireland." The immediate followers of the supreme king of Ireland, when he was of the Southern Hy Neill, were called indifferently "men of Meath," and "men of Ireland."

⁶ *After*. Iar, B. See ch. xxxvii.

⁷ *Seventeen*. B. reads, Ocur .xiii., iar cCongalach do ymaimeo

[pameo, D.] which makes "seventeen years after Congalach" to be the date of the battle of Cill Mona.

⁸ *Cill Mona*. Mume Mona, B. Cill Monad, Keat. Cill Mona, Four M. who give 976 (= 978) as the date of this battle; this would be twenty-two years after the death of Congalach.

⁹ *Ardul, son of Maducan*. Ardghal, son of Matudan, B. Son of Madudan, Four M. Son of Madagan, Keat.

¹⁰ *Son of Maelmuire*. Om., B. Donaccán Mac Maoilmuire, Four M. and Keat.

¹¹ *Son of Cronghaille*. Cmead mac meic Roghla, B., "son of the son of Roghill." "Cinaedh, son of Croin ghille, lord of Conaille," Four M.

¹² *Ua nEthach*. Ua nEchdač Cođa, B. Now Iveagh, county Down. See *Book of Rights*, p. 165, and Dr. O'Donovan's note ⁿ.

the year in which the foreigners plundered¹ Cenannus of Colum Cille, and carried off from thence ten hundred² captives. This was the year in which was killed Cennedigh,³ son of Lorcan, king of north Mumhain, and heir apparent of Caisel.

XXXVIII. It was by them, too, fell Congalach, son of Maelmithigh, king of Temhair, and of all Erin,⁴ and the nobles of the men of Midhe⁵ with him, while he was making war on the men of Laighin; seven years after⁶ Ruaidri was killed. Seventeen⁷ years after Congalach the battle of Cill Mona⁸ was gained by them over Domhnall, son of Muirchertach, king of Temhair, in which fell Ardul, son of Maducan,⁹ king of Uladh, and Donncuan, son of Maelmuire,¹⁰ king of Airghiall, and Cinaeth, son of the son of Cronghaille,¹¹ and Maelbrighde, son of Gairbith, king of Ua nEthach,¹² and Fergus Fial, king of Codlaighe,¹³ and great numbers¹⁴ along with them. It was by them, too, were killed Muirchertach, son of Domhnall, heir of Temhair and of Erin; and the son of Domhnall,¹⁵ son of Congalach, another heir of Erin, eight years after the aforesaid battle. It was¹⁶ in this year the battle of Cathair Cuan, in Mumhain, was fought by Brian.¹⁷

Death of Congalach, king of Ireland, A.D. 956.

Battle of Kilmoon, co. Meath, A.D. 973.

Battle of Cathair Cuan.

¹³ *Codlaighe*. Cuanighe, B., which is probably the true reading. *Codlaighe* is unknown.

¹⁴ *Great numbers*. Soéaróe ele uime, B., "many others with them."

¹⁵ *Son of Domhnall*. The Four M. record these deaths thus:—at the year 975 (which ought to be 977 or 978, as in Ann. Ult.) "Muirchertach, son of Domhnall Ua Neill, and Congalach, son of Domhnall, son of Congalach, two heirs of Ireland (da ríogdathna Éirenn), were slain by Amlaoibh, son of Sitricc." B. reads instead of "and the son of Domhnall, son of Congalach, &c.," ocur mac Muirceptair mic Domhnall. Ocur oét mbliadna ian rin

tuccaró cath Fethann: "and the son of Muirchertach, son of Domhnall. And eight years after this, the battle of Femhann was fought." The Four M. place the death of the two presumptive heirs of the crown in the year *before* the battle of Kilmoon; there is therefore some error. It seems probable that for cat femunro, "the aforesaid battle," in the text, we should read cat Fethann, "the battle of Femhan." The plain of Femhann is in the county Tipperary. See *Book of Rights*, p. 18, ^a. Cathair Cuan is mentioned again, chap. lxiv.

¹⁶ *It was*. Ir in bliadain rin, B.

¹⁷ *By Brian*. Ria mBrian, B.

Battle of
Bithlann,
A.D. 978.

Victory
over the Ce-
nel Conaill,
A.D. 978.

Battle of
Tara,
A.D. 980.

Liberation
of Domh-
nall Claen,
king of
Leinster.

XXXIX. 18 leo, tona, ro hinneo cat ic bithlann i Muig Lagen, for Ugaire mac Tuathail for ri Lagen du inrocair Ugaire fein ardu Lagen, ocur Muirnead mac Riain ri Ua Cendrelais, ocur Congalach mac Flainn ri Lege ocur Rechet. 1r leo, tona, da roned cat ele for Ceneil Conaill ipin bliadain cetna, du inrocair Niall Ua Canannain ri Ceneil Conaill, ocur mac meic Congalais mic Mailmithig ruidomna Tempač, ocur mac mic Murchada Glun-fri-lar ruidomna Elis. 1r leo, tona, da cuped cat Tempač re Maelreclainn mac Domnaill re riug Epend i cind da bliadan iarrin. Da rae do cehtar de comraectain and, ačt ba merru do na gallaib; du i rocair Ragnall mac Omlaib ri gall and, ocur Conmael mac Gilla, ardu ele gall, ocur mačt gall Ača Cliač and uli, ocur co ndečard Omlaib mac Siuruga ardu gall i naitir co hi Colum Cilli. Iarrin pob ecen do gallaib oplucud do Domnall Claen da riug Lagen, da bi bliadain illain accu ar fellad d'Omlaib fair.

¹ Was given. Do rraonear cat ag bithlann i Muig Lagnib, B., a better reading.

² King of Laighin. Om., B.

³ Himself. Duden .i. ri Lagen, B.

⁴ And Rechet. Om., B. The Ann. Ult. date this battle 977 or 978. The Four M. place it in 976, the same year in which they record the battle of Kilmoon.

⁵ Gained. Ro rraonear, B. The Four M. tell us (976), and Ann. Ult. (977, 978), that this battle was gained, not by the Norsemen of Dublin, but by the Airghialla (Oriel) over the Ceneil Conaill; but it is probable that the Oriels had secured the aid of the Norsemen.

⁶ In the same year. D. reads, ip ipin bliadain cetna. The reading of B. has been substituted.

⁷ Congalach. B. has mac Congalais, "the son of Congalach."

⁸ Son of the son. Mac Murchada, B., "son of Murchadh." The Four M. have the same reading.

⁹ Murchad Glun-fri-lar. "Murchad of the Knee on the ground;" glunil-lar, Four M., which Dr. O'Connor translates as if it were Glun friollan, *Genu aquila*, "Murchad of the Eagle Knee," *Rev. Hib. Script.* iii., p. 507; but this does not seem very intelligible.

¹⁰ Erinn. Teshpac, B., "king of Tara."

¹¹ Woe. Ocur ba ri, B. Ri is evil, opposed to ro, good. Rae, Lat. rae, is woe.

¹² There fell. Dóig do tuit, B.

¹³ King. Airdu, B., "chief king."

¹⁴ Conmael. B. omits Mac Gilla ardu ele Gall.

¹⁵ Gille. Gilli Aire, *Tigernach*. Gilli-airri, *Four M.* Conamhal Mac Air-rigall, *Ann Ult.* "Conamhal, son of

XXXIX. It was by them, also, that a defeat in battle was given¹ at Bithlann, in Magh-Laighen, to Ugaire, son of Tuathal, king of Laighin,² where fell Ugaire himself,³ chief king of Laighin, and Muiredach, son of Rian, king of the Ua-Cennselaigh, and Congalach, son of Flann, king of Lege and Rechet.⁴ It was by them, too, another battle was gained⁵ over the Cenel Conaill in the same year,⁶ in which fell Niall, grandson of Canannan, king of the Cenel Conaill, and the son of the son of Congalach,⁷ son of Maelmithigh, heir of Temhair, and the son of the son⁸ of Murchad Glun-fri-lar,⁹ heir of Ailech. It was by them, too, was fought the battle of Temhair against Maelsechlainn, son of Domhnall, king of Erin,¹⁰ two years after the above. It was woe¹¹ to each party to meet there; but it was worse for the foreigners; for there fell¹² Ragnall, son of Amlaibh, king¹³ of the foreigners, and Conmael,¹⁴ son of Gille,¹⁵ another high king of the foreigners, and all¹⁶ the nobles of the foreigners of Ath Cliath; and Amlaibh, son of Sitriuc, high king¹⁷ of the foreigners, went on a pilgrimage to Hí of Colum Cille.¹⁸ After this the foreigners were compelled to liberate Domhnall Claen, king of Laighin, who had been a year in their custody, after Amlaibh's treacherous conduct¹⁹ towards him.

Battle of
Bithlann,
A.D. 978.

Victory
over the Ce-
nel Conaill,
A.D. 978.

Battle of
Tara,
A.D. 980.

Liberation
of Domh-
nall Claen,
king of
Leinster.

Arregal," or rather "son of the Air-ri [sub-king] of the foreigners." This latter reading is probably correct, and was easily corrupted into *Ardri gall*, "high king of foreigners." The names *Conmael* [the old Gaulish *Cunomaglos*] and *Gille* are decidedly Celtic.

¹⁶ *All.* B. omits *arvo ule ocu*.

¹⁷ *High king.* B. omits *arvo ule gall*.

¹⁸ *To Hí Colum Cille.* B. reads, *co hí Colum Cille iap rín; ocu tob éccin do gallaib, 7c.* "To Hí Colum Cille after that; and the foreigners were compelled," &c. In the margin of B. a hand coeval with the MS. has written "Amlaus peregrinatur ad in-

sulam Hiensem." Keating (*Reign of Maelsechlainn*) represents Amlaff's retirement to Hy as the result of compulsion, not of religious penitence, which the word pilgrimage (*arvo ule*) implies. The Four M. say, that he died at Hy "after penance and a good life;" and, so also says Tigernach, *do ule co hí an arvo ule*, "he went to Hy in penance," A.D. 980.

¹⁹ *Treacherous conduct.* *Ocu rúll,* B. The liberation of Domhnall Claen, king of Leinster, is dated by the Four M. the year after the battle of Temhair, or Tara; but Tigernach places it in the same year, 980.

The immense fleet of Imar, grandson of Imar, and his sons.

They encamp at Inis-Sibtonn.

The extent of their oppression.

XL. Tanic iarrin ruz longer adbul mor, bamurriči na gac longer; uair ni tanic a hinnamail cormailliur in Eriund riam, la hImar ua nImair ardui gall, ocur la tri maccaib .i. la Dubcend ocur Cúallaid ocur Aralt meic Imair. Ro gab forrad ocur forlongport leorin in Inir Sibtonn ar cuan lunnag. Ro cpeačad, ocur ro hinped Mumu for gac leč uada rin, eter cella ocur tuatā, ocur gabair bpaicti, ocur etiri, de ppaib Muman uli eter gall ocur goedel, ocur ro tairbir po rmačt ocur po geilrini diarneti do gallaib ocur do anmarcaib iarrin. Do ordaič, imorro, ruzu ocur tairpeč, maeru ocur peatairpeu, in eac tir ocur in eac čuait iarrin, ocur da čogaib in cir ruzda. Da he ro, dha, truma canač ocur cira nagall for Eriund uli co forlečan ocur co cotcend .i. ri for eac tir uatib, ocur topeač for eac tuait, ocur abb for eac eill, ocur mair for eac mbali, ocur ruarpeač eac tigi, conač rabi commuir ic duni ppaib Eriund cet blegon a bó, na comeir liri oen čirci dugaib do rin, no do digrair da rinper no donamcairt, ačt a marčain do mair, no do

¹ *Wonderful.* Da murrige, B., "more numerous."

² *Its likeness.* Oir ni tanic a ionnparhail no a cormailor, B.

³ *Imar, grandson of Imar.* La hČm-laid mor ua nImair, B., "with Amhlaibh the Great, grandson of Imar."

⁴ *With three sons.* La a tri mac-caibrein, B., "with his three sons."

⁵ *Dubcend.* La Dubginn, ocur Cu-allag, ocur Aralt, B.: "With Dubhinn [Black head], and Cu-allagh [Wild dog], and Aralt [Harold]."

⁶ *Sons of Imar.* Om., B.

⁷ *Landed.* Ro gabad forad, B., "they took rest," or "stopped." It is remarkable that this great fleet is not mentioned in the Annals.

⁸ *Sibtonn.* Siptonn, B.

⁹ *Mumhain.* In tir leo, ocur Murha uile ar gac let, B.: "The country was ravaged and plundered

by them, and all Mumhain on every side." Uada rin. Om., B.

¹⁰ *Leried.* Ro gabat eripea rep Mumhain iter galla ocur gai-weala, B.: "They took hostages from the men of Munster, whether Gaill or Gaedhil." Meaning by *Gaill* the foreigners who had previously settled in Munster, and had come to be regarded as "men of Munster," so that the new invaders did not distinguish between them and the native Irish. The next clause ocur po tairbir . . . iarrin, is omitted in B. Čnmarcaib, is for Čanmarcaib (the aspirated initial Č omitted), Denmarkians or Danes.

¹¹ *He ordained.* B. adds Čmlaibh, "Amlaff ordained." D. had made no mention of Amlaff, but of "Imar, grandson of Imar;" and, therefore, in the text, "he" must mean Imar, the leader of the expedition.

XL. There came after that an immensely great fleet, more wonderful¹ than all the other fleets, (for its equal or its likeness² never before came to Erin,) with Imar, grandson of Imar,³ chief king of the foreigners, and with three sons,⁴ viz, Dubhcenn,⁵ and Cu-allaidh, and Aralt, sons of Imar.⁶ These landed⁷ and encamped in Inis-Sibtond,⁸ in the harbour of Luimnech. Mumhain⁹ was plundered and ravaged on all sides by them, both churches and chieftainries, and they levied¹⁰ pledges and hostages from all the men of Mumhain, both Gaill and Gaedhil; and they afterwards brought them under indescribable oppression and servitude to the foreigners and the Danes. Moreover, he ordained¹¹ kings and chiefs, stewards and bailiffs, in every territory, and in every chieftainry after that, and he levied the royal rent.¹² And such was¹³ the oppressiveness of the tribute and rent of the foreigners over all Erin at large, and generally, that there was a king from them¹⁴ over every territory, and a chief over every chieftainry, and an abbot over every church, and a steward over every village,¹⁵ and a soldier in every house, so that none of the men of Erin had power¹⁶ to give even the milk of his cow, nor as much as the clutch of eggs of one hen in succour or in kindness to an aged man, or to a friend, but *was forced* to preserve them for the foreign

The immense fleet of Imar, grandson of Imar, and his sons.

They encamp at Inis-Sibtond.

The extent of their oppression.

¹² *Royal rent.* In caé tuait, ocup do tocamb in ciop níogda mógoa, B., "the royal rent of slavery."

¹³ *Such was.* Ocup ba he ro tpa na ciopa rin, B.: "And this tax of the foreigners was over all Ireland," &c.

¹⁴ *From them.* B. omits uatib. But the word is necessary to the sense, for this was the gravamen, that a king, a chieftain, an abbot, &c., were appointed from the race of the foreigners, to supersede the lawful native king, chieftain, abbot, &c.

¹⁵ *Over every village.* Maén caéa baile, ocup ruaitpeé, B.: "A

steward of every village, and a soldier," &c.

¹⁶ *Power.* B. reads Co naé raitie a comar as aen tuine tpepaib Epenn céo bleogan a bú, no coibeir line aen cipea do uigib do tabhairt da bioipair no da amméa-pait, aet a mapcain uile don maep, no don tpuaitpeé Almap-óa, B.: "So that not one of the men of Ireland had power to give even the milk of his cow, nor as much as the clutch of eggs of one hen from kindness or friendship, but [was compelled] to preserve all for the steward or for the soldier of the pirates."

peachtair, no do t̃uaptleač gail. Ocuŕ ciŕ oen gamnač no beit̃ iŕon taiŕ, nočŕ lem̃ta a blegon do naiŕin oen aiŕčŕi, no do duni galair, ačt a mar̃tain do maeir no do pečtair no do ruaptleač gail. Ciŕ ŕata no beit̃ in ingnair in taiŕi, ni lem̃ta airbernat ar a cuŕič no ar a ŕiŕolmu, cen co beit̃ iŕtaiŕ ačt oen bo, cen a marbat ŕŕi cuŕ na hen aiŕčŕi, mini ŕaŕta acmaing a ŕiŕolma cena. Ocuŕ in duni ba himic̃tu don muinŕir dol a tua-ŕurŕul, in la no ŕaŕat i coblač maroen ŕe t̃igerna, [ocuŕ] a ŕeŕŕul loin dŕ amail no beit̃ iŕtaiŕ. Ocuŕ unŕi ŕarŕut ŕinŕuni cača ŕŕona, ŕan ciŕ ŕiŕda iarŕin cača bliatoin, ocuŕ inŕi iŕa nač biŕ acmaing a iŕa e ŕein i nŕairi and.

The oppres-
sion suf-
fered by the
Irish inde-
scribable.

Ciŕ t̃ra ačt, ciŕ cet cenŕ catut comŕuair iarŕairi no beit̃ ar oen bŕaŕit, ocuŕ cet tenŕat aiŕ ačlom innuar umairi nemerŕoi in ŕač cinŕ, ocuŕ cet ŕut̃ ŕloŕtumlača ŕlaniri nemirŕatad̃ ŕ cač oen tenŕair, ni taiŕerat a t̃uruiŕ, no a arneir, no a aruiŕ, no a inniri [an] ŕo ŕoimŕet ŕaŕoil uli co cotcenŕ, eter ŕiu ocuŕ mna, eter laecu ocuŕ cleir̃ciŕ, eter ŕenu ocuŕ oŕu, eter ŕairu ocuŕ ŕairu, du duat ocuŕ du ŕocair ocuŕ do anŕorŕan in cač taiŕ, on ŕŕoinŕ angbair anniar̃ta allmar̃da ŕlain-ŕentliŕi ŕin. Ciŕ ba moŕ, t̃ra, in dočŕačŕi ocuŕ in tan-

¹ And. Om. B.

² In the house. Iŕtiŕ, ni l̃em̃ta, B.

³ Must be kept. Ačt a čim̃et̃t don maeir no don t̃ŕuait̃ŕeač allmar̃da, ŕiŕ ŕata no beit̃ in eccmar̃ a t̃iŕe, B.: "But must be kept for the steward, or the soldier of the pirates, however long he may have been in absence from the house."

⁴ Lessened. B. omits the words no ar a ŕiŕolmu, and for the words following has ŕion ŕo mbeit̃ artiŕ, (a mere difference of spelling).

⁵ It must. Lit. without its being killed. The meaning is, that rather than diminish the foreigner's share, the only cow (even if there were but one) must be killed. B. omits cen.

⁶ The meal. A cuŕu, B. "his meal."

⁷ Otherwise procured. Muna ŕŕa-ŕaiŕe acŕaing a ŕŕit̃ailme ar-cena, B.

⁸ The most fit. Duŕ m̃iŕa, B.

⁹ The day. In la no ŕacat̃ i coblač ar aen ŕe a t̃igerna, ocuŕ a ŕŕeŕtal, B.

¹⁰ At home. Beit̃ ŕein iŕtiŕ, B.

¹¹ Findruni. No ŕŕionnŕuine, B. "of silver or white bronze." See *Battle of Magh Lena*, p. 113, n.

¹² Every nose. See next note.

¹³ Into slavery. Acuŕ an dume aŕ nač biŕŕ a acŕaing, a beit̃ ŕein i nŕair, no bair a ŕŕŕona do buann ŕe, B.: "And the man who had not

steward, or bailiff, or soldier. And¹ though there were but one milk-giving cow in the house,² she durst not be milked for an infant of one night, nor for a sick person, but must be kept³ for the steward, or bailiff, or soldier of the foreigners. And, however long he might be absent from the house, his share or his supply durst not be lessened,⁴ although there was in the house but one cow, it must⁵ be killed for the meal⁶ of one night, if the means of a supply could not be otherwise procured.⁷ And the most fit⁸ person of the family was obliged to take wages, the day⁹ on which he embarked on board ship with his lord, [and] he must be supplied with provision, as if he was at home.¹⁰ And an ounce of silver Findruni¹¹ for every nose,¹² besides the royal tribute afterwards every year; and he who had not the means of paying it had himself to go into slavery¹³ for it.

In a word, although there were an hundred hard¹⁴ steeled iron heads on one neck,¹⁵ and an hundred sharp, ready, cool,¹⁶ never-rusting, brazen¹⁷ tongues in each head, and an hundred garrulous,¹⁸ loud, unceasing voices from each tongue, they could not recount, or narrate, or enumerate, or tell, what all the Gaedhil suffered in common, both men and women, laity and clergy, old and young, noble and ignoble, of hardship, and of injury, and of oppression,¹⁹ in every house, from these valiant, wrathful, foreign, purely-pagan people.²⁰ Even²¹ though great were this cruelty,

The oppression suffered by the Irish indescribable.

the means of paying it, he was himself compelled to go into slavery, or else his nose was cut off."

¹⁴ *Hard.* Carbat combarngen com-
éruar, B.: "Hard, strong, steely."

¹⁵ *On one neck.* Ar gac aen brá-
gair, B., "on every neck."

¹⁶ *Cool.* Innuar, for éinnfuar,
"very cold." Innfuar, B.

¹⁷ *Brazen.* B. omits nemeisoi.

¹⁸ *Garrulous.* B. reads Gleoróa
glanróe neimicéparóac in gac aen
teugair, ní cairríotó a cairrem no

α fairnéir [airneir, D.], no α
airerh, no α inoirin in no fo-
óoniríot [oimíret, D.]

¹⁹ *Oppression.* Oanforpán ingan-
tae, B.

²⁰ *Purely-pagan people.* For all-
maróa glann gentlizi rin, B. reads,
allmaróa rin. "From these foreign
people."

²¹ *Even.* Ser mhór era an doé-
raite rin, ocuf an tanforpán,
ocuf an tanplairíur; seríat ilé
iomóa ilclanóa, B.

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Danish
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scendants
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aid.

foran ocur in nanplaṭi rin; ciarpat ailmda a clanna
ilbuaṭaṇa na hepeno ilcenelaiḡi; ciarpat linmar a
ruḡ ocur ruḡplaṭi ocur a ruḡdomna; ciarpat imda a
tpeit ocur tpeitil ocur a tpenmilid, a laiḡ gaili, ocur
ḡairciṭ, ocur ḡnimarṭa; nī tapo neḡ doibrin imanair
fupṭaḡt no uarlaiḡi no horpana, no in necomnerp rin
pe roḡaiṭeḡt ocur pe linmaipeḡt ocur pe hangbaideḡt
[ocur] pe hanniarpaḡt in tṛluaiḡ buirb baṭbairi dīcel-
lid docoirp doḡommairi o po hinḡréd in tanborpan rin,
pe febar a lupeḡ lairḡerda luḡtmarā tpeḡualāḡ tṛom
tpebṛair taitnemaḡ; ocur clairiūm cruair comnerp
comḡalma; ocur a pleas remneḡ rṭlebur; ocur na narm
nair naḡlom etpoḡt ecpamail apcena, ocur ap met a
nanglonḡ ocur aḡḡimṛair aḡḡaili ocur aḡḡairciṭ, a
neirp, ocur a nemi, ocur a mbaṭamlaḡt, pe po met a
nitāḡ ocur a noncobair mon tṛ tailc topeḡ tonḡtpeb-
ḡlain, eirraiḡ, abniḡ, inberaiḡ, moḡḡlain maṭpeir min-
rcoṭaiḡ Epeno.

XLI. ḡai, imorpo, apali ciniuo ruairc rairclannṭa
roḡeneoil regairi in nḡrino nāpo oḡaim ecomnerp
na anborpan no doḡrai ingantair o ciniuo ele ip in
domun riam .i. clanna luidech mic Oengura Tṛiḡ,
fṛiaraṭer ḡail Cair ḡoruma, in ḡara huatni aipe-
ḡair, ocur in ḡara tegllaḡ congala pollamnair ocur

¹ *Their kings.* Ciarpat līr a ruḡ-
plaṭa, ocur a ruḡa, ocur ruḡarh-
naṭa, B.

² *Heroes.* Ḳ tpeḡin, B.

³ *Not one of them.* Nī tapo neaḡ
uibṛein fupṭaḡt no ruarluccāḡ
na hanborpanāna rin, no an ecom-
nerp rin le himaṭ, ocur pe līn-
maipeḡt, 7c., B.

⁴ *Wrath.* Re hainḡiarṭaḡt in
tṛlōiḡ buirb baḡḡda barbarḡa
rin or himṛeāḡ an tanborpan,
pe febar, 7c., B.

⁵ *Corslets.* Ḳ luirēāḡ lairḡe-
arṛda, tpeabṛair, tpeḡualāḡ,
tṭaitnemaḡ, B.: "Their polished,
trusty, treble-plaited, beautiful cors-

lets." The Irish reader will remark
the alliteration in the adjectives, which
cannot of course be preserved in trans-
lation.

⁶ *Ready, brilliant.* Netṭpoḡt, nec-
ramail, B.

⁷ *Valour.* Nānt, B.

⁸ *Ferocity.* Ḳ naimḡemlaḡt, B.

⁹ *Their thirst and their hunger.* Ocur
pe méo a nitāḡ, ocur a nacco-
bair, B.

¹⁰ *Nobly-inhabited.* Tonḡtpebḡlain,
omitted in B. B. has mon tṭṛ
tṭailc, tṭoirṭiḡ, eapair, aḡniḡ,
inḡeapair, inḡḡḡlain, maḡḡruḡ,
moirḡrédh, minrcoṭair rin inṛe
iatḡlōine Epeno: "For that brave,

oppression, and tyranny; though numerous were the oft-victorious clans of the many-familied Erinn; though numerous their kings,¹ and their royal chiefs, and their princes; though numerous their heroes² and champions, and their brave soldiers, their chiefs of valour and renown, and deeds of arms; yet not one of them³ was able to give relief, alleviation, or deliverance from that oppression and tyranny, from the numbers and multitudes, and the cruelty, and the wrath⁴ of the brutal, ferocious, furious, untamed, implacable hordes, by whom that oppression was inflicted, because of the excellence of their polished, ample, treble, heavy, trusty, glittering corslets⁵; and their hard, strong, valiant swords; and their well-rivettèd long spears; and their ready, brilliant⁶ arms of valour⁷ besides; and because of the greatness of their achievements and of their deeds, their bravery and their valour, their strength, and their venom, and their ferocity⁸; and because of the excess of their thirst and their hunger⁹ for the brave, fruitful, nobly-inhabited,¹⁰ full of cataracts, rivers, bays, pure, smooth-plained, sweet-grassy land of Erinn.

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of the
Danish
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arms.

XLI. There was, however,¹¹ a certain gracious, noble, high-born, beautiful tribe in Erinn, who never submitted¹² to tyranny or oppression, or unwonted¹³ injury, from any other tribe in the world, namely, the descendants of Lughaid,¹⁴ son of Oengus Tirech, who are called Dal Cais Borumha, one of the two pillars¹⁵ of the nobility, and one of the two houses¹⁶ that always sustained

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scendants
of Lugh-
aid.

fruitful, full of cascades, rivers, bays, the pure, salmon-abounding, smooth-plained, sweet-grassy country of the bright surfaced island of Erinn."

¹¹ *However.* B. omits *imoppo*. The reader will observe that all the following pleonastic epithets begin with the letter *s* in the original. B. adds after *pegannō*, "beautiful," *rocu-mann*, *raepberac*, "bountiful, accomplished."

¹² *Submitted.* *Ro foōonh*, accom-

naht no iomapearō, na anpor-pan, B.

¹³ *Unwonted.* *Ingantag*. Om. B.

¹⁴ *Lughaid.* *Luigōeč*, B. *Luioeac*, D., see p. 54, line 16. *Luighdech* is the gen. of *Lughaid*, a c stem. It has already been observed that D. frequently omits the aspirated letters *f*, *g*, *c*, *t*, &c., as here *Luideach* for *Luighdech*.

¹⁵ *The two pillars.* The Eoghanachts of Cashel being the other.

¹⁶ *Houses.* *Teğllač*, D. *Teallač*, B.

plaṭemnaif Өpeno piam; in top tairleach tatnemnaē
or canlib togaroi in tpmēalman, ocur in tobup
aebda in teni laigṭeaē or legaib lainṭepda logmar,
ocur in ḡrian ḡlanpuiṭneē or aipṭennacāib aeoir,
ocur pīpmamintī in einuio pīn or caē einuio in Өpino.

Their pre-
rogatives
and privi-
leges.

Cinuio pīn donaē Өlegar cīf no cain no tobaē, no
ḡeill, no eoiri, no ipraṭar, Өeneoē ipīn Өomun pīaṭh,
in tpaē naē biaṭ Өpīu accupēin, aēt aṭitīu nama, ocur
corc poḡla, ocur poēpairoi pīuaig pīu cornum pīpṭaēta
Cairil pīu leiṭ Cuino. Topeaē accu Өul i tīp namat,
ocur Өepēo ic toēt Өar aīf, ocur comṭuēup cīpṭ Cairil
caē aṭpēēt Өoibpīn iarpīn, .i. caē pē pī i Cairil.
In tan naē Өémṭa corṭup Өoib umi pīn, nī Өlig pīḡ
Cairil naē nī Өib. Comaṭ aīpīn pō ēan in pīḡ pīlīo,
ocur in pīaī pēnēaīf .i. Cormac mac Culennán:

Celebrated
by Cormac,
son of
Culennan.

Өlegar Өo pīḡ ḡil luīdeāc
Rémup caṭa pīuaig Mumneaē,
Ocur beīṭ ilupḡ poēoīo
Ic tīaētāin a tīp aneóil.
Nī heterup Өlegar Өe,
Aēt Capel Өo pīpīoṭe
Nī cīf, nī cāin, mar aṭ clor,
Nī halṭpum, nī hīarpṭaṭup.

And by
Cuan
O'Lochan.

XLII. Ip ma Өala pīpṭaēta in einuio pīn pōp pōcan
in pīlīo ocur inṭapṭ ollum Өpeno ocur Alban .i. Cuan
O Loēan:

¹ *The shining.* B. omits the passage beginning in top tairleach, line 1, and ending einuio pīn, line 5. Also the words no ḡeill, no eoiri, no ipraṭar, lines 6, 7.

² *So long as.* Acur an tpaē, B. The meaning is, that they were bound as equals, not as subjects, to recognise the right of the existing sovereign, and to defend him from aggression. Aṭitīu is *recognition*; the modern Irish equivalent would be aṭmāil.

³ *Not theirs:* i.e., when the supreme

king of Ireland was not of their family. B. reads Acur an tpaē naē bia Өpīe aca pēin, ḡan uata aēt corc poḡla, ocur poēpairoi pīlīḡ, 7c.

⁴ *Returning.* Aḡ toēt eīpṭe tap- aīf, B.

⁵ *Alternate right.* Comṭuēup cīpṭ Cairil ḡaē pē pēaēt Өoib iarpīn ó pīḡ Cairil; ocur an tan naē Өém- ṭar, 7c., B.

⁶ *It was of this.* Conīo aīpē pīn, B.

⁷ *Sage historian.* Aṭn tpaṭi tpaṭan-

the rule and sovereignty of Erin; the shining¹ splendid tower above the choice lights of the ponderous earth; and the clear fountain, the sparkling fire, above the most brilliant precious gems; and the bright radiating sun, above the noble stars of the sky and the firmament, was this tribe above all other tribes in Erin.

This is a tribe from whom it was never lawful to levy Their prerogatives and privileges, rent or tribute, or pledge, or hostage, or fostership fee, by any one in the world ever, so long as² Erin was not theirs³; but they were bound to give recognition only, and to check aggression, and supply numerous forces to maintain the freedom of Caisel against Leth Cuinn. To them belonged the lead in entering an enemy's country, and the rere on returning⁴; and besides this they had an equal alternate right⁵ to Caisel, viz., an alternate king in Caisel. Whenever these conditions were not justly observed to them the king of Caisel had no legal claim to anything from them. And it was of this⁶ the royal poet and sage Celebrated by Cormac, son of Culennan, historian⁷ Cormac, son of Culennan, said :

It is the privilege of the host of Lughaid's race,
To lead⁸ the battalions of the hosts of Mumhain,
And afterwards to be⁹ in the rere
In coming¹⁰ from a hostile land.
It is not fealty¹¹ that is required of them,
But to preserve the freedom¹² of Caisel;
It is not¹³ rent, it is not tribute, as hath been heard;
It is not fosterage nor fostership fees.

XLII. It was on¹⁴ the noble career of that tribe also And by Cuan O'Lochan, that the poet and chief sage of Erin and Alba, Cuan O'Lochan, said :

ἐνθα, B. The first quatrain of the following verses is quoted by Keating, (p. 608, *Curry's MS.*), but they are not by him attributed to Cormac.

⁸ To lead. Keating reads ῥηεατ-
nuḡarō cat, "to array the battle."

⁹ And to be. Ocuḡ α beit, B.

¹⁰ In coming. Ὡc τωρεετ α τιν

ameóil, B. Ὡc epioéarib ana ameóil, K.

¹¹ Fealty. Lit. Hostageship.

¹² Freedom. Ὅo ῥoépanτe, B.

¹³ It is not. Nó cíḡ nó cáin, B.; and in the next verse also B. has nó for nī, "or" for "nor."

¹⁴ On. For ma B. reads im.

Al Dail Cair is calma rin
 Robnair banba comblair
 Durrano nab dín laða líp
 It becca rin ipair fail.
 Fata tait icteétad caic,
 In let rectair ní bat peir,
 Ocur ní genair fo gréin,
 Naé gebdair geill aét bangeill.
 Cio in tpat nar éanic plait
 Uaib ar Erindo arbhiteich
 Aét na cind ceim dar ceirt
 Hoóo coemnacbar neit neich.

Cio dha aét, ní ba mias menman, ocur nír bardar
 aenir lar indarinnair deir diulainz dipeera rin, ocur
 larin gamanrair gerata garra galaiš gnimais garz-
 beora rin, memnaiš mor aigentaiš rin, nar odaim
 anforran no ecomnerit ó ruz do ruzuib Erindo, ocur
 ní nama on aét ní roadaim giallur no eoiriaét ro-
 maétain doeri docair ó danaraib, ocur ó dibergaib
 dolgi durcruéctuib ar anneóin ní rodamper.

Genealogy
 of Math-
 gamhain
 and Brian,
 sons of
 Cennedigh.

XLIII. Bardar, dha, ic rtiurad ocur ic pollomnur
 in éinir rin, da tuir croda comnera comcalma, da
 laeč lonna letarrača lučtmapa, da comlaid cača, da
 cleič ugra, da dor diuin; da rinu agra ocur uplaimi,
 eniz ocur egnuma broča ocur brigi bagí, ocur beo-

¹ *Illustrious.* Lit. "with fame." Cona bloró, B. "Banba" was one of the poetical names of Ireland.

² *Pity.* Durrano naboir lecca líp, B.

³ *Your presence.* In bar ppail, B. First written ppail, but altered by a recent hand to fail.

⁴ *Long have they been.* Fata táir, B.

⁵ *Under the sun.* Ocur ní genair ri gréin, B.

⁶ *Women hostages.* Naé gebdair géill aét bar ngéill, B. "Except your hostages." This reading gives a

better sense. This second quatrain, in the third person, appears to refer to the Hy Niall: the "distant district" (*leth*) is Leth Cuinn, the northern half of Ireland. The remaining four lines are omitted in B.

⁷ *Therefore.* For dha B. reads tpa. The rest of the sentence in B. is given thus, in a different spelling, which is instructive: ní do mias menmann no aigneo léir an dam-
 rairó noéin noifulanng noifneccra rin. Where it will be observed that the MS., D, from which the text is taken, omits the aspirated p, in the words vi-

O Dal Cais! This is brave!
 You have bound Banba the illustrious!¹
 Pity² that your lakes are not seas!
 Other men are small in your presence.³
 Long have they been⁴ subjugating all others,
 The distant district, which is not smooth,
 For there are none born under the sun,⁵
 Whose hostages they would not take, except women hostages.⁶
 And even when there is not a king
 Out of you over Erinn of hosts,
 Only that you would not infringe on right
 No human power could prevail over you.

It was not, therefore,⁷ honourable to the mind or to the courage, or to the nature of these vehement, insupportable, irresistible nobles, and of those sharp,⁸ crafty, brave, active, fierce champions (those animated, high-minded ones, who never brooked⁹ injustice or tyranny from any king of the kings of Erinn, and not only that, but who never gave them pledges or hostages in token of obedience),—to submit of their own accord to cruel slavery from Danars and from fierce, hard-hearted Pirates.

XLIII. There were then governing and ruling this tribe two stout, able, valiant pillars,¹⁰ two fierce, lacerating, magnificent heroes, two gates of battle, two poles of combat, two spreading trees of shelter, two spears of victory and readiness, of hospitality and munificence, of heart and strength, of friendship and liveliness, the most emi-

Genealogy
 of Math-
 gamhain
 and Brian,
 sons of
 Cennedigh.

lains, *oipeccra*, more correctly written in B. *noifúlain*, *noifpeccra*, with the transported *n*. The reader will also notice the alliteration, which is characteristic of the Irish bardic style, *deín*, *oúlain*, *oipeccra*, all beginning with *d*, and agreeing with *oapmnao*; and again the adjectives connected with *gamhnaib*, all begin with *g*, (the transported *n* occurs in B.)

⁸ *Sharp*. B. reads *nglain*, "bright."

⁹ *Brooked*. There are here considerable differences between the two MSS. Immediately after the words *gamh-*

beoia rin, to the end of this chapter, B. reads, *na no fúlain anpoipán no ecommnae ó neoc maíh, ocup ní mo no paemrat baepre na do-éap ó danapnaib duna doilge duna-épaíbeáca da nainbeóin*: "Who never would endure oppression or tyranny from any one; and who no more submitted to slavery or oppression from hard, fierce, hard-hearted Danars, against their will." It is evident that this is corrupt, and that the reading of the text is more correct.

¹⁰ *Pillars*. *Da éap époia com-*

daēta iartair Eorpa .i. Mathgamain ocur Ḃrian, da meic Cendetiġ, mic Lopean, mic Laētna, mic Cuirc, mic Anluain, mic Mathgamna, mic Tairdelbaig, mic Caēail, mic Aeda, mic Conaill, mic Eēaē Ḃailleirġ, mic Cairēinḁ Rind, mic Ḃlaidē, mic Cair, mic Conaill Eaē-luaiē, mic Luideāē Minḁ, mic Oengura Tirig, mic Rircorb, mic Moga Corb, mic Cair, mic Ailella Oloim, mic Moga Nuadāt, ro poinḁ Eriḁ ro Conḁ cet cathaē. In darna tellaē congala pollamnair ocur plaitiura Eriḁ rin, o re Eriemon mic Mileḁ ocur Ebir a bratār, ocur o tur domain.

Their confederacy against the foreigners.

XLIV. Oḁ concatar, dḁa, in dairrini ocur in tanporran, ocur in nanplaētur do himpeḁ por Mumain, ocur por pḁaib Eriḁ co coitcend, iri comarli da ponrat a hingabail, ocur can a hoḁmaētain itir. Rucrat iarrin a muinterā, ocur a poḁtala uli dar Sinaioḁ riar, ocur ro pḁailpḁt ro poḁrib, ocur ro pḁaib na tri maenḁ itat. Ro gabrat ic poḁail, ocur ic poḁguin por gallaib poētoir iarrin. Nḁ ro ēermunḁ na hana-cul doibrium, dḁa, o gallaib, aēḁ ba pḁe doceēta dḁ a compiaētain, ocur a comapceḁ, do cpeāib, ocur congalaib, ocur do caēaib, ocur do cliaēāib do poḁlaib, ocur do ipḁalaib pḁ cloemclopḁt eturu pḁi pḁmir cian. Ar toirpḁgud, dḁa, cectarnai diarpail, daponrat pḁt ocur compoḁud etopo pḁi heḁ .i. Mathgamain mac Cendetiġ pḁg Ḃailcair, ocur maēi gall Muman apcena.

Mathgamhain makes a truce with the foreigners.

ēalma, ēoimnearta, ocur da laeē lonḁa, 7c., B. This MS. also reads ocur da ēomla catā, ocur da ēleit ughrae, ocur dā dōr dīttin, ocur dā pinn āġa, 7c.

¹ *Anluan.* All the remainder of this genealogy after Anluan is omitted in B.

² *Of the two.* See note 15, p. 53. Iriḁ darna, B.

³ *Sovereignly.* B. reads ocur plait-erinnair Eriḁn ḁ pḁ Eriemon mic Mileāḁ, ocur Eriḁr a bratār; omitting ocur o tur domain.

⁴ *When these saw.* Ciro tra aēḁ

oḁ concatar an diar rin an dāirni, B., "when these two saw," &c.

⁵ *Men of Erin.* Ar pḁarab Muman ocur Eriḁn, B. "On the men of Munster and of Erin."

⁶ *And not submit.* Ocur gan a pḁerhḁ, B.

⁷ *Their chattels.* Om. B.

⁸ *Westwards.* Sair, B.

⁹ *Tribes.* Na tri nuaithe iḁ, ocur ro gabrat, B. "Of the three Uaithne that were there, and they began," &c.

¹⁰ *After that.* Om. B.

ment of the west of Europe, viz., Mathgamhain and Brian, the two sons of Cennedigh, son of Lorcan, son of Lachtna, son of Core, son of Anluan,¹ son of Mathgamhain, son of Tordhelbhach, son of Cathal, son of Aedh, son of Conall, son of Eochaidh Ball-derg, son of Cairthinn Finn, son of Blath, son of Cas, son of Conall Eachluaith, son of Lughaidh Menn, son of Oengus Tirech, son of Fercorb, son of Mogh Corb, son of Cas, son of Ailell Oloim, son of Mogh Nuadhat who divided Erin with Conn of the hundred battles. This was one of the two² houses that sustained the rule and sovereignty³ of Erin, from the time of Eremon, son of Miledh, and Ebher, his brother, and from the beginning of the world.

XLIV. Now, when these saw⁴ the bondage, and the oppression, and the misrule, that was inflicted on Mumhain, and on the men of Erin⁵ in general, the advice they acted on was to avoid it, and not submit⁶ to it at all. They therefore carried off their people, and all their chattels,⁷ over the Sinann westwards⁸; and they dispersed themselves among the forests and woods of the three tribes⁹ that were there. They began to plunder and kill the foreigners immediately after that.¹⁰ Neither had they¹¹ any termonn or protection¹² from the foreigners; but it was woe to either party¹³ to meet the other, or come together, owing to the plunders, and conflicts, and battles, and skirmishes, and trespasses, and combats, that were interchanged between them during a long period. When at length,¹⁴ each party of them became tired of the other, they made peace and truce between them for some time, viz., Mathgamhain, son of Cennedigh, king of the Dal Cais,¹⁵ and the chieftains of the foreigners of Mumhain in general.

Their confederacy against the foreigners.

Mathgamhain makes a truce with the foreigners.

¹¹ Neither had they. Níro for nír bo.

¹² Protection. Ocuí nír bo termonn, ocuí nír bo hanacal dóib-riom ó gallaib mar an ceona, B., omitting the next three lines of the text to rri nemir cian, inclusive.

¹³ Either party. Docecta D., for docectar.

¹⁴ When at length. Ar rtoirriur-ccaró cectar de rariole, B.

¹⁵ Dal Cais. After this word B. inserts ocuí mante Dalccar, "and the chieftains of the Dal Cais."

Brian re-
fuses all
truce or
peace with
the foreign-
ers.

His slaugh-
ter of the
foreigners.

XLV. Imtura, imorro, ðriain mic Centedig nír bail
leirriðe ríð re gallaib, or gí bec fogla do tigrad de
ra gallaib, ba pepp leir na ríð ; cío cáð no beir na toir
ní he no biað. Da luid, imorro, iarriñ ðriain ocur glar-
laið Daileair leir i potrið, ocur i pedair ocur i paraisib
Tuadmuman darahair. Ro gab ic fogail, ocur ic for-
guin, ocur ic ppiðipeðt for gallaib fo cetoir. In la nað
denad olc re gallaib do niað ranairdhi barð neru, ocur
in naraich nað digneð do nio in la arnamðarað. Do
gnitir imorro pianboða folaðta forlongpuit acci
inðairib, ocur in mairib, ocur i noidpumaib, ocur i
noidceltaib Ua Blait. Ro paraised leir o Deirc co
forður, ocur o Ecti co Tpatraigí. Ro timairgret, ðna,
gail Tuadmuman uli im Tpatraigí, ocur do ponad
dunclad timcill Tpatraigí acu, ocur ro ðuallrat [en
dúnáruir do denam] do Tpatraigí uli, ocur Tuadmu-
main ocur Uí Conaill do gabail airde, ocur do beir
ríia fornum. Cío tra aét cío no peta, ní barð mo
do airium, ní horra a ðurium ina inniur, ar marb
ðriain do gallaib donorbairin .i. ina dérrib, ocur ina
triaraib, ocur ina cuicearaib, ocur ina ríðtib, ocur ina
cedaib, ocur an roðuir do congalaib, ocur do galaib
mína menici ríiu. Mor, am, do duad ocur do docair
ocur do ropocuit ocur do ropólebar, tue forum dorom,

¹ But. B. omits imorro.

² Not willing. Nír báil leir, B.
Lit. "Peace with the foreigners was
not pleasing to him."

³ However small. Aét gibe ofog-
laib do tigrad de do déanair ar
gallaib do bfeair leir ina ríð.
Gíó iad cáð no biað ina toir noé
an é ðriain no biað, B.

⁴ However. B. omits imorro.

⁵ Retaliate. Ppiðipeðt, B.: "con-
tradict."

⁶ And when. B. omits from ocur
in naraich to la arnamðarað.

⁷ Moreover they. B. omits imorro,

and for acci, reads in modern ortho-
graphy, acu.

⁸ Solitudes and deserts. Inmair-
raib ocur noidpethaib, B.

⁹ Uí Blait. O mBlair, B.

¹⁰ From Derc. O Deirc Derc, B.,
[i.e., from Loch Derg].

¹¹ Ecti. Ectge, B.; now Sliabh
Echtghe, or Baughty, a mountainous
district on the borders of the counties
of Galway and Clare.

¹² One garrison. En airu do
Tpatraigí, D. En dúnáruir do
denam Tpatraigí, B. From this
latter MS. the words in brackets have
been inserted.

XLV. But¹ as regards Brian, son of Cennedigh, he was not willing² to make peace with the foreigners, because however small³ the injury he might be able to do to the foreigners, he preferred it to peace; and though all others were silent on that head he would not beso. Brian, however,⁴ after that, and with him the young champions of the Dal Cais, went back again into the forests and woods and deserts of north Mumhain. He began then immediately to plunder and kill, and retaliate⁵ on the foreigners. When he inflicted not evil on the foreigners in the day time, he was sure to do so in the next night; and when⁶ he did it not in the night he was sure to do it on the following day. Moreover they,⁷ with him, used to set up rude huts instead of encampments, in the woods and solitudes and deserts⁸ and caves of Ui Blait.⁹ The country was wasted by him from Dere¹⁰ to the Forgas, and from Ehti¹¹ to Tratraighe. Then the foreigners of all north Mumhain assembled around Tratraighe, and they raised a fortifying bank all round Tratraighe; and they proposed to render all Tratraighe one garrison,¹² and from it to conquer the whole of north Mumhain and Ui Conaill, and make them subject to them.¹³ But although it is possible to count¹⁴ a greater number, it is not easy to enumerate, or tell, all that Brian killed of the foreigners of that garrison¹⁵ in twos,¹⁶ and in threes, and in fives, and in scores, and in hundreds; or the number of conflicts and combats¹⁷ that he frequently and constantly gave them. Great, on the other hand, were the hardship

Brian refuses all truce or peace with the foreigners.

His slaughter of the foreigners.

¹³ *Subject to them.* Do gabail ar, ocuf ambeit occ rognamh doib, B.

¹⁴ *To count.* B. has Cio tpa aet ge no peta a mapbar, ni hupupa a puom nae a aipeath nae a inni-rin, 7c.: "although it was possible to kill, it is not easy to reckon or count, or tell," &c.

¹⁵ *Garrison.* Onbar for ronbar. Don ronbar rin, B., more correctly.

Ronbar is, properly, a seige; a garrison for the purpose of a seige.

¹⁶ *In twos.* Ina mburónib, ocuf ina ccuipib, ocuf ina píctib, ocuf ina ccéuib, ocuf ina ccentepnaib, ocuf ar ar cuip, 7c., B. "In companies, and in troops, and in scores, and in hundreds, and in quaternions."

¹⁷ *Combats.* For galamb minna meinci rruu, B. reads cliaetamb miona mionca ruu.

His follow-
ers cut off
to fifteen.

Math-
gamhain
sends to
condole
with Brian.

His poetical
lament on
the occa-
sion.

1 prianboṡaib páraig forcpuaio ppeமானib corpaṡa
pḷiuṡta, a tiri duṡaigi pṡoḡein, ar marbaṡ a muinntiri,
ocur aḡṡra ḡraṡa, ocur a comalta, co dub, domennmaṡ,
tpuaḡ, nemelaṡ, torpṡṡ. ʊaig atberait na ḡenṡaioi
ḡo po diṡaigret ḡaill a muinntir cunaṡ pabi pṡoḡoio na
lenmain aṡt .u. dumi dec.

XLVI. Oṡ cuala tpa Mathgamain abeiṡ amlaio
rin, pairoi tṡṡta ar a cenṡ, uair ba heccail ler a ṡoṡim
pṡi ḡallaib in uati pḷuaig ocur pṡṡṡaioi. O pancatar,
ṡna, oen inaṡ ḡrian ocur Mathḡamain, [atberṡ Maṡ-
ḡamain aḡ acaine pṡ ḡrian an diṡ puaip muinntir
ḡrian, ocur aṡubairṡ an laioh :

Uathat rin a ḡrian ḡanba,
ʊo ṡuinnṡclṡo ní héccalma,
Ní lionmar tángair ṡar tigh,
Cait ar fáccair ṡo muinntir.
ʊo fáccur iat aḡ ḡallaib
lar na pḷaṡe a Maṡgamain,
Cpuaio pomlenṡat tar ḡaṡ lear,
Ní lionann ir ṡo muinntir.
Cairṡet na comṡama a ḡir,
Aḡ ar fáccair ṡo muinntir,
ḡar nḡleó mara calma amuigh,
Ní héccen toibéim opaiḡ.
Ro fáccur iat icṡraic léit,
1 mbernaio nar pṡoiltit pṡeit,
ḡirno, ḡer doiligh clóṡ an ḡir,
ʊo tuit apaeṡ pṡ a muinntir.
Ar tṡṡṡ irin mḡréntir mḡuam
Robat tṡṡar calma comṡuaio,

¹ *Bad food.* More correctly in B. ʊpoc éuro.

² *Inflicted on him.* For tuc forum ʊopom 1 prianboṡaib, B. reads, tuc-
pattarpon ṡo ḡrian hi prianbo-
ṡaib: "Did they occasion to Brian in
the wild huts," &c.

³ *Country.* O tpe dúitṡe pṡin, B.

⁴ *Dispirited.* ḡo dubaṡ ṡṡṡaṡ

ṡouthenmmaṡ torpṡṡaṡ tṡuaḡ
nerheleṡ, B.

⁵ *Historians.* ʊoiḡ atáṡ ḡen-
chaioḡ ḡa paṡa ḡur diṡaigṡṡar
ḡaill a muinntir conaṡ paḡe ina
lenmain pṡoḡoig aṡt cúice pṡi
decc, B.: "But there are historians
that say," &c.

⁶ *Of his being.* ḡrian ṡo berh

and the ruin, the bad food¹ and bad bedding which they inflicted on him² in the wild huts of the desert, on the hard knotty wet roots of his own native country³; whilst they killed his people and his trusty officers and his comrades; sorrowful, dispirited,⁴ wretched, unpitied, weary. For historians⁵ say that the foreigners cut off his people, so that he had at last no more than fifteen followers.

His followers cut off to fifteen.

XLVI. But when Mathgamhain heard of his being⁶ in this condition, he sent a messenger to him, for he dreaded⁷ his fall by the foreigners for want of troops and forces. When Brian and Mathgamhain met in one place,⁸ [Mathgamhain condoled with Brian on the destruction which had befallen Brian's followers, and he spake this poem:—

Mathgamhain sends to condole with Brian.

[M.] Alone art thou, O Brian of Banba!

Thy warfare was not without valour,
Not numerous hast thou come to our house,
Where hast thou left thy followers?

His poetical lament on the occasion.

[B.] I have left them with the foreigners

After having been cut down, O Mathgamhain!
In hardship they followed me over every plain,
Not the same as thy people.

[M.] In what battles, O man,

Hast thou left thy people?
If your fighting was brave on the plain,
No reproach shall be cast upon you!

[B.] I have left them on Craig Liath,

In that breach where shields were cleft,
Birnn, (it was difficult to cut off the man),—
Fell there with his people.

Our combat in the everlasting Bréintir

Was a brave and exceedingly hard combat.

ἡν ὡς ἔλεγε, οὐκ ἔλαβε
ἡν, B., "of Brian being in this want
of troops and of forces."

⁷ He dreaded. Rop eccail lair, B.

⁸ In one place. D. reads O panca-
tar [pancattar, B.] on a oen maob,
[so haen maob, B.] ὅπου οὐκ
Matgamhain, po bi ὅπου ἰα cun-

ἡν, 7c., "when Brian and Math-
gamhain met together, Brian reproach-
ed Mathgamhain," &c. (as in c. xlvii.),
omitting the whole passage which is put
within brackets in the text, including
the poem. It will be seen that the poem
is a dialogue between Mathgamhain
(pron. Mahoun) and Brian; and to as-

Marbham Eodono,—garb a gal,
 Cona ceitricas tnenfer,
 Ar ngleó sun fforzuy nír maet,
 Toirpreac rin de let ar let,
 Ar ngleó ra tner níu tner las.
 Triocá im Eliur do tuitriot,
 Ced im Elzim—ní ráo zó!
 Garb in tner—irin aen ló,
 A Matgamhain, ar fir dani,
 Noáa mín ar niomrcaraó.
 Fuaramar mór dúlc ar rin,
 Do ghefaib do ghetlaichib,
 Ar féo noáar féo raóail.
 Ir mór ccéo re a ccomháirim.
 Ro ionnarbar, ní brécc ro,
 Soill ó Deirc-Deirc zo forzo,
 Do cúiríom an luét ele,
 O Eétze zo Tractraize.
 Ar iadrim ar rccela, a fir,
 A meic Ceinneittig cuirgil,
 Meimic tuccram rinn co beét
 Dail ar nar doig linn imteét.
 Noáa bíao Ceinneittig ar cráo,
 Noáa bíao lorcán líonmhar,
 Ar gallaib na ttoét marrom,
 Mar atáoiri a Matgamhain.
 Ar ogla rin a brian bregh,
 Noáa marmarrae taigheao,
 Hi fuil taíoh ná thinne hi cparaó,
 Darlinne ze taoí zo huataó.
 uathacoh.]

Brian re-
 proaches
 Mathgam-
 hain for
 his peace
 with the
 foreigners.

XLVII. Ro bí brian íca cuprao Matgamna co mór,
 ocur arbert ffor coba intlar menman, ocur corba
 laicci eétar cinuoa do rié na comroppo do daméain
 do gallaib, ocur ríat for a fepuno, ocur for a leiré

sist the reader, the Editor, in the trans-
 lation, has prefixed the letters M. and
 B. to the words intended to be spoken
 by Mahoun and Brian, respectively.

¹ Alone. It is a custom of Irish

scribes to repeat the first word of a
 poem at the end, as a mode of marking
 its conclusion; and it was a rule to
 make the poem begin and end with
 the same word or syllable.

We killed Edonn,—fierce his valour,
 With his forty heroes.
 Our fight at the Forgas was not soft ;
 Weary of it were we on both sides ;
 Our fight in the combat was no weak combat ;
 Thirty, with Elius fell.
 An hundred with Elgim,—no falsehood !
 Fierce was the combat,—in one day.
 O ! Mathgamhain, I speak but truth,
 Not mild was our parting with them.
 We suffered much of evil after that,
 From the attacks of fierce champions,
 Our path was not a path of ease.
 Many were their hundreds when counted.
 I banished—this is no falsehood—
 The foreigners from Deirg-Deire to the Forgas ;
 We drove the other party
 From Echtge to Tradraighe.
 These are our adventures, O man,
 O son of Cennedigh, the fair-skinned ;
 Often did we deliver ourselves with success,
 From positions in which we despaired of escape.
 Cennedigh for wealth would not have been,
 Nor would Lorcan, the fruitful, have been,
 So quiescent towards the foreigners,
 As thou art, O Mathgamhain !
 [M.] This is pride, O brave Brian ;
 Thy mind is not considerate,
 Thy care and thy thoughts are not on wealth,
 Methinks, even though thou art alone !

ALONE.¹]

XLVII. Brian reproached² Mathgamhain greatly, and he said that it was from cowardice³ of mind, and from the weakness of a stranger tribe,⁴ that he conceded⁵ peace or truce to the foreigners while they occupied his terri-

Brian reproaches Mathgamhain for his peace with the foreigners.

² *Reproached.* Ḃḡ cuprachadh, B.
 Lit. was reproaching.

³ *That it was cowardice.* Ḣur bo
 clár ocuf ḡur bo laicce dḡ, prḡ
 no coithorradh, 7c., B.

⁴ *Stranger tribe:* i.e., that had no
 fatherland to defend.

⁵ *Conceded.* Ḃámaicéan, B.

Contrasts
the conduct
of his
ancestors.

lama duéais a aéar, ocur a íenatair; ocur atbert rriur
ní baó é a íenatair, .i. lorcan mac laétna do genad
comorad amlaio; inti naé tuc daóitín na daóill do
Maelreólaino mac Mailpuanaio .i. do ruz Epeno,
ocur do .ii. cuigeóais Epeno, eo ruranimpes oen cluóí
do ríóill por ríaghi Maigi Aóar; ocur inti nar
leic do na réct caóais comórais Aíé U Dógar do
lorcuo, rri ceóri la ocur rri ceóri aóóib. Atbert,
ona, ní baó é lúgaro Míno, mac Oengurra Tíruí, a
íenatair ele, do genad innórin por; inti ón nar leic
errin míl maigi do síl Tlamán Tuáóbil, tre éar-
carin do tri caóais compa Conaéta nocor búrreótar
réct caéa poréu, ocur cor marb .iii. ruzo díb, ocur cor
rraen maóma o Cairno Réaróaié co hAé Lúcaio, ocur
ní bai porano no róóraió aéó gillanórad, ocur mac-
raio, ocur aer dímaín arcena. Aóbert ní mo baó é
Copc inti no éaraino gullu aróur .i. Copc mac Cair
mic Aíella Olum, na oóemaó tar na léóetórin, inti
on róóuir oéó caéa ic cornum raiur Muman, ocur a
aéaróa arcena, ocur léóí moóa co coócento.

Math-
gamhain's
answer.

Atbert Mathgamhain ba rri do rin uli, ocur cíar
ba rri nri bai aóireom acmaing rreótail gall, mar
ro gab méó a róóraió, ocur imao a rlois, ocur ra
méó a míleo, ocur rébar allureaé, ocur a claióium,

¹ *Would never.* Náí bé, B.

² *Have made a truce.* Do óenaó
comorrad amlaio .i. an tí naé
tucc óóaióitín na óóaióill, B.

³ *Magh Adhair.* Réob rriur a ní-
mepeao én éluíteó ríóallí por
raíteó Muíóe hAóar, B.

⁴ *Four days.* Rri réó tri lá, 7
ceíteora aóóóe, B., "for three days
and four nights."

⁵ *He said, also.* 7 atbert nar bo
he lúgaro mac Oengurra Tíruí, B.

⁶ *Have ever.* Do óenaó in rin .i.
an tí nar loiceó éir anóiuóóennaió
do síl aólamáin Tuáóbil, B.

⁷ *Great.* Comóra, B.

⁸ *Seven battles.* No sup búr cat

porra, B., "until he gained a battle
over them."

⁹ *Seven of their kings.* 7 sup
marb a ruz, ocur cur éur a raen
maóma íao, B., "and killed their
king," &c.

¹⁰ *He had.* 7 naé ríabé ní ba mó
de róóraió na gillanórad, B.

¹¹ *He said:* i.e., Brian said—Atbert
ní buó é Copc mac anéir no tarano
óoill ar túr, .i. Copc Cairil, no
óémaó tar na léíteóte rin, óir
do cuir oéó caéa as cornam na
Muman, 7c., B.: "He said that Corc,
the son of the man who first routed the
foreigners, i.e., Corc of Caisel, would
not have endured such an insult, for he

tory and his rightful inheritance, the patrimony of his father and of his grandfather; and he said to him that his grandfather Lorcan, son of Lachtna, would never¹ have made a truce² such as that; he who gave not submission or tribute to Maelsechlainn, son of Maelruanaidh, king of Erin, or to the five provinces of Erin, for as much time as that in which he could have played one game of chess, on the green of Magh Adhair³; and he who would not permit the seven great battalions to burn Ath U Doghair for four days⁴ and four nights. He said, also,⁵ that neither would Lughaidh Menn, son of Aenghus Tirech, another of his ancestors, have ever⁶ done such a thing. The man who never yielded even the leveret of a hare to the tribe of Tlaman Tuathbil through contempt of the three great⁷ battalions of Connacht, until he had gained seven battles⁸ over them, and killed seven of their kings,⁹ and until he had pursued them in their retreat from Carnn Feradaich to Ath Lucait; and he had¹⁰ no troops or followers, but only suttlers, and boys, and idlers. He said,¹¹ no more would Core, the man who first routed the foreigners, viz., Core, son of Cas, son of Ailioll Oluim, have been the man to brook such an insult; the man, also, who fought eight battles in defence of the freedom of Mumhain and of his patrimony, and of Leth Mogha in general.

Contrasts
the conduct
of his
ancestors.

Mathgamhain said,¹² that all this¹³ was true, and that although¹⁴ it was true, he had not the power to meet the foreigners, because of the greatness of their followers, and the number of their army, and the greatness of their champions, and the excellence of their corslets, and of their

Math-
gamhain's
answer.

had fought eight battles in defence of Mumhain, &c." Core, son of Anluan, grandfather of Lorcan, is evidently intended. See chap. xliii., p. 59; and "son" in the text may, perhaps, be used in the sense of "descendant."

¹² Said. Ocuṛ acbeṛt, B., "and Mathgamhain said."

¹³ All this. Do foim ṣin, B.

¹⁴ Although. Séṛ bo ṣṣ naé naibé acṣanṣ gail do ṣneṣtal aiceṣ ṣe-
meṣ a milearo ocuṛ ṣe ṣeabur, 7c.,
B.: "Although it was true that he had
no power to meet the foreigners, be-
cause of the number of their champions
and the excellence of their corslets,
and of their swords," &c.; omitting all
that intervenes in the text.

ocur anarín arceana, ocur arbert tona nírbaíl leir
Daileair dachail ina lurg, amail ro acrom urmor a
muintri.

Brian's
reply.

Atbert, imorro, úrian nír bo coir dorom in ní rin
[do raða], uair ba duéais doé, ocur ba duéais do
Daileair uli, uair marb anaéir, ocur a fenaéir, ocur
bar araceno doib fein dásbail; ocur nírbo dual,
imorro, ocur nírbo duéais doib tár natarceairin do
gabail, uair nír gabrat anaéir no fenaéir rin o neoé
ar talmáin. Arbert, tona, nír ba miad menman doib
in fepanta ro corairret anaéir, ocur fenaéir tre éaib
ocur tre cliaéaib re maéib goedel, a lecin can cat
can cliaéais do gallaib glara, ocur do gentib goima
surmapa.

Math-
gamhain
assembles
the Dal
Cais.

They
decide on
war;

XLVIII. Ro timairgite iarrin an Daileair uli,
inait oentadach oenbail co Mathgamain, ocur po
himcomarc cia comarlí bad ail doib do denaib .i. in
rié no coccad fú gallaib ocur fú danaraib. Arber-
tadar uli imorro, eter ren ocur oc, ba fearr leo bar,
ocur éc ocur aedeo ir iméim do agbail, iccornum fairi
anatarba, ocur aceneoil, na foemaéctain forpána, ocur
formaic allmapaé no crié no a fepanta do oilregud
doib, ocur ba sué cet ar bel oenfir rin.

and to
expel the

Arbert Mathgamain, imorro, ba hi comarlí ba coir

¹ *He said.* Ocur atbert, omitting tona, B.

² *To leave.* Do fáccbail, B.

³ *Had left.* Ro fáccroth, B. The frequent omission of the aspirated *f* in D., has often been noticed.

⁴ *Brian said.* This speech is given somewhat differently in B., thus:—
ocur atbert úrian nír bo cóir
dórom in ní rin do raða, uair do
éccrat an aiténe ocur a fenaíte,
ocur ba dúthaig doib fein ecc
do raébaíl, oir nír gabratar a
naíte, ocur a fenaíte ó neac
riain ar talmáin doihan écca :
“And Brian said, that it was not right
in him to say that thing, for their

fathers and their grandfathers had died,
and it was hereditary also to themselves
to suffer death, for their fathers and
their grandfathers never submitted to it
[insult] from any person in the wide
world.”

⁵ *He said.* B. reads, ocur atbert
nar. It may be observed here, to
avoid repetition, that for arbert, “he
said,” as it is written in D., the MS. B.
always reads atbert.

⁶ *To abandon.* A legaró, B.

⁷ *Defended.* Corraitar, B.

⁸ *Battles.* For éaib, which is wrong,
B. reads, éataib.

⁹ *After this.* Arpin Dal cCair, B.

¹⁰ *Before Mathgamhain.* Inait nu-

swords, and their other arms in general. And he said¹ also that he would not like to leave² the Dal Cais *dead* in following him, as he [Brian] had left³ the most of his people.

Brian said⁴ that that was not a right thing for him [Mathgamhain] *to say*, because it was hereditary for him to die, and hereditary for all the Dal Cais, for their fathers and grandfathers had died, and death was certain to come upon themselves; but it was not natural or hereditary to them to submit to insult or contempt, because their fathers or their grandfathers submitted not to it from any one on earth. He said⁵ also that it was no honour to their courage to abandon,⁶ without battle or conflicts, to dark foreigners, and black grim Gentiles, the inheritance which their fathers and grandfathers had defended⁷ in battles⁸ and conflicts against the chiefs of the Gaedhil.

XLVIII. After this⁹ all the Dal Cais were assembled to one appointed place before Mathgamhain,¹⁰ and he asked them what decision they wished to come to, namely, whether they would have peace or war with the foreigners, and with the Danars. Then¹¹ they all answered, both old and young, that they preferred¹² meeting death and destruction and annihilation and violence in defending the freedom¹³ of their patrimony, and of their race, rather than submit to the tyranny and oppression¹⁴ of the pirates, or abandon¹⁵ their country and their lands to them. And this was the voice of hundreds,¹⁶ as the voice of one man.¹⁷

Mathgamhain then said, that this was¹⁸ the decision

Brian's
reply.

Math-
gamhain
assembles
the Dal
Cais.

They
decide on
war;

and to
expel the

entabais náenbais co Matgamhain, ocuf co Brian, ocuf ro iom-comairc Matgamhain, ocuf Brian dís cia comairc do éntabais, an rít, no an coccas ne gallais, [omitting ocuf rri danarais,] B.: "To one appointed place, before Mathgamhain and before Brian, and Mathgamhain and Brian asked them, what decision they would make, peace or war with the foreigners."

¹¹ Then. B. omits imorro.

¹² Preferred. Robas reri leó écc ocuf oídeas d'raibáil, B.

¹³ Freedom. Saorri, B.

¹⁴ Tyranny and oppression. For-rán ocuf rorineirt, B.

¹⁵ To abandon. Ina ceiric, ocuf ma rreponn réin, ocuf a ceiríoch do d'leiccas d'óis, B.

¹⁶ Hundreds: .c. cas, B.

¹⁷ One man. Comrri aca, B.

¹⁸ This was. For imorro ba hi, B. reads, rri.

Danes from
the Eogh-
nacht
country,
and from
Cashel.

doib do denaib .i. tēact i Cairul na rīg ocur innEoganaēt
arcēna, uair ba he rīn p̄rīmpor̄t Muman, ocur p̄rīm-
tēglaē clainnī Aelella; tēgbīr on ar ba he Aeleaē
Muman, ocur Temair lēti Moga. Ba he tona a mun-
atour ocur a p̄nducur badein. Arbert ba fearr a
rīr caēa ocur comlain̄t rīn innantūēaiḡ, ocur imma
leirclama bunair innar im an p̄erant̄ forḡabala ocur
claidim, ocur eio tuat̄ no docair forḡabtar ic cor-
num rairi p̄rīmtēgllaḡ Muman, ocur im t̄a uat̄nī
congala pollamnair ocur flātamnair Erent̄; iḡe ba
coru rairi do cornum ocur iarrair̄ ant̄.

Invasion
of the
Eoghan-
acht coun-
try and
Cashel,
then in the
power of
the Danes,
A.D. 964.

XLIX. Ro dellig, tona, forrīn comairlī rīn acco,
ocur arbertat̄ar uli ba comairlī cori, ba haēiurc p̄aḡ-
bala, [ocur] ba buair̄ airlabra. Do lotar iarrīn inn-
Eoganaēt, ocur po linrat Eoganaēt, ocur Mup̄raigi
acco o Dún na Sciath co Deluē Accaillī. T̄a luit̄,
imorro, Mathgamain iarrīn i Capelnaḡ, ocur po
ḡabato forr̄at̄, ocur longpor̄t acci i nDún Cuirc in
bliat̄ain iar nēc Donēat̄a mic Cellaēan rī Cairil. Do
ponat̄, imorro, epeēa mopa ocur airḡnī, ocur iḡala
uat̄ib ar caē lē t̄o Muman t̄u i p̄abat̄ar ḡaill
ocur a muinter̄a.

Imar, of
Limerick,
musters his
vassals.

O po cuala, imorro, Imap ua hīmair̄ ar̄t̄rī ḡall
Muman ocur ḡoedel in tan rīn, in meir̄neac̄ mop̄

¹ For that was. Oir ba he, B. The meaning is the same. "For that [viz., Cashel] was the chief [royal] residence of Mumhain, [or Munster], and the Eoghanacht, [viz., the country around Killarney] was the principal seat of the descendants of Ailioll, [or Oilioll Olum.]" For p̄rīm tēglaē, B. reads, p̄rīmtēaillaēanp̄eachair̄, "the principal seat of the supremacy of the descendants of Oilioll."

² For it was. Dón ba he, B. The meaning is, that Cashel was to Munster, what Ailech [the old royal seat of the O'Neills] was to the north of Ireland; and to Legh Mogha or the

southern half of Ireland, what Tara [the royal seat of the chief king] was to the whole kingdom.

³ Their origin. B. omits a munatour [which in correct orthography ought to be a mbunatour], and reads, ocur ba he a p̄en n̄tūēar̄ b̄uēin.

⁴ And combat. B. omits ocur comlain̄t rīn.

⁵ For their inheritance. B. reads, imo t̄uthaḡ 7 ma c̄ruch bunat̄, inár ma p̄eronn: "For their inheritance and for their native country, than for land acquired," &c.

⁶ Freedom. B. omits rairi.

⁷ Pillars. An t̄aḡa huair̄ne, B.

that it was right for them to come to, to go to Caisel of the kings, and to the Eoghanacht also, for that was¹ the chief residence of Mumhain, and the principal seat of the descendants of Ailioll; very properly too, for it was² the Ailech of Mumhain and the Temhair of Leth Mogha. It was also the place of their origin³ and their ancient birth-right. He said that it was better and more righteous to do battle and combat⁴ for their inheritance,⁵ and for their native right, than for land acquired by conquest and the sword; and that though they must necessarily sustain labour or loss in defence of the freedom⁶ of the chief seat of Mumhain, and the two sustaining pillars⁷ of the government⁸ and sovereignty of Erin, it was for that⁹ they ought to contend and seek.

Danes from the Eoghanacht country, and from Cashel.

XLIX. Accordingly this advice¹⁰ was adopted; and they all said that it was prudent advice, and that it was gifted¹¹ counsel, and a victory of eloquence. They marched then into the *country of the Eoghanacht*, and the Eoghanacht and the *people of Muscraighe* gathered unto them¹² from Dún na Sciath¹³ to Belach Accailli. Mathgamhain went¹⁴ after this to Caisel of the kings; and he halted and encamped¹⁵ at Dún Cuirc, the year after the death of Donnchadh, son of Cellachan, king of Caisel. Great plunders¹⁶ and ravages and conflicts were effected by them on all sides throughout Mumhain, wherever the foreigners and their people were settled.

Invasion of the Eoghanacht country and Cashel, then in the power of the Danes, A.D. 964.

But when Imar, grandson of Imar, chief king of the foreigners of Mumhain, and of the Gaedhil at that time,

Imar, of Limerick, musters his vassals.

⁸ *Government.* B. omits *pollam-nair*.

⁹ *It was for that.* *Ar fe ba córa do éoradh fe danaradh,* B., "this was what they ought to defend from the Danars."

¹⁰ *This advice.* B. gives this passage thus: *Ro aentairíot uile an coimhíle rín, ocus atbercátar ba córa i, ocus ba haiterc fagbala, ocus ba buaid nuplábra ro éan.*

Do locar uile in Eoganaect iarrín.

¹¹ *Gifted.* *Artercc,* B. *Artercc fagbala,* "a message communicated or inspired by God or the Saints."

¹² *Unto them.* *Arcco,* om. B.

¹³ *Dún na Sciath,* so B. *Dún nas-lath,* D.

¹⁴ *Mathgamhain went.* *Do luir Matgamhain co Cairiol na ríog,* B.

¹⁵ *Encamped.* B. omits *accí.*

¹⁶ *Great plunders.* B. omits *imorrua.*

adbul, ocur in menmanrad mibulda daponratap meic Centetis ocur Dailcair arcena, ba peēt acno leo rin, ba fepg fir feōcair, ocur ba gal crioi, ar tabairt iarum na Muman dorom uli fo cain, ocur fo geillirni gall; ir amap bar bic a nim. Do ponneptar

A muster of Danes and Irish to ravage Dal Cais.

cocad, ocur centabač do denam a cuil bic don Muman fir iaririn. Doguēter, dna, morēinol ocur morplúageo fep Muman uli cucci, etir gall ocur goedel, co hait oentabač oenbali, dnrped ocur do delargud Dailcair, cunač beit fep congala cind capaill dar peči, dab na daporatmet, fo cečtar airt na Muman can marbad ocur can aragud, no databairt fo cain, ocur fo geillirni do gallaib amail cač.

Three Munster chieftains refuse to join Inar, and are murdered.

L. Datap imorro rin Muman flači ripenača, ocur rpuči ročenelača dar narbail in pluageo rin. Lučt iatride nač rabi danean fo mamur gall, ocur donarpat barbaib bunaid Dailcair .i. Paelan mac Cormaic ri nanDeri, ocur Flači mac Cllamapan ri Rerrad, ocur Sioecad mac Segni ri Titill. Ocur romarbat tra in triar rin la h-lmar lunnis ocur re gallaib arcena, uair dabatar ic tairmery in pluageo; ocur fo fep orēu co bad fearr leo beit ac Mathgamain oldar beit ic gallaib ocur ic mac Dprian. Datap dna dponz ele irin Muman, ocur cen cob ar dais gall, ba

Others join the foreigners from enmity to the Dal Cais.

¹ Tremendous. Cōbal rin, B.

² To him. Da peēt aicnead leo-roth rin, ocur ba fepce fipfeōcair, B.

³ His having made. Ar tabairt Muman uile fo cain, ocur fo geillirne gall, cocad ocur com-fuačad do denuin hi cuil bice don Mhuhain rpuir, B. The transcriber most probably omitted a line.

⁴ Spite. C nim, "his venom," or "poison." The words ir amap bar bic a nim are omitted in B.

⁵ Muster. Do gniter mór pluagead ocur mór tional, B.

⁶ To one appointed place. Co hait náenbaile, B.

⁷ Depopulate. Drelatruccad, B.

⁸ Should not be. Cona beit fep congala cind capaill tar peich fo ceitpe haruib na Muman uile, gan marbad ocur gan báruccad, no a tabairt fo cain, ocur fo geillirne gall, B.: "That there should not be a man to guide a horse's head over a channel, within the four points of Munster, who should not be killed and put to death, or made to give tribute and hostages to the foreigners." The words "a man to guide a horse's head over a channel," were probably proverbial.

⁹ Righteous. Fipbearčača, B.

¹⁰ Did not approve. Lit., "to whom

heard of the great, tremendous¹ courage, and the marvellous determination which the sons of Cennedigh displayed, and the Dal Cais also, it was to him² frenzy of mind, and raging fury, and aching of heart, after his having made³ all Mumhain to be tributary and bound to give hostages to the foreigners. His spite⁴ was little short of death to him. He then determined on making a small angle of Mumhain the seat of war and conflict; and the great muster⁵ and great hosting of all the men of Mumhain was accordingly made unto him, both of Gaill, and Gaedhil, to one appointed place,⁶ to ravage and depopulate⁷ Dal Cais, so that there should not be⁸ *left of them* a man to guide a horse's head over a channel, an abbot, or venerable person, within the four points of Mumhain, who should not be murdered or put to death, or brought under tribute and subjection to the foreigners like all others.

A muster of Danes and Irish to ravage Dal Cais.

L. But there were in Mumhain righteous⁹ princes, and noble chiefs, who did not approve¹⁰ of this hosting. These were people who were not in voluntary subjection to the foreigners, and who were not the natural foes of the Dal Cais, viz., Faelan, son of Cormac, king of the Desi, and Flathri, son of Allamaran,¹¹ king of Ressad, and Sidechad,¹² son of Segni, king of Titill. And these three were killed¹³ by Imar of Luimnech and the foreigners who were with him, because¹⁴ they were endeavouring to hinder the expedition; and it was known of them¹⁵ that they preferred being allied to Mathgamhain rather than to the foreigners and the son of Bran. There were others also in Mumhain, and, although it was not for the sake¹⁶ of the foreigners, they were ready to go and plunder Dal Cais,

Three Munster chieftains refuse to join Imar, and are murdered.

Others join the foreigners from enmity to the Dal Cais.

this expedition was not pleasing." *Danar bál an rluagearó rin no denam .i. luét iadpíde nac raibe da ndeóin fo rmaét gall, ocuf éanar biódbaró iad dál cCair, B.*

¹¹ *Allamaran.* Son of Allmorán, king of Resad, B.

¹² *Sidechad.* Sidichán, son of Segin, king of Ticcill, or Tigill, B.

¹³ *Were killed.* B. omits *tra*.

¹⁴ *Because.* *Le gallaib aréna ó nobattar acc coimnefsc an rluagearó, B.*

¹⁵ *Of them.* *Ocup onlo no fep forru gur bo fepu leó beith as Matgamain ina beir as mac Úrain, ocuf as gallaib, B.*

¹⁶ *Not for the sake.* *Ocup sion gub ar naig gall, B., a difference of spelling only.*

hepcaro leo teēt dinniuo Dalcair .i. Moelmuad mac
 Druain ru Dermuman, ocur Donnaban mac Caēail ru
 Ua Carbri. Ar marbad na maēi, rin dna, amail ro
 raioruman, daluid imar lunnis co fluas Muman umi
 eter gall ocur goedel da inraigi Dalcair.

A council
 of war of
 the chiefs
 of the Dal
 Cais sum-
 moned.

LI. Ro riaēt in reel rin co Druan ocur co Math-
 gamain, ocur co maēib Dalcair arēna, ait irabatar
 i Capel na ru. Ro docuirut imorro Dalcair uli cucu
 co rogain. Ro imcomarc Mathgamain eio do gentair
 na cupaid. Arbertar, imorro, na tpeitil ocur tpen-
 milio ba comarli leo toēt co Cnamēaill in nardaid na
 fluas, ocur na pocraid, co faigtir tur in bad inēata
 doib iat, ocur meinbad eo cotucdair amur caillea,
 ocur foraiseēta porēo in Cnamēaill. Ocur ip anorin
 do poēt Caēal mac Fepadaig do Delbna Moir, cet
 per narmaē incomlaino, do neoē porra rabi reiaē mor
 mileta ar cli caē oen fir, i fupraēt ocur i poritū
 Dalcair tria connailib, ocur tri rial capdiur ar ba
 do ril luidēaē mic Oengura na .u. Delbna. Da he in
 Caēal rin, tra, ru amraē ocur gairceōaē Epend ina
 remir in amirir fodein. Caē du i rabi gairceōaē no
 amraē do Dalcair ro Epend etir Maelreclaino ocur
 Aed Ua Neill, da poētar uli do pegra na bagu rin,
 ocur in nanporran, ocur do tabairt a pēoma caēa
 ocur comluino leo. Uair riaēatar rin uli oen
 inao ip comarli daronra leo teēt in adais na gall

¹ *King of Desmumhain.* R₁ Murhan, B., "king of Munster," a mistake. Maolmuad, or Molloy, son of Bran, was king or lord of Desmumhain, (south Munster, now Desmond).

² *Killed.* After marbad, B. inserts tra, and omits dna after maēi rin.

³ *Related.* Adubramar rothainn, B., "as we have said above."

⁴ *Army.* Go fluasgaib, B., "armies."

⁵ *To meet.* Dionnraide, B.

⁶ *As well as.* B. omits rin and arēna.

⁷ *Summoned.* Ro toēuirut, B.

⁸ *Before them.* Dal cCair uile in aen ionad, B., "all the Dal Cais into one place."

⁹ *Asked.* Here B. exhibits a different text. Ocur ro atcorhainc Mat-
 gamhain dōib eio do dēndair. Ar-
 bertattar nob i a ccorhainc toēt
 go Cnamēaill na naēarō duf co
 faidōir iad, ocur inbuō ionēata
 dōib iad iarrattain, ocur munbuō
 eio co ttuccdair amarf coilleoh
 porra hi cCnamēaill: "And Math-
 gamhain asked them what they would
 do. They answered, that their advice

viz., Maelmuadh, son of Bran, king of Desmumhain,¹ and Donnabhan, son of Cathal, king of Ui Cairbri. After having killed² those nobles, as we have related,³ Imar of Luimnech marched, attended by the army⁴ of Mumhain, both Gaill and Gaedhil, to meet⁵ the Dal Cais.

LI. This news reached Brian and Mathgamhain, as well as⁶ the chiefs of the Dal Cais, when they were at Caisel of the kings; they summoned⁷ immediately all the Dal Cais before them.⁸ Mathgamhain asked⁹ what the heroes wished to do. The chieftains and brave soldiers now said that their advice was to march to Cnamchoill against the army and its followers, that they might ascertain if they were able to give them battle; and if not, to make a wood and camp assault on them at Cnamechoill. And it was at that time came¹⁰ Cathal, son of Feradach¹¹ of Delbna-mór, with an hundred armed men fit for battle,¹² (each man of them having a large warrior's shield at his side,¹³) to the assistance and relief¹⁴ of the Dal Cais, through affection and generous friendship, because the five Delbhnas¹⁵ are of the race of Lugaidh, son of Oengus. Now this Cathal¹⁶ was the king-soldier and champion of Erinn during his career, in his own time.¹⁷ Wherever there was a soldier, or champion of the Dal Cais throughout Erinn, whether *in the service of* Maelsechlainn¹⁸ or of Aedh O'Neill, they all came to answer¹⁹ *the summons to that conflict and unequal warfare, and to give them their help in battle and combat.* When these all had arrived at one place,

A council of war of the chiefs of the Dal Cais summoned.

was to go to Cnamhchoill, to reconnoitre them, and, if they were able, to give them battle there, and if not to make an assault upon them from the wood in Cnamhchoill."

¹⁰ Came. Ro ríacét, B.

¹¹ Son of Feradach. Mac Fagartach. B., "son of Fagartach."

¹² Fit for battle. Hion éomhlainn, B.

¹³ At his side. For cbi, B.

¹⁴ Relief. Hí ffríaracét, ocuf hí ffríaracét, B.

¹⁵ The five Delbhnas. See Introd., p.

cxvii., n. 4, Table III., No. 9, p. 247.

¹⁶ This Cathal. Ocuf ba Catal rín, B.

¹⁷ In his own time. In a ríe, ocuf ma amrín. Cíe ríe acét gac du hí ríe, 7c., B.

¹⁸ Maelsechlainn. Maelseclainn mór, B.

¹⁹ To answer. Do ríacétacat uile do ffríeacat na bága rín, ocuf na ffríeacat, ocuf do tabairt a ffríeacat, ocuf comhlainn leó. O ro ríacétacat rín uile co haoin ionac,

* F 3

co Sulcoit, ocur caṭ piṭa porneipt peramail do tabairt do gallaib po peir in muiḡi. Oṭaṭcatar ṭapailē.

Battle of
Sulcoit.
A.D. 968.

The fo-
reigners
defeated.

Poetical
dialogue
between
Mathgam-
hain and
Brian.

LII. O ṭa pīṭṭatar ṭna, Ṭailcair co Sulcoit ṭa poṭṭatar ḡaill na conni, ocur na comṭail, ocur po perṭo caṭ piṭṭa, pūileāṭ, porṭeipḡ, anmin, aḡarb, an-
arṃartaṭ, eṛcaṛṭemail, etorpa. Ṭatar o tṛaṭ eipḡi co meṭan lai ic immuaḡaṭ, ocur ic imeṛaṛcaim etorpa. Romair, imorpa, por ḡallaib iarpin, ocur poṛcaḡit po ḡlaṭaib, ocur po ḡlentaḡib, ocur po ṭiamṛaib in macairi moir muiṛcoṭaḡ ḡin iarpin. Ro lenait, imor-
po, leorom co haṭ aṭlum immedurim pīaṛlait in maiḡi moir; po maṛbit ocur po ṭicennait o ḡin co hīaṛnoin.

[Ocur do bai Maṭḡamain oc pīaṛṛaiṭe pēḡl do Ṭrian, ocur do bi Ṭrian acc muiṛin pēḡl ṭó, ocur a ṭubairt in laiṭ:]

Cionnar ḡin a Ṭrian ḡo mbloirṭ,
 Al meic Cemneitṭiḡ, coṛceṛaiḡ?
 Aln puccaṭair puaṭar tenn
 Al ḡallaib muiṛi Eṛenn?
Ṭo cuamar ó Cairiol éam,
 ḡo Cnaincoill a Maṭḡamain,
 Co tṛaṛla nar ccenn ann ḡin
 Caṭ maṛcḡuaiḡ co lūipeaṭuib.
Cionnar ar ḡin bar pccarairṭ,
 Al Ṭrian ḡur in lūin aṭlain?
 Cairṭe bar pccarṭain na ṭiairṭ,
 Inṛi ṭūinn a ṭeipḡ Ṭrian.

B. The words in italics in the translation are added to complete the sense.

¹ *Against.* In accharo, B.

² *Fierce.* Caṭ piṭṭa, pūileāṭ, pēaṛamail, porṭeipce, anmin eapcaṛṭemail do ṭabairt etorpa, B., omitting all between. This is evidently the conclusion of the next sentence (line 3 of ch. lii.), caught up from the similarity of the words.

³ *Mid-day.* Muiṛmeṭón lai occ iommbuaḡaṭ, B.

⁴ *Each other.* B. omits etorpa.

⁵ *Were routed.* Ocur pomuṛtorṛ na ḡallaib iarpin, B.

⁶ *Valleys.* Po ḡleannṭaib, B.

⁷ *Afterwards.* For ḡin iarpin, B. reads, iaro.

⁸ *Great plain.* Aln inaiḡe inóin iaro, B.

⁹ *From that time.* Ro maṛḡait ocur po ṭicennait iaro co haṭḡul oṭá ḡin ḡo hīaṛnona, B., "they killed and beheaded them prodigiously from that time until evening."

the counsel they followed was to go against¹ the foreigners to Sulcoit, and to give the foreigners a fierce,² crushing, manly battle on the open part of the plain. *And in this* they agreed unanimously.

LII. When the Dal Cais, however, arrived at Sulcoit, the foreigners came against, and to meet them; and there was a fierce, bloody, crimsoned, violent, rough, unsparing, implacable battle fought between them. They were from sun-rise till mid-day³ striking and slaughtering each other.⁴ However, the foreigners were at length routed,⁵ and they fled to the ditches, and to the valleys,⁶ and to the solitudes of that great sweet-flowery plain afterwards.⁷ They were followed, however, by the others quickly and rapidly throughout the great plain,⁸ who killed and beheaded from that time⁹ until evening.

[And Mathgamhain¹⁰ asked Brian for an account of the battle, and Brian related the story to him; and he spoke this poem :

[M.] How is this,¹¹ O Brian, the renowned,
Thou son of Cennedigh, the victorious?
Did you give a mighty rout
Unto the Gaill of the Isle of Erinn?

[B.] We went forth from Caisel the fair
To Cnam-choill, O Mathgamhain!
Until there came against us there
A battalion of horsemen in corslets.

[M.] How upon that did you part,
O Brian of the ready hand?
How did you separate afterwards?
Tell us, O noble Brian!

Battle of
Sulcoit,
A.D. 968.

The fo-
reigners
defeated.

Poetical
dialogue
between
Mathgam-
hain and
Brian.

¹⁰ *Then Mathgamhain.* The passage within brackets from these words to the end of the following poem, is found only in B., and not in the older MS. It is evidently an interpolation; but its insertion is a curious evidence of the antiquity of the original work. For the poem was apparently written while the feelings necessarily generated by the fame of Mathgamhain and his brother,

Brian, were still recent; although O'Clery, the transcriber of B., has modernized the spelling, and perhaps also the language.

¹¹ *How is this.* This poem is in the form of a dialogue between Mathgamhain and Brian. The Editor has taken the liberty of marking the words attributed to each speaker by prefixing the initials [M.] and [B].

Inneorac fcel buí maíe lú
 A meic Ceinneitig corcraigh,
 Decc nap benramar céo cenó
 Do gallaib inoi hEreuo.
 Ií maíe éoruaí a úraiaí do báio,
 A meic Ceinneitig cnearbáin,
 Hí fear an maíe ticia ar,
 Hoáa nreomaraí ciontar.

CIONNAÍ.]

Victory
over the
foreigners
at Lime-
rick, A.D.
968.

Names of
the foreign
chieftains
slain.

Plunder of
Limerick.

LIII. O tpoepatap oen maíe leo a hatli corcair,
 ocur comairmí po imigret innairchi co matin. Ocur
 por marbpat etir aoidí ocur lá, co ndeátatar ipin
 dúin. Ro lenait beof ipin dúin, ocur po marbait ar na
 rraíab, ocur ipna taigib. Do tpoepatar and rin, tra,
 Carran laigheac, ocur Stabball mac Sigmail, ocur
 Etlla Treteall, ocur Ruamand, ocur Somairliu, ocur
 Manur Lumnig, ocur Tolbarb, ocur Inruit, ocur fíci
 cet leo. Ro himpet ocur po harget in dúin leo iarrin.
 Tucraí a peoit, ocur a degmairí íf a íadlaici allí
 allmarpa, a op íf a arget, a hetairí petca fipalli
 caíca daíca, ocur caíca ceneoil, appicir ipol rita raine-
 mail ruacmí, iter fcaploir íf uamí, ocur caí heoac
 aríena. Tuccaí aningena miní maccaíca etpoíca
 ecpamla, a hócmna blaí bpecppola, ocur a maccaimí

¹ *The fort*: i.e., until the foreigners had entered the fort of Luimnech, [Limerick], which then belonged to the Scandinavians. B. gives this passage thus: *Tangattar iarrin co mbuairécorcair, ocur ccomparope. Ro imtígreac an oíde co maidin rompa, ocur po leanpat na goill co maidin, po marbpat etir oíde ocur lá íad, co ndeátatar ipin dúin rompa, ocur po leanait por ipin dúin íad, ocur do po marbaí ar na rraíab ocur íf na taigib íad*: "They came afterwards with the victory of slaughter and exultation. They marched onwards that night until morning, and they pursued the

foreigners until morning; they killed them both night and day until they entered the fort before them; and they pursued them also into the fort, and killed them in the streets, and in the houses."

² *These*. B. reads, *topcpattar annrin maíe na ngall* .i., "there were slaughtered there these chiefs of the foreigners, viz."

³ *Carran Laighnech*: i.e., Carran of Leinster. The names of these chieftains do not occur in the Annals. B. gives them thus: "Carran Laighnech, and Stabail, son of Sigmail, and Eda Treteall [i.e., the hero], and Ruadhmond [i.e., Redmond], and Somarligh, and

[B.] I shall relate news that will please you,
O son of Cennedigh, the victorious!
Little less took we than an hundred heads
From the Gaill of the Island of Erinn.

[M.] Well hast thou, O Brian, maintained thy battle,
O son of Cennedigh, of the fair skin;
It is not known if good will come of it,
Nor do we know how.

How.]

LIII. When they came together after victory and ex-ultation, they marched that night until morning; and they killed *them* both night and day, until they had entered the fort.¹ They followed them also into the fort, and slaughtered them on the streets and in the houses. These² were killed by them there, viz., Carran Laighnech,³ Stabball son of Sigmall, and Etlla Tretel, and Ruamand, and Somarlid, and Manus of Luimnech, and Tolbarb, and Infuit, and twenty hundred; and the fort was sacked by them after that.⁴ They carried off their jewels and their best property, and their saddles beautiful and foreign; their gold⁵ and their silver; their beautifully woven cloth of all colours and of all kinds; their satins and silken cloth, pleasing and variegated, both scarlet and green, and all sorts of cloth in like manner. They carried away their soft, youthful, bright, matchless, girls; their blooming silk-clad young women; and their active, large, and well-

Victory over the foreigners at Limerick, A.D. 968.

Names of the foreign chieftains slain.

Plunder of Limerick.

Magnus of Luimnech, and Tobairinfuit." In the poem which follows (chap. liv.) the names of the slain chieftains are given thus: Carran, Stabball, Eda, Tretill Tuaidh [? of the North], Magnus Berna, Toralbh, Ruadhmand of Limerick. This reading makes Eda and Tretill two distinct persons—whereas both D. and B. in this place read Etalla, (or Etla), Tretill, D., and Eda Tretill, B.

⁴ After that. B. omits *iairrin*, and reads, *ocur tucpar*, without any stop.

⁵ Their gold. B. omits the words *ir a*

raolairi all allmarba, and reads, *a nóir ocuf a nairccet, ocuf a né-
daige aille allmarba gaéa data
etir ríol ocuf ríoda, ocuf ríric,
ocuf ríníat. Tugairt a mngéana
míne macdaéa, ocuf a nógmna
blante banda, ocuf a macaish
meapa mupneaca*. The reader will observe that B. has modernized the spelling throughout. But to notice every variation of orthography would swell these notes to an inconvenient bulk.

meir morglana. Tuccad in dúin, ocur in deghabá ro
 oluim diao ocur is deirgtened iarrin. Ročinoil uli
 in brait rin co enocanaib sanđail, ro marbait cač oen
 pob inéčta dib, ocur ro dairait cač oen pob indairčā.

Poem in
 celebration
 of the
 victory.

LIV. [Ocur do poine an file an laib ađa foirgell :

Al Matgamhain is maib rin,
 Al meic Cinneittis Cairil,
 Tugair na gulla ra ruais,
 Don turappa go sulcuaid.
 Do cuirir ar gall go ngoil,
 San ceat mórpa a Matgamhain,
 Hi scél bréige, aít is scél bect,
 Da éed dég, ann do tuitrat.
 Do tuit Capran dot laim luinn,
 Al úriain! a éind a comluinn!
 Is staball do tuit arsin,
 Le Catál mac Fađartais.
 Do tuit Eda is Treitill tuaid,
 Is Mađnar beina bonbenuaid,
 Is ba mór anár arsin,
 Topoll is Ruadmand luimniđ.
 Ro himnrad luimneac go léir leat;
 Ruccair a nór ra nairceat,
 Ro airđir a ndún re head,
 Tugair é ra mur tinead.
 Do éornair Muinain co maib,
 Al Matgamhain! a mórplaib!
 Tuccair a pí, ruatar teand,
 Goill dionnarba a hÉrind.
 Rí Muman is tu dar leam,
 Airđir Cairil na ceimend,
 Tiodlaic ór do luét lagaid,
 Robrat mór a Matgamhain.

Al matgamhain.]

¹ *The fort.* An dúin, B.

² *Afterwards.* B. omits iarrin,
 and reads, ro oluim diao, ocur
 deachaid, ocur deirgtemid.

³ *Fit for war.* Ğac aon pob ion-
 marbčā ann, B. "every one that
 was fit for being killed."

⁴ *The poet.* This poem occurs only

in B. It seems to be a dialogue be-
 tween Brian and Mathgamhain; and
 the Editor has added the letters [B.]
 and [M.], in the translation, to mark
 this.

⁵ *Fogartach.* See above, chap. li.,
 where D. calls him son of Feradach;
 but B. has there also Fogartach.

formed boys. The fort¹ and the good town they reduced to a cloud of smoke and to red fire afterwards.² The whole of the captives were collected on the hills of Saingel. Every one of them that was fit for war³ was killed, and every one that was fit for a slave was enslaved.

LIV. [And the poet⁴ made this poem to celebrate *the* event :

Poem in
celebration
of the
victory.

[B.] O Mathgamhain ! that is well !

O son of Cennedigh of Caisel,
Thou hast put the foreigners to rout,
By this march to Sulcoit.

Thou hast brought slaughter on the foreigners, with valour,
In this great battle, O Mathgamhain !
Not false the tale ! 'tis a tale of truth !
Twelve hundred ! there they fell.

[M.] Carran fell by thy impetuous hand,
O Brian ! thou chief in the combat !
And Staball fell after that

By Cathal, son of Fogartach.⁵

Eda and Tretill fell in the north,⁶
And Magnus Berna, fierce and hardy,
And great was the slaughter of them after that,
Torolbh and Ruadhmand of Luimnech.

Luimnech was totally ravaged by thee ;
Thou didst carry away their gold and their silver ;
Thou didst plunder their fort at the time ;
Thou didst surround it by a wall of fire.

[B.] For Mumhain hast thou well contended
O Mathgamhain ! thou great chief !
Thou hast given, O king, a stern defeat,
To banish the foreigners from Erin.

King of Mumhain, methinks thou art,
High king of Caisel, renowned,
Bestow gold on those who merit, }
They are many, O Mathgamhain !

O MATHGAMHAIN !]

⁶ In the north : i.e., in north Munster, or Thomond, see last line of p. 95. In B. is the following marginal note "*Eda Treateall, supra,*" which calls attention

to the fact that in the foregoing chapter Eda or Etila Tretill is spoken of as one man, whereas here we have two, Eda and Tretell. *Tretell* or *Tretill* signi-

Division of
the spoil.

Races of
the son of
Feradach.

Math-
gamhain
plunders
Munster.

Cathal,
son of
Feradach,
killed,
A.D. 968.

Math-
gamhain's
seven vic-
tories over
the foreign-
ers.

LV. Ro ordaiḡ, tona, Mathgamhain a cuit coirí com-
adair, ar dainib ír ar dligeadaib, ar beiraib, ar caen-
ertib, ar gail, ír ar gairced, do gač duni mar du-
dlig. Ír and, tpa, do ponta gpaḡaing mic Fepadaic,
accu .i. líní mór do gailrečaiḡ nangall i cnocanaib
ḡangail imacuap, ocur riat cpoma, ocur a lama
ar lap, ocur gillí na pluas ga maipercud inanḡeḡar,
do pait anma nangall ro marbait írin cač.

LVI. Da ponait, tpa, cpečā ocur aipḡnī ocur inpeḡa
mopa fo Muḡhain o Mathgamhain. Da ponet cpeic
moir leir for u Enna Anī, ocur ír dírde ro marbat
Cačal mac Fepadaic ruḡ ampač Epent. Ro gab,
imorro, ḡallū ocur bpaḡtī do fepaib Muḡhan coleir,
ro gab bpaḡtī Moelmuad mic ḡrain ar na gabail
fein apour. Ro gab bpaḡtī Donnubán mic Cačail
ru Ua Fioḡenti. Ro marb ruapḡletu gall ar cač tír,
ocur ro pain .i.iii. maḡmanḡ ar gallaib doneoč ír
cureḡ deḡḡ ár gall .i. maḡm Sengualand, ocur maḡm
in laig i Tpaḡraigí, ocur maḡm ar Macairí mór,
dinaḡdeḡrat ḡailḡ puirḡ laḡtí, ocur ḡailḡ lumniḡ
ait comḡail dínpuḡ Muḡhan, ḡar aipḡret Imliḡ, ocur
ḡá lá i forlongpuirḡ inḡi; ro marb, imorro, Math-

fies a^o hero. See pp. 52, line 4, and
84, line 12. Keating calls this chief-
tain Tretill tpein miled, "Tretill
the stout champion."

¹ *Ordered.* B. reads, a hantle na
lanḡe rín, ro ordaiḡ, 7c., "in ac-
cordance with this poem Mathgamhain
ordered, &c."

² *Persons.* B. omits ar dainib ír.

³ *Fair performances.* Ocur ar
caenmaepaib ocur ar comairḡtib, B.

⁴ *Son of Feradach,* i.e., Cathal, son
of Feradach, (or of Fogartach, as he is
called in B.,) chief of Delbhna mór,
(now the barony of Delvin, co. West-
meath,) who distinguished himself in
the battle as an auxiliary to Mathgam-
hain. See chap. li., p. 75. B. reads,
ḡpaḡaing mór aca, "a great race,"

making no mention of the son of Fera-
dach.

⁵ *Women.* The word gailreč here
used signifies a foreign woman, so that
do gailrečaiḡ na ngall, "the fo-
reign women of the foreigners," is tau-
tology.

⁶ *On the ground.* B. adds, ocur a
nḡepnanna rḡta, "and the palms
of their hands under them."

⁷ *Horse-boys.* Lit., gillies. B. reads,
ocur gilleaḡa an tḡluaiḡ, 7c.,
leaving the sentence unfinished and
omitting what follows in the text.

⁸ *Ui Enna of Ane.* B. reads, for
u nEnna Anone: "Ui Enna of
Aidhne," but Aine, now Knockany,
in the county Limerick, is the place
intended.

LV. Mathgamhain then ordered¹ to every one as he deserved, his proper and befitting share, according to persons² and rights, according to accomplishments and fair performances,³ according to bravery and valour. It was then they celebrated also the races of the son of Feradach,⁴ viz., a great line of the women⁵ of the foreigners was placed on the hills of Saingel in a circle, and they were stooped with their hands on the ground,⁶ and marshalled by the horseboys⁷ of the army behind them, for the good of the souls of the foreigners who were killed in the battle.

Division of the spoil.

Races of the son of Feradach.

LVI. Great spoils and plunders and ravages were now committed by Mathgamhain in Mumhain. By him great spoils were taken from the Ui Enna of Ane,⁸ and there it was that Cathal, son of Feradach,⁹ the king-soldier of Erin, was killed. He took the pledges and hostages of all the men¹⁰ of Mumhain; he took the hostages of Maelmuadh, son of Bran, having captured¹¹ himself first; he took the hostages of Donnabhán, son of Cathal, king of Ui Fidhgenti¹²; he killed the billeted soldiers¹³ of the foreigners on every territory; and he gave seven defeats to the foreigners, in which¹⁴ he made a red slaughter of the foreigners, viz., the defeat of Sen-gualainn, and the defeat of the Laegh in Tratraighe, and a defeat on Machaire-mór, when the foreigners of Port Lairge¹⁵ and the foreigners of Luimnech united in ravaging Mumhain, when they plundered Imlech and encamped two days there; but Math-

Mathgamhain plunders Munster.

Cathal, son of Feradach, killed, A.D. 968.

Mathgamhain's seven victories over the foreigners.

⁹ *Feradach*. B. calls this chieftain everywhere "the son of Fogartach;" and he is also so called in the Bodleian Annals of Inisfallen, where his death is recorded, A.D. 952, as Dr. O'Connor gives the date, but really 968.

¹⁰ *Of all the men*. B. reads *bpaigtoe* *pear* *Mumain uile*, *ocur* *do* *gab*, &c.

¹¹ *Having captured*. B. omits *an* *na gabat* *rem arbour*.

¹² *Ui Fidhgenti*. *Ua Fingenti*, D. *Ua Figeinte*, B. *Ua Figeinte*, Four M., more correctly.

¹³ *Billeted soldiers*. See chap. xl, p. 49, and chap. lvii, p. 85.

¹⁴ *In which*. *Do neoc in cuirto*, B.

¹⁵ *Of Port Lairge*. B. gives this passage thus: *uia noearnpat goill puirt lairge comotál ocur goill luimniú, ocur do anccret imleó, ocur dá lá a forlongport innto doib*: "when the foreigners of Port Lairge [Waterford] and of Luimnech [Limerick] made an union, and plundered Imlech [Emly], and had their camp there two days."

The Danes
driven from
Limerick
attempt the
conquest of
Wales, but
return.
A.D. 969.

gañain, ocur po mudais ocur po loipe lumneč po dó,
ocur po innarb imar lumniš dar muir co rabi bliad-
ain éair, ocur Ámlaib mac Ámlaib; ocur po tri-
allrat riš ūpetan do čornum, ocur po marbad tra
Ámlaib la riš ūpetan, ocur da počt imar ocur lonser
mór leir doriri, cor gab ar cuan iartapač lumniš,
[ocur] po marbad leo deolan litill ocur a mac. [Ro
aittreač ar rin ar cuan iartapač lumniš, ocur do
ponta cpeač ocur ipšala uača ar.

Math-
gamhain's
sovereignty
of Munster.

LVII. Ro gab imorpo Mačgañain riš Muñan co
poitren perrda peramail, ocur po marbad rišh ocur
taoiriš, tpeitill ocur trenmilič na ngall uile leir.

Conspiracy
formed
against
him.

Ro daerpat imorpo a maeir ocur a pectaireča, a ruait-
riš, ocur a nañraiš; ocur po bai ré bliadna hi láinriš
Muñan. Čio tra ačt ot conaire Donoabán mac Ca-
čail pí ūa ppičgeinnre, ocur Maelmuab mac ūrain
ri Derñuñan an poibairt ocur an pirdireač mór
bai por plaiter Mačgañina, ocur DaileCaip arčena,
po gab pioč, ocur porpat mór iad, ocur ba heccal la
Cloinn Cuire, ocur la heoganačt arčena in plaiter,
ocur in porlánuir, ocur an riš do točt co DaileCaip,
ocur co Clannaib lušdach añail boi hi ppičgair ocur
hi pparitine čoič. Ro čairnširpiot iapañ naeiñ ocur
pipeoin šomač la cloinn Corbmaic Caip an plaiter,
ocur in pollañnar co bráth, añail arberp an cpebal,
ocur in paib ocur in pili .i. Colman mac Leinin :

Prophecy
of St. Col-
man, son
of Lenin.

Clann Corbmaic Caip, co molar nglonn
brič leo an plaiter pial,
áčt triar, co tí flann.

¹ However. For imorpo, B. reads, tra.

² Them. The text of D. requires this word, but B. supplies the want by reading, pormuirč goill lumniš. "slew the men of Limerick."

³ In the east: i.e., in Wales.

⁴ They attempted. This passage is thus given in B.: ocur triallratar

riš ūpetan do gabail, ocur do ruacč imhar ocur lonser mór leir do ričiri ocur po gab ar cuan iartapač lumniš, ocur po marbad leir deollan litill, ocur a mac: "and they attempted to conquer the kingdom of Britain [i.e., Wales]; and Imar, accompanied by a great fleet, arrived again, and entered

gamhain,¹ killed and slew them²; and he burned Luimnech twice, and he banished Imar of Luimnech over the sea, so that he was a year in the east,³ and Amlaibh, son of Amlaibh; and they attempted⁴ the conquest of the kingdom of Britain; and Amlaibh, in the meantime, was killed by the king of Britain; and Imar, accompanied by a great fleet, arrived again in the western harbour of Luimnech, and Beolan Littill and his son were killed by them. [He then⁵ fixed his residence on the western harbour of Luimnech, from whence he made many spoils and battles.

The Danes driven from Limerick attempt the conquest of Wales, but return, A.D. 969.

LVII. Mathgamhain now assumed the sovereignty of Mumhain bravely, valiantly, and manfully; and the king, and chiefs, and champions, and brave soldiers of all the foreigners were slain by him. Their stewards and bailiffs, too, and their billeted soldiers and mercenaries were enslaved by him; and he continued six years in the full sovereignty of Mumhain. When Donnabhán, however, son of Cathal, king of Ui Fidhgenti, and Maelmuadh, son of Bran, king of Desmumhain, saw the prosperity and the great increase that followed the reign of Mathgamhain, and of the Dal Cais in like manner, great fury and envy seized them; and the Clann Cuirc, and the Eoghanacht also became alarmed at the supremacy and the government and the sovereignty having passed to the Dal Cais, and to the Clann Lughdach, as was foretold and prophesied for them. Verily saints and righteous men had prophesied, that to the race of Cormac Cas should belong the supremacy and the government for ever, as was said by the religious, the prophet, and poet, viz., Colman, son of Lenin:

Mathgamhain's sovereignty of Munster.

Conspiracy formed against him.

Prophecy of St. Colman, son of Lenin.

The Clann of Cormac Cas, of many deeds,
To them shall belong the noble sovereignty,
Except three, until Flann comes.

the western harbour of Luimnech, and Beollan Litill and his son were killed by him."

⁵ *He then.* From these words to line 5, ch. lxi. p. 92, *infra*, a defect, occasioned by the loss of some leaves in

.i. Plann Cíech a Dúrlar, tiefa re bhuinne bratha.
 Da heccal tra la hua Cairpre flaiter DaleCair for
 forbairt, ar fepann cloinne Corbmaic fuil fuilí¹.
 Caille Corbmaic ó hOclan go Luimneac, ocur ó Cnañ-
 choill go Luacair. Ir ar na raibírin tra ro ruibíuim
 rin.

LVIII. Do ronrat aon cobla² Maelmuad mac DRAIN,
 ocur Donnabán mac Caíail, ocur ímhar Luimni³, ocur
 Duibhenn, ocur ro iompaidíot ar Maíghaíain; ocur
 ir aise rin do rinne Maelmuad an laoidí acc tioni-
 rucca⁴ an coblaí⁵:

Maelmu-
adh's call
to battle.

Tionoilter fir Muían lú,
 Al laoidíar⁶ líonmhar Luimni⁷,
 Toirce⁸ runn, ar bar naghaid,
 Co druim nupar⁹ nEogadail.
 Toccbair¹⁰ cuccainn luét bar ttreb¹¹
 Ittir gallaib¹² ir gaoidealaib,
 Co ccuipem DaleCair na ccell
 Al hiaíab¹³ ána Epenn.
 Comarad¹⁴ fobraio na fir,
 Riumra ir re laoidíar¹⁵ Luimni¹⁶,
 Ní gabaitt uaim aórad,
 Bíd aítrec¹⁷ leó accomarad¹⁸.
 Ar mór an monar fobraio,
 Bíd aítrec¹⁹ leó an triall toccbaitt
 Bíd mór a ngréban ir a nglór,
 Leó bíd aítrec²⁰ a ttiomól.

Treachery
of Donna-
bhán, son of
Cathal.

LIX. Ocur ro feall Donnabán mac Caíail ar Maí-
 gháíain ina tigh féin, mar do rupáil ímhar Luimni³
 fair, ocur do tioniúlaic do Maolmuad mac DRAIN é,

D., has been supplied from B. The more modern orthography will be apparent to the Irish reader.

¹ Because they: sc., the Uí Cairpre, of whom Donnabhán or Donovan was the chieftain.

² The men: i.e., the men of the Dal Cais; Mathgamhain and his followers.

³ Assembling. The reader will observe that this poem begins with the verb tionoilter, and ends with the

i.e., Flann Cithach from Durlus, who will appear immediately before the day of judgment. The Ui Cairpre, however, became alarmed at the increase of the sovereignty of the Dal Cais, because they¹ were in occupation of the territory of the race of Cormac, to wit, Caille Cormaic, from Oclan to Luimnech, and from Cnam-coill to Luachair. It was for these causes therefore they felt so.

LVIII. Then Maelmuadh, son of Bran, and Donnabhán, son of Cathal, and Imar of Luimnech, and Duibhgenn, united into one host, and revolted against Mathgamhain; and it was on that occasion Maelmuadh made this poem when collecting the host :

Maelmuadh's call to battle.

Let the men of Mumhain be assembled by you,
 O heroes of populous Luimnech !
 Come forward now right a head
 To the very high hill of Eoghabhail.
 Raise around us the people of your households,
 Both Gaill and Gaedhil,
 Until we drive the Dal Cais of the churches
 From the noble lands of Erin.
 The men² attempt competition
 With me and with the heroes of Luimnech,
 They will yield me no reverence,
 They shall repent their competition.
 Great is the work they attempt ;
 They shall repent the effort they make,
 Though great their uproar and their noise,
 They shall repent their assembling³.

LIX. And Donnabhán, son of Cathal, in his own house, betrayed Mathgamhain, having been instigated to it by Imar of Luimnech ; and he delivered him to Maelmuadh, son of Bran, and to Imar, in violation of⁴

Treachery of Donnabhán, son of Cathal.

noun *trionóil*; thus fulfilling the law of Irish poetry, which requires a bardic composition of this sort to begin and end with the same word. It is probable that the poems here inserted were not to be found in the older MS. D.

⁴ *In violation of*: i.e., in sacrilegious opposition to the wishes and influence of the saints and clergy. The word *paragad* is always used in the sense of a *sacrilegious* violation of some sacred place, thing, compact, &c.

Murder of
Math-
gamhain,
at the in-
stigation
of Mael-
muadh.
A.D. 976.

ocur do línar, tar papuccaó naen ocu rruite Muínan uile. 1r í comairle do ronaó ann, do tionnlaiseó ó Donnabán Matganiain do Mhaolmuad mac Úrain ocu do gallaib, ocu ré ar comairce Colum mic Ciaraigáin comarba Úairri ar ná marbta, ocu ar ná dallta é. Do ruactatar dona muinntir comarba Úairri, ocu muinntir Maolmuad in aigáib Matganiina co Cnoc an rebráib ar rleib [Caen], ocu ro ba Maolmuad ocu comarba Úairri oc Raitin móir hi rfeapairbh Muig. Ro aetain imorro Maolmuad da muintir an tan no raigáib Matganiain na laim, a marbaó ro cettoir. Cíó tra aet ro marbaó Matganiain as Maelmuad, ocu ba reri do ná derbaó, oir ba gniom docair móir do é.

Brian's
lament.

Ocu rainice rir an rceóil rin co Úrian ocu co DaleCair, ocu do batar aga a came co móir. Ocu a dubairt Úrian an marbta becco ann :

Úar Matganiina ar doilíg lem,
Aipor Cairil na cceimenn,
A tuitim—ar móir an gniom,
Muna tuiteó le hainpúig.
Truaig lem naé hi ceat no hi ccleit
Do ráccbaó é, ar rceat arceit,
Suil do beiaó taoó dabair
Le drocbreitir n'Donnabáin.
Do tiorlaic Donnabán donn
Matganiain ba cruair comilann,
Do Maolmuad ba becc ablaró,
Aipor Cairil do marbath.
Do Mhaolmuad ní gniom cóir
A marbaó an rúg ro móir,
A milleó leir ro ba laim,
Ili raáaó leir da rreann.

¹ *Comharba of Barri*: i.e., bishop of Cork. *Comharba* signifies a successor in any episcopal or abbatial

See. All bishops of Cork are termed *Comharba*, or successors of Barri, the founder of the See of Cork (7th

the saints and clergy of all Mumhain. This was the counsel that was acted on there: Mathgamhain was delivered up by Donnabhán to Maelmuadh, son of Bran, and to the foreigners, although he was under the protection of Columb, son of Ciaragán, Comharba of Barri, that he should not be killed or blinded. The people of the Comharba of Barri, and the people of Maelmuadh came to meet Mathgamhain to Cnoc-an-Rebhraidh on Sliabh [Caein]; and Maelmuadh and the Comharba of Barri were at Raithin mór, in Fir Muighi. But Maelmuadh instructed his people, when Mathgamhain should come into their hands, to kill him forthwith. Mathgamhain, therefore, was killed by Maelmuadh; and it would have been better for him that he had not done so, for it proved to be a deed of great ruin to him.

Murder of Mathgamhain, at the instigation of Maelmuadh, A.D. 976.

And the knowledge of this fact reached Brian and the Dal Cais, and they greatly lamented him; and Brian uttered this short elegy on the occasion:

Brian's lament.

The death of Mathgamhain to me is grievous,
 The high king of Caisel the renowned²;
 His fall—great the deed,—
 Unless he had fallen by a high king.
 Woe is me! that it was not in battle or combat
 He was left *dead*, under cover of his shield,
 Before he had trusted in friendship
 To the treacherous word of Donnabhán.
 Donnabhán, the brown-haired, delivered up
 Mathgamhain of brave combat
 To Maelmuadh; small was the renown,
 The high king of Caisel to murder.
 For Maelmuadh it was no righteous deed
 To murder the very great king;
 To destroy him was his delight;
 He shall not escape vengeance, if I can.

cent.) Ware, *Bishops* (ed. Harris) p. 556.

² *Renowned*. Lit. "Caisel (i.e.,

Cashel,) of the degrees;" *ceim* (*plur.* *ceimenn*,) is a step, a degree of rank or nobility.

Seit maðma móra ar Gallaid
 Do bhuir go maic Matgamhain,
 Maíom Aine, cruaid a lainne,
 Maíom in laig i tTrattraige.
 Maíom in Macaire buíde
 Ar rluas an dá deas dúine,
 Ro tiomairce ocuf ro meath,
 Co ro loirce orra luimneach.
 Mebaró mo éiríderi at cíó
 Muna díoglaíra an tairdriú;
 Do gēbra moirúg san tlar,
 No do gēbaron dian bār.

bacs.

Date and
circum-
stances of
Math-
gamhain's
murder,
A.D. 976.

LX. Do marbað Matgamhain mac Ceinneitig le
 Donnaðán mac Caðail, ocuf le Maolmuad mac Úrain
 amlaid rin. Naoi mbliadna tar éir caða Sulcoirde
 rin, ocuf an tper bliadain .x. ar nécc Donncharð mic
 Cellačain rí Cairil, ocuf in toctháð bliadain perccat
 ar marbað Corbmaic mic Cuilennáin, ocuf an fichet-
 háð bliadain ar marbað Congalaiú mic Maoilmúig
 rí Teimrac, ocuf an ceitrimháð bliadain pé ccac Teim-
 rac rin.

Math-
gamhain
throws the
Gospel to
the clergy.

An tan tra at connairc Matgamhain an cloideam
 noct éuice da bualað, ir amlaid ro bai, ocuf roirccela
 dairri aigi ara uet oca comairce, do diubraic urcor
 de do cum muintire Coluim mic Ciaraúain, ar dáig na
 ríreð an fuil é, co tarla an roirccel in uet traccairc
 do muinntir Coluim mic Ciaraúain. Roirccelit an luet
 ar eolač ann co fuil urcor roighe ann ón cnoc co
 poile.

Maelmu-
adh's taunt.

At connairc imorro Maolmuad tairle an cloideam
 noct ag bualað Matgamhina, ocuf eð raðairc etorra,
 ticc aithe fair, ocuf ro eirig arpin, ocuf ro gabad a
 eic dó do imteet. Riarpaird an cléirec cíó do dénað;
 atberc Maolmuad, leirig an per utt da tti éuccat.

¹ *The Leigh*: see p. 83, line 23. But the MS. gives also the reading, maróm | Rilaig, "a defeat at Rilach," which place is not known to the editor.

Seven great defeats to the Gaill
 Mathgamhain gave well ;
 The defeat at Aine—by the hardness of his lance—
 The defeat at the Laigh¹ in 'Tratraighe ;
 The defeat of Machaire Buidhe
 Over the army of the two brave men :
 They assembled [their troops] but failed,
 For he burned Luimnech over them.
 My heart will burst, I feel,
 If I avenge not the high king ;
 I shall receive my death without flinching,
 Or he² shall receive a sudden death.

THE DEATH

LX. Mathgamhain, son of Cennedigh, was killed by Donnobhán, son of Cathal, and by Maelmuadh, son of Bran, in this manner. This was nine years after the battle of Sulcoit, and the thirteenth year after the death of Donnchadh, son of Ceallachan, king of Caisel, and the sixty-eighth year after the killing of Cormac, son of Cuilennán, and the twentieth year after the killing of Congalach, son of Maelmithigh, king of Temhair, and that was the fourth year before the battle of Temhair.

Date and
circum-
stances of
Math-
gamhain's
murder,
A.D. 976.

And now, when Mathgamhain saw the naked sword about to strike him, having the Gospel of Barri on his breast to protect him, he threw it towards the people of Columb, son of Ciaragán, with the intent that the blood should not touch it, and the Gospel fell into the breast of a priest of the people of Columb, son of Ciaragán. It is declared by those who are acquainted with the place that the hills are the full flight of an arrow asunder.

Math-
gamhain
throws the
Gospel to
the clergy.

Maelmuadh, however, saw the flashing of the naked sword striking Mathgamhain, although they were as far asunder as the eye could see ; and he knew it, and arose then, and his horses were yoked for him to depart. The clerk asked him what he was to do ; Maelmuadh answered, "Cure yonder man³ if he should come to thee."

Maelmu-
adh's taunt.

¹ Or he : i.e., Maelmuadh, or Molloy. | hain. This was, of course, said in
² Yonder man. Meaning Mathgam- | irony and insult.

He is
cursed by
the clergy,
and a
prophecy
uttered of
his death.

Imēigir Maolmuad uaitib, ocur ticc an clepeč aithe
fair. Peccaistep é, ocur eapcaíniō zo diočra Maol-
muad. Ir amlaib ro bai ag denam na fairtine,
ocur é acc eapcaíne Maolmuad, coneberp:

Ir Aeth rott muirri, fer imill Aíri,
Ra tuaid na gréine, la cruaid na gaithe,
In gníom do ronair bíō duit a méla,
In ní mo ndernair ní tú rof mela,
Bíō buán a dočar taethrat do maicne,
Fairpirt do féla, bíō daera tairme,
Bíō laeg bo bairi taethair do aendail.
Ih tu rof mairpe, rof muirpe Aethan.

is aeth.

Fulfilment
of this pre-
diction.

LXI. Ocur ro comāilleō tra an fairtine rin amail
ro tairngir in clepeč, doig ir é Aōb mac Gebennais
don Déiri bicc ro mārb Maolmuad ag Aeth Dealaig
lečta, ar na raibail i mbočán ferna, do ar mbreit
a rúl uad tre eapcaíne an clepuig, do gúib, umorpo]
in comoi comād imasur allečta iman enoc. Da
comailled in nirin por, daig irand ita lečt Math-
gaína allaner do enuc, ocur lečt Maolmuad alla-
tuaid, ocur ni tairneno grian fair co bpač, amail ro
tircan in clepeč, ocur in cpedal. Do lotar in da
raharit iarrin co Colum, ocur innuirt do, ocur do
berait in porcela ina učt. Ir amlaib dabi in porcela,
ocur braengal pola Mathgaína fair, ocur cair in
clepeč cpedal co dicra, ocur do rignu in taircetal
pačtačta and, ocur arberp in laib rea:

The Gospel
restored to
the bishop.

The clerk's
claim to
the legal
fines for the
murder.

¹ One meeting: i.e., one encounter or hostile meeting.

² Alder hut: i.e., a hut built of the alder tree.

³ The Lord. Here we return to the text of D., and, as the reader will observe, to the more ancient orthography.

B. omits in comoi, "the Lord," and reads, gomaō imfoccur [imasur, D., omitting the aspirated f.] a lečt mon ccnoc; a difference of spelling only.

⁴ South side. Allaner [for allaner], D. Allatay, B.

⁵ The two priests. B. reads, do

Maelmuadh went from them, and the clerk recognised him, and became angered, and fervently cursed Maelmuadh; and uttered a prophecy thus, while he was cursing Maelmuadh, and said:

He is cursed by the clergy and a prophecy uttered of his death.

It is Aedh that shall kill thee, a man from the border of Aifi,
On the north of the sun, with the harshness of the wind;
The deed thou hast done shall be to thee a regret,
That for which thou hast done it, thou shalt not enjoy.
Perpetual shall be its misfortune, thy posterity shall pass away,
Thy history shall be forgotten, thy tribe shall be in bondage,
The calf of a pet cow shall overthrow thee at one meeting¹;
Thou shalt not conquer it—Aedhan shall slay thee.

IT IS AEDH.

LXI. And this prediction, as it was foretold by the clerk, was fulfilled; for it was Aedh, the son of Gebennach of the Deisi-Beg, that slew Maelmuadh at the ford of Belach Lechta, having found him in an alder hut,² after being deprived of his eyes through the curse of the clerk, who had also prayed] the Lord³ that his grave should be near that hill. That was likewise verified; for Mathgamhain's grave is on the south side⁴ of the hill, and Maelmuadh's grave on the north side, and the sun never shines on it, as the clerk, the religious, had foretold. The two priests⁵ then went to Columb, and they told him, and they placed the Gospel in his breast. And so the Gospel was, and the blood of Mathgamhain was sprinkled on it; and the religious⁶ clerk wept bitterly, and he composed there a prophetic prediction, and uttered this poem:

Fulfilment of this prediction.

The Gospel restored to the bishop.

The clerk's claim to the legal fines for the murder.

cuattar, imorro na raccaprt ar
pin co Colum mac Ciaragán, ocu
imurrt do Matgamhain do mar-
tar: "The priests went after this to
Colum, son of Ciaragán, and told him
that Mathgamhain was killed."

⁶ Religious. Or "faithful," "be-
lieving." B. reads, ocu cñr an
cléne ac tarccetarl na paitime,
conrt ann acbept: "and the cleric
wept whilst composing the prophecy,
and then he said."

Bepdar ino trí cumala
 Itri bec [ir] mór
 Ungi dargut findrumi
 Bo ocuf ungi dó.
 Cuit in céit fir carmaithi,
 Ungi dargut gíl,
 Nuéú cunig ní armo,
 Hí heccail dó a éin.
 Cuit in deáir tanaí,
 Nuéú beir aét bo,
 Diaid do met a fergí
 Du cunig adó.
 Ungi don ór oílarraic
 Cuit in tref fir,
 Bepid and anabair,
 Oligid and arber.

ber.

Math-
gamhain's
victories.

Ba moir tra in peol rin; darg ir érin po fepir arbour
 gallu aníarmumain. Ro bpir, am, in laeé rin ceéir
 caéa fopéu, conid ar rin po éan Mac Liac:

Ocuf na ceéir caéa
 Fop gallaib Glinni Data
 Ro bpir Mathgamhain met ngal
 Tuaid i tulais Tuadmuman.

¹ *Cumhals*. "Cumhal" is a Brehon law term, signifying a fine or forfeit of three cows; but the word is used generally for any fine, without reference to the value. B. reads, bepdar na trí cumhala, "let the three cumhals be paid."

² *Great*. The reading of B. ir mór, "and great," which seems necessary to the sense, has been adopted, within brackets in the text.

³ *Findrumi*: see above, p. 50. This word is very difficult, and is left untranslated. It seems to mean here *bright, shining*: gíl, in the next stanza, being evidently given as its equivalent.

⁴ *He demands*. Cunig here and in the last line of the next quatrain is for cunoiğ, ("asks," "demands,") omitting, as usual in this MS., the eclipsed or assimilated medial letter. B. reads here, Ğin go ccunniğ, and in the next place (line 12 of the poem), co ccunniğ a dó, a mere difference of spelling.

⁵ *Glitter*. Lit., "of the golden flame;" oíloirici, B.

⁶ *Share*. Cunoiğ, B., "liability:" which is wrong. The last two lines are given thus in B:

Bepid mur por ber
 Oligid mur por oligh.

Let three cumhals¹ be paid for it,
 Both small and great²;
 An ounce of silver Findruni,³
 A cow, and an ounce of gold.
 The share of the first man whom we love,
 An ounce of white silver,
 He demands⁴ no more,
 He need not fear for its guilt.
 The share of the second good man,
 He shall take but a cow,
 Great will be his anger,
 He demands two.
 An ounce of gold, of golden glitter⁵,
 Is the share⁶ of the third man;
 He takes what I say,
 He is entitled to what he takes.

LET BE PAID.

This was, indeed, a great event⁷; for it was he who first swept the foreigners out of Iar-Mumhain; and more-
 over, this hero had gained four battles over them, of which
 Mac Liac sang:

And the four battles
 Over the foreigners of Glenn Datha
 Mathgamhain gained—great valour,—
 On the north, in the hills of Tuadh-Mumhain.

But this reading would violate the law of Irish poetry alluded to above, p. 86, note 3. Perhaps *ben* and *oligh* should be transposed, and then these two lines may be rendered—

"Pay for him what is lawful.

What is lawful is what I state:"

But the reading in the text is more correct.

⁷ *Event.* B. gives this clause, with some variations, thus: *Da mór tra in parrine rin ocuf ba mór in pcel, doig ipé an Matgamhain rin no pcpior goill a Murhain an túp, amhail no can Mac Liag,*

Ocup na ceirne cata

Ar gallaibí Glunne Datha:

"Great was this prophecy, and great the event; for it was this Mathgamhain who first swept the foreigners out of Munster, as Mac Liag sang:

And the four battles

Over the foreigners of Glenn Datha,"

omitting the other two lines given in the text; which, however, are necessary to complete the sense. The poem which follows, within brackets, chap. lxii., ending on page 101, is found only in B.

The blind
bard's
elegy.

LXII. [Comṛ ann do rinne dall Maṭṣaṁna in
marṭha ro:

Ḍro aniu an nuar ṡáirṡuḷ ṡreṇnaiṡ
 ʃuḷ a tṡír O tṡoirḍealḃaiṡ,
 Ḃiarḍ, ir ní ṡáir ṡan ṡaṁna
 Ḍr noḷ an máil Maṭṣaṁna.
 Maṭṣaṁna! minḍ muiṡe ʃáil,
 Mac Cinneittíṡ mic Ḥorḃáin,
 Ḃa lán iarṡar ṡoinaṁ ḍé,
 Ṭo ʃí bṡuṡmar Ḃoroinie.
 Maṭṣaṁna! miḍaḃ an ṡein,
 Mac cupata Cinneittíṡ,
 Suairḃe don ʃíṡ don ʃoighe an beḍṡ,
 Ṣoilḷ ḍo ḍiocar na noibedṡ.
 Hoḃa tairneḍ ar Ṭhalccair
 Laḃe mar laḃe Luimniṡ Linnglair,
 Muna ʃellta ʃor an ʃuṡ,
 Ḍr ṡaerḃairḃeṡt no ar ṡimbruṡ.
 Ṭa tṡuṡ ṡáḃair ngairin don ṡraṡ
 Ṭo bi aṡ Taroṡ mac Mailḃellaṡ,
 Ṭar lino ni ʃaṡaḍ a clí
 Ṣombeir ar Ḃrino ṡaén ʃuṡ.
 Cíḍ ʃo ceṡḍmar ní ḍé,
 Láin ḍo cup re ʃairtine,
 Ro eiríṡ leiriuḷ ʃé lá
 Uṡṡa ṡaḃa haṡeṡta.
 Ḍ Ḍilḃe Imḃiṡ áin,
 Ocuṡ a ṡeoḃain Heaṡáin,
 Ḃíḍ maír ḍíl Maṭṣaṁna ḍé,
 Ṭa cup ar ḃar ccomairḃe.
 O ḍo ṡecharḍ, ʃéim co ʃaṡ,
 Ṣo Ṭún Ṣairi ṡonṡaḍaḃ,
 Hoḃar ʃeḃmarḍ Ḃrian re báirḍ
 Ṭa tṡoirḃ i tṡeḃ nṬonnabáin.

¹ *Loud to-day.* The metre of this first line is wrong. Perhaps we should read, Ḍro aniu an ṡáir ṡreṇnaiṡ, or Ḍro aniu ṡáirṡuḷ ṡreṇnaiṡ,

"Loud to-day a clamorous shout of woe;" the other words being mere expletives, which were perhaps originally intended as a gloss. Ḍnnuar

LXII. [And it was on that occasion that Mathgamhain's blind *bard* made this elegy : The blind bard's elegy.

Loud to-day¹ the piercing wail of woe
 Throughout the land of Ui Toirðhelbhaigh ;
 It shall be—and it is a wail not without cause,
 For the loss of the hero Mathgamhain.
 Mathgamhain ! the gem of Magh Fáil,
 Son of Cennedigh, son of Lorcán,
 The western world was full of his fame—
 The fiery king of Boromha.
 Mathgamhain ! noble the offspring !
 Heroic son of Cennedigh !
 Delightful to the king was the shock he caused,
 In banishing the foreigners for their misdeeds.
 Never appeared amongst the Dal Cais,
 A hero like the hero of Luimnech, of the green pool,
 Had not the king met treachery,
 From baseness or from weakness.
 When he carried off a black steed of the stud,
 Which belonged to Tadhg, son of Maelcellaigh,
 We thought that he would not have left his body
 Until he had become sole king of Erin.
 Why should we cast away any of it,
 To raise our hand against prophecy ;
 By him were gained in his day
 The battles of every engagement.
 O Ailbhe ! of noble Imleach,
 And, O thou deacon Neasan—
 Good was Mathgamhain's fate in this
 That he was put under your protection.
 When he went in his prosperous career
 To Dún Gaifi the wound-giving,
 It was not in friendship he shunned Brian,
 By going to the house of Donnabhán.

is probably for an *fuair*, "the shout," (for an *fuair*) be retained, the line
 or "the sound;" which is expletive and may be literally rendered, "Loud to-
 unnecessary; but if the word *annuair* day, the sound of clamorous woe-shout."

Since he would not come, O Brian, hither
 Unto us to take counsel,
 Take thou the sovereignty, as was foretold,
 Of the five provinces with high valour.
 As long as you were together
 Good was your brotherhood,
 But there was left—mighty deed—
 Injustice to the junior by the senior.
 A poem should be made for them,
 The Dal Cais will not be in their true fate
 Until the king the tower of Tuaidhe falls,
 And the king of cold Uladh.
 The defeat of Magh Morgain, in the plain,
 Was given by Brian and Mathgamhain;
 It was not necessary to purchase a foreigner
 Down on the road of Seangualainn.
 From Ath-na-nech, of the armour,
 'Twas there the great defeat was given;
 The foreigners did not recover their countenances,¹
 Until they had reached the stout Ath Toradcle.
 When they had come hither,
 The foreigners and the Tradraighe,
 They had left many shields and spears
 At Ath Cliath of the victories.
 It was not right in the rough foreigners
 To come against Mathgamhain;
 Not without shame did they escape from him,
 From hence through the bitter salt water.
 I shall not revile the foreigners,
 Because of my friendship with Dubhgenn;
 Much of evil did he inflict on them in his time,
 The man to whom they gave counsel.
 He took from them many tributes—
 It is not easy to reckon them.
 Did not the march prove disgraceful² to themselves—
 Which they make here upon Sulcoit?

where they took refuge. But it is possible that there may have been some ford called Ath Toradcle, in the Dal Cais country.

² *Disgraceful*. For meba^l, "disgraceful," perhaps we should read me-
 ba^u, "Do they not remember the march?"

Hír cóir do léit Cuinn cain,
 Se do nia a ccomhairdín,
 Tugram a mbangraig don dano,
 Anuas do chandgail Cloetran.
 Cumain le Dál eCair céo cell
 Mar do cuamar ar Gaet Gleann,
 Is ar réit feargail aithra
 Do ruined lón Matgamina,
 Ro ráir Matgamain don muid
 Driúir is comailir,
 So fuicead léit fir nor marb
 San tír aithreó aiteanngarb.
 Hocar duthaig do mac Brian
 Míolaear ar Matgamain,
 Ba dúca dó taear giall
 Do ní Dál eCair na ceuadéir.
 Sion go léigtea laoi go buaib
 Ag caoinead Matgamina muar,
 Do fearad mór dulc pé lá
 Don luét fuil hi bpurc arda.

[ART.]

The reign
 of Brian in
 Munster.

LXIII. Rogab, imorro, Brian mac Chenedig ic
 Daileair acetoir ar marbad Mathgamina; ocur nír
 bo cloé ininad ugi ren, ocur nír bo rop ininad larig,
 aét ba tren ininad trein, ocur ba tend iar tend.
 Daronad, imorro, cocad rægtech rætreé ríblac ruab-
 reá nemiæ nemertneé leirde, ocur po degoiglad a
 bratair leir. Robi in nigi caéac coccach congalaé
 inriúac aigheac eadad, toreaé na nigi rin. Robi,
 imorro, in nigi rberaé rabad romemnaé rítemail rona
 romaineaé raibir fleáac fuirigech roéamail rodeoir
 a dære. Ní da rcelair reic coleic rin nír.

¹ Then Brian. Here we return to the text of D.

² Undertook. Ro ríogad, B. Imor-
 ro, om. B.

³ Redress. Acc, B.

⁴ And. Ocur, om. B.

⁵ An egg. Uige rin, B.

⁶ But he was. Aét maró tren ar
 éreoir, ocur tren in ininad éreoir,

B. The meaning is, that the enemy found themselves to have gained nothing by the murder of Mathgamhain. Brian was as great a warrior and as valiant a champion as his brother had been.

⁷ War. Coccad ríblac reit-
 nech nemineé nemertneé lei-
 rum, B.

⁸ His reign. This passage is given

The comely *people of* Leth Cuinn ought not
 (Altho' they do so,) to boast,
 We brought their fair studs from the Bann,
 Down to the ships of Clothrann.
 The Dal Cais, of the hundred churches, remember
 How we over ran Gaeth-Glenn,
 When upon the illustrious Fergal's shield,
 Mathgamhain's meal was cooked.
 Mathgamhain uttered on the plain
 A threat which was fulfilled,
 That he would leave there the tomb of a man he killed,
 In the uneven rough-furzed country.
 It was not natural for the son of Bran
 To act cowardly towards Mathgamhain;
 It would have been more natural for him to send hostages
 To the king of Dal Cais, of the hard shields.
 Although calves are not suffered to go to the cows,
 In lamentation for the noble Mathgamhain:
 There was inflicted much evil in his day
 By those who are in Port-Arda.

Loud.]

LXIII. Then Brian,¹ son of Cennedigh, undertook² the redress³ of the Dal Cais forthwith, after the murder of Mathgamhain; and⁴ he was not a stone in the place of an egg⁵; and he was not a wisp in the place of a club; but he was⁶ a hero in place of a hero; and he was valour after valour. He then made an invading, defying, rapid, subjugating, ruthless, untiring war,⁷ in which he fully avenged his brother. His reign,⁸ at the beginning of his reign, was one full of battles, wars, combats, plundering, ravaging, unquiet. But at its conclusion, this reign at length became bright, placid, happy, peaceful, prosperous, wealthy, rich, festive, giving of banquets, laying foundations. Some of his adventures are here shortly related.

The reign
of Brian in
Munster.

thus in B.—Rob í rin an riúe cocc-
 tach, congatac, ariúneac, iongatac,
 earratac, a ctopac na riúe rin.
 Robí imoíne, an riúe riúbae,
 riúbae, riúne-imnae, riúne-imnae,
 riúbae, riúbae, riúbae, riúbae-

ach, riúneacach a riúneac. Ní ra
 riúneacach imoíne riúneac co riúneac.
 This description must be understood
 as referring to the reign of Brian in
 Munster only: not to his reign as
 king of Ireland.

* H 3

Plunder of
the islands
of the
Shannon,
A.D. 977.

LXIV. Romarbad, tra, lmar ocup a da meic la
Úrian; Dubcenn ocup Cualladh la huib Domhnaill Cor-
cobaircinn muir moir, ocup muir da Dromann,
ocup inretha uli in cuain iarrin; .i. caē du irabadar
mna, ocup macama ocup bantraēta na ngall. Da
rpuē tra op, ocup arset imda maini, ocup maēiura
imda ecrainla irna hinrib rin ocup ir na portuib.

Donna-
bhán unites
with Har-
oid, Danish
king of
Munster.

They are
both slain
by Brian,
A.D. 978.

Ro cuiperair, tra, Donnubán Ccalt mac lmar
cuisi ar marbad a atar, ocup ro ruzrat gall Muman e.
Ro cuair iarrin ar cpeiē muib rinogenti, ocup ro
gabrat buar diairmiti, ocup ro airzrat Caēraig Cuan,
ocup ro marbrat a dani, ocup ro marbrat Donnubán
mac Caēal, in teēt mbais, ri ua rinogenti, ocup ro
marbrat Ccalt mac lmar ri gall, ocup ro cuipret
ar dimor ar galluib, ocup tuerat buar diairmiti leo.
In dapa bliadain ar marbad Mathgamna rin.

Brian's
message
to Mael-
muadh to
demand
Eric.

LXV. [Ir annrin ro cuir Úrian teēta co Maelmuadh
mac Úrain diarraib epea aēratar .i. Matgamna mac
Ceinneitig, .i. Cogaran giolla graēa do Úrian eirein,
ocup atberet Úrian an laith:—

His poeti-
cal address
to the
messenger.

Eirigh a Choccarám cair,
Co Maelmuadh an ruzec rinoglar,
Go macaib Úrain ar buan rat,
Ir co macaib ua nēaēdaē.

¹ By Brian. B. omits the words
a da meic la Úrian, and conse-
quently represents lmar, Dubcenn,
and Cualladh, [lmar ocup Dub-
genn ocup Cualladh, B.] as having
been killed by the Hua Domhnaill of
Coreobhaiscinn.

² Inis-mór, or "Big island." It
seems as if a line had been omitted
here in D.; for B. reads la Hua
nDomhnaill Chocobaircinn in
mair Cathaig bliadain ian mar-
bad Matgamna. Ro harpceō leo
rin muir, ocup muir moir, ocup
muir da Dromann ocup inretha
an cuain uile arēna. "By Hua

Domhnaill of Coreobhaiscinn in Inis
Cathaigh, the year after the murder
of Mathgamhain. Finn Inis and Inis
Mór, and Inis Da Dromann were
plundered by them, and the islands of
the whole harbour likewise."

³ Harbour: viz., the Harbour of
Limerick, or mouth of the Shannon.
It is evident from these words, and
those that follow, that the text is de-
fective; for it is impossible that two
men could have been killed in more
islands than two. We are, therefore,
under the necessity of preferring the
text of B, as given in note ².

⁴ Silver. B. reads, Do rpuē op

LXIV. Imar and his two sons had been killed by Brian¹; Dubhcenn and Cuallaid by the Ui Domhnaill, of Corcobhaiscinn in Inis-mór,² and in Inis-da-Drumand, and in the other islands of the harbour,³ afterwards; namely, every place in which the wives and children and women of the foreigners were. There were found gold and silver⁴ in abundance, much of wealth and various goods in those islands and in the fortresses.

Plunder of the islands of the Shannon. A.D. 977.

Then Donnabhán invited Aralt, the son of Imar, unto him, after his father had been killed, and the foreigners of Mumhain made him king. He [Brian⁵] went afterwards on a foray into Ui Fidhgenti, and they took cattle innumerable; and they plundered Cathair Cuan,⁶ and they killed its people; and they killed Donnabhán, son of Cathal, the ripe culprit,⁷ the king of Ui Fidhgenti; and they killed⁸ Aralt, son of Imar, king of the foreigners, and they made a prodigious⁹ slaughter of the foreigners, and they carried away with them cattle innumerable. This was the second year after¹⁰ the killing of Mathgamhain.

Donnabhán unites with Harold, Danish king of Munster.

They are both slain by Brian, A.D. 978.

LXV. [Then Brian sent a messenger to Maelmuadh, the son of Bran, to demand from him the Eric¹¹ of his brother, Mathgamhain, son of Cennedigh, viz., Cogarán, who was the confidential officer of Brian. And Brian spake this poem:—

Brian's message to Maelmuadh to demand Eric.

Go, O Cogarán, the intelligent,
Unto Maelmuadh of the piercing blue eye,
To the sons of Bran of enduring prosperity,
And to the sons of the Ui Eachdach.

His poetical address to the messenger.

ocur maítepa iomra ele ip na hinneib, ocur ip na poiteab rin: "There were found gold and many other goods in the islands, and in those fortresses."

⁵ He [Brian]. B reads, 'Do cuairt iarrpin Brian. "Brian went afterwards," which interprets the text of D.

⁶ Cathair Cuan. Catraig Cuan, D. Catair Cuan, B.

⁷ Culprit. B. omits the words, in teict mbang.

⁸ Killed. Ro gabat, B., "They took."

⁹ Prodigious. Ar mór, B., "A great slaughter."

¹⁰ After. Iar, B. The following chapter is an interpolation which occurs only in B.

¹¹ Eric. That is, the fine payable by the Brehon Law for the murder of Mathgamhain.

Biarraib doib gur na rátaib
 Cio mar marbhat mo bratair,
 Cio mar marbhatar na fir,
 Maighain mac Ceinneitig.
 Maire do marb luét aneoidig;
 Maire do marb mac Ceinneitig;
 Mór an míoraí gurhfeir de
 Beir ac Iniar ana aige.
 Dó mór do maireó rin,
 Teraó taib mic Ceinneitig,
 Ní maireó Dalcair calma,
 Teraó taib attigerna.
 Ní maireó Longarán lán,
 Na Eitigern, na Occán,
 Na Conaing cruaid na cepeé,
 Na Ceinneitig caoin cumneac.
 Ireó deapait na fir,
 Dal cCair rú ar uaimib,
 Go mberat ruatar go raé,
 Gomba huathair hui Eadac.
 Glanna Corbmaic iccén,
 Na bío do éicé clanne Heill,
 [1 tír coiccué bíó] gac dpeain,
 Manbair leó deirceit Erenn.
 Lá tug mac Driam mic Cem
 Cuinál mo bratair dam péin,
 Noa geib uad geill no gnaig,
 Uet é péin ma émaró.
 Geallair Murchad mór mac Driam,
 Maolmuad do éorc ra éeo gliaró,
 Ocur ní fairbhig a geall,
 O adbar airbhig Erenn.
 Ráir le mac Driam naé barthad
 Ceit éairtígir ó maireac,
 Teit go belac lecta ille
 Lin a fíoríg ra foíraide.

¹ *I had forgiven.* The meaning is,
 "Although I had forgiven the murder
 of my brother, the tribe of the Dal
 Cair would never forgive the slaughter
 of their chieftain."

² *Longarán,* read Lonargán.

³ *In a stranger province.* The
 words within brackets are supplied
 by Mr. Curry from conjecture; a
 blank is left in the original. The

Ask them what were the reasons
 Why they killed my brother ;
 Why did the men kill
 Mathgamhain, son of Cennedigh ?
 Woe ! to have killed unarmed people—
 Woe ! to have killed the son of Cennedigh ;
 Great the misfortune, that they thought it better
 To be on Imar's side than on his.
 Though I had forgiven¹ that,—
 The cutting open the side of Cennedigh's son ;
 The brave Dal Cais would not forgive
 The cutting open the side of their lord.
 Longarán,² the opulent, would not forgive,
 Nor Echtighern, nor Ogán,
 Nor hardy Conaing of the plunders,
 Nor Cennedigh the comely, the mindful.
 This is what the men now say—
 The Dal Cais—unto them, on fit occasions,
 That they will make a victorious march
 By which the Ui Eachdach will be reduced to a few.
 The Clann Cormaic afar
 Let them not be from the Clann Neill country,
 [In a stranger province³ be] every tribe,
 If theirs be not the south of Erin.
 Whenever⁴ the son of Bran, son of Cian, shall offer
 The Cumhal⁵ of my brother unto myself,
 I will not accept from him hostages or studs,
 But only himself in atonement for his guilt.
 Murchadh the great, the son of Brian, promises
 To check Maelmundh in the first combat,
 And his pledge will not be forfeited
 By the heir of the chief king of Erin.
 Say unto the son of Bran that he fail not,
 After a full fortnight from to-morrow,
 To come to Belach Lechta hither
 With the full muster of his army and his followers.

meaning is, "Let the Clan Cormaic (or Dal Cais), and all its tribes live in exile, and retire to the country of the O'Neills (i.e., the North of Ireland), rather than yield to others the

sovereignty of the South, i.e., of Munster."

⁴ *Whenever*. Literally, "The day on which."

⁵ *Cumhal*. See above, p. 94, note ³.

Áit muna tigen anóer
 Co belac leacta langlar,
 Fuitaileó aise ga tíg
 'Dál cCair íf mac Ceinneitig.
 Noéa gebtar uata ann
 Or na airget no fearanó,
 Na geill, na moidi, a rir,
 Inoiri doib íf eirig.

EIRIG.]

Battle of
 Belach
 Lechta,
 and death
 of Maol-
 muadh,
 A.D. 978.
 Battle of
 Fan Con-
 rach, A.D.
 979.

LXVI. Anórein do cuir Brian cat belais leacta,
 du iorocair Moelmuadh mac Brian ní Muman, ocur
 da .c. déc umi etir gall ocur goedel, ocur po gab
 brastu Muman co farzi.

Ar a athli rin tuc Brian cat Fain Conrach for
 gallaib; ocur po bhuir ocur po airgetair na Ueri
 co Port Larzi, ocur po marb inri po rais in eacac
 air .i. Domnall mac Paelán a Purt Larzi, ocur po
 gab brastu Muman uli ar taruó a lama mar rin,
 ocur po gab brastu airócell Muman na farbair
 meirig, na foglaigi adin rna cellaib.

Brian
 invades
 Ossory,

 and Lein-
 ster.

Da ponar iarrin pluagó per Muman uli la
 Brian in nOrraigib, ocur po cuibriged leir Gilla-
 padraic mac Donéada, ocur po gab a giallu .i. ní
 Orraigi. Da éuair iarrin co mas nÁillib co tan-
 cadar da ní lagen na éeac, .i. Domnall Cloen, ocur
 Tuatál ní iartair lípí, ocur po gab a mbraigtu ioinó

¹ *Brian*. We have here again the text of D. B reads, íf annrin do cuir Brian cat fpu ní Muman .i. Maolmuadh, ocur atberat apoile po marbaró da éeo décc ann do gallaib ocur gaoiðealeab, ocur po marbaró Maolmuadh péim: "Then Brian gave battle to the king of Munster, i.e., Maolmuadh, and some say there were killed there 1,200 of the foreigners and of the Irish, and Maolmuadh himself was killed." And

then in a new paragraph, Ro gabaró braigóe na Muman co farige ar a haile, ocur tuc Brian, &c.: "He took the hostages of Mumhain as far as the sea afterwards, and Brian gave battle," &c.

² *Fan Conrach*. Dúin fáinconnrach, B., "Dún Fain Conrach" [or the Fort of Fan Conrach, (i.e., of the Church of Conrad.)] Á Ufan mic Connrad, "at Fan mic Conrad." *Ann. Inisf.* (Dubl.) A.D. 979.

But if he do not come from the South
To Belach Lechta, the evergreen,
Let him answer at his house
The Dal Cais and the son of Cennedigh.
For him shall not be accepted from them
Gold, nor silver, nor land,
Nor hostages, nor cattle, O Man!
Tell them this and go.

Go.]

LXVI. Then Brian¹ fought the Battle of Belach Lechta, in which fell Maeltuadh, son of Bran, king of Mumhain, and twelve hundred along with him, both Gaill and Gaedhil; and he took the hostages of Mumhain even unto the sea.

Battle of Belach Lechta, and death of Maeltuadh, A.D. 978. Battle of Fan Conrach, A.D. 979.

After that Brian gained battle of Fan Conrach² over the foreigners. And he ravaged and plundered³ the Desi even to Port Lairge, and he banished him who had forced the war on him,⁴ to wit, Domhnall, the son of Faelán, of Port Lairge, and he took⁵ the hostages of all Mumhain, as the fruit of his arms then⁶; and he took the hostages of the principal⁷ churches of Mumhain, that they should not receive rebels nor thieves to sanctuary in the churches.

After this there was an expedition under Brian of all the men of Mumhain into Osraighe; and Gillapatric, son of Donnchadh, was put in fetters by him; and he took his hostages, *i.e.* of the king of Osraighe. He went after that to Magh Ailbhe,⁸ where the two kings of Laghin came into⁹ his house, viz., Domhnall Cloen, and Tuathal, king of western Liphí, and he took their hostages¹⁰; this

Brian invades Ossory, and Leinster.

¹ *Plundered.* For no bpiſ ocuſ no aingeſtaſ, B. reads, no aſſe, "he plundered."

² *On him.* For no ſaſ in caſaſ aſ, B. in more modern ſpelling reads, no ſaſ ſaſ an coſaſ.

³ *He took.* Saſaſ, B.

⁴ *Then.* Aſuaſ ſaſ, B., "at that time."

⁵ *Principal.* B. reads, ocuſ no ſaſ

bſaſſe ceall Mumaſ, aſ na ſaſſaſaſ iſſaſſaſaſ no ſaſſaſe iſſaſſaſ: "And he took hostages of the churches of Munster, that they should not receive robbers or thieves within them."

⁶ *Magh Ailbhe.* B. reads, 7 'no ſaſaſ aſſaſ i ſaſſaſ Ailbe.

⁷ *Into.* Iſa ſaſ, B.

⁸ *Hostages.* B. omits this clause.

Brian,
king of all
Munster.
A.D. 984.

Muirghis,
crown
prince of
Connacht,
killed,
A.D. 988.

Brian's
treaty with
Maelsech-
lain, A.D.
998.

Revolt of
Leinster
and of the
foreigners
from Brian.

oēt mbliadan ar marbad Mathgamna. Amhlaid rin
ba ri Leiti Moza Brian. Ro tinolad mór coblaē
murioti leir iarrin for Deire Deire, ocur puccait tui
.c. leirtar leir, for Sionaind co loē Rai, ocur po
hinped Miti leir co hlipeē, ocur po cpeērat Drefini
uli dar Aēliac ruar. Da cuatar, dha, u. cet ar picet
uaēib i Conacta condeirnat olca mora and, ocur cor-
marbrat Muirghis mac Concobair rugdamna Conaēt,
ocur po marbad, am, roēaidi dib reom. Ir leir
iropocair Ruairi mac Coreraig [ri] ua mDruim
ocur iartair Conaēt. Ir leir iropocair Muirghis mac
Ruairi iarrin.

Da ponad dan mór coblaē la Brian co plein pat-
tozi co tamic Moelreclaind ina comdail, co ndeirnat
riē and .i. irabi do braitib Leiti Moza ic Moelrec-
laind .i. brait gall ocur lagen, a tabairt do Brian,
ocur ua fiaēpaē Adm, ocur ua Mani leir, ocur
dilir Leiti Cuind o hin amac cen coccad cen rogail
ó Brian do Maelreclaind .i. da bliadain rin re caē
Glinni Mama.

LXVII. Ar nec imorro Domnaill Cloen mac Lor-
can ri lagen, batar lagin ocur gail co hamriapac

¹ *Eight years.* B. begins a new paragraph here. *Ac ccind oēt m-bliadan imorro iar marbad Mathgamna ro gab Brian braitib ocur lanrige Leiti Moza.* "Now at the end of eight years after the murder of Mathgamhain, Brian took the hostages, and the full sovereignty of Leth Mogha," i.e., of the southern half of Ireland.

² *By him.* *Le Brian,* B., "by Brian." Omitting *iarrin*.

³ *Boats.* B. reads *tu. c. eatar* *leir ar Sionainn*, "Three hundred ships with him on the Shannon."

⁴ *Hundred.* B. reads, *u. eatar picet*: "five score ships."

⁵ *Connacht.* *icConnaētaib,* B., "against the Connachtmen."

⁶ *Great evils.* *Ula mōda,* B., "many evils."

⁷ *They killed.* *Fur marbatar Muirghis mac Concobair rugdamna Connaēt,* ocur *roēaidi ele,* B., "So that Muirghis, son of Conchobhair, crown prince of Connacht, and many others, were killed."

⁸ *By him.* *Ir leo ropocair,* B., "By them was killed;" and the same reading is repeated instead of *ir leir iropocair* in the next line.

⁹ *King.* *Ri* is added from B.

¹⁰ *Muirghius.* *Muirghis,* B.

¹¹ *Afterwards.* B. connects this word with what follows, *iarrin tra do ponad.* "Afterwards was made by Brian," &c.

was eight years¹ after the murder of Mathgamhain. Thus Brian was the king of Leth Mogha. Afterwards there was assembled by him² a great marine fleet on Derg Deirc; and he took three hundred boats³ with him upon the Sinann as far as Loch Rai; and Midhe was ravaged by him as far as Uisnech; and they plundered all Breifne beyond Ath Liag upwards. There went also five hundred⁴ and twenty from them into Connacht⁵; and they perpetrated great evils⁶ there, and they killed⁷ Muirghius, son of Conchobhar, crown prince of Connacht, and there were killed also many of themselves. It was by him⁸ was slain Ruaidhri, son of Coscrach [king]⁹ of Ui Briuin, and of western Connacht. And it was by him Muirghius,¹⁰ the son of Ruaidhri, was slain afterwards.¹¹

Brian,
king of all
Munster,
A.D. 984.

Muirghis,
crown
prince of
Connacht,
killed,
A.D. 988.

Brian now made a great naval expedition to Plein Pattoici,¹² where Maelsechlainn came to meet him, and they concluded a mutual peace there, viz., such hostages of Leth Mogha as Maelsechlainn had, i.e. hostages¹³ of the foreigners and of the Laghin, and likewise of the Ui Fiachrach Aidhne, and of the Ui Maine, to be ceded to Brian; and the sole sovereignty of Leth Cuinn, from thenceforth,¹⁴ to belong to Maelsechlainn without war or trespass from Brian. This was two years before the battle of Glenn Mama.¹⁵

Brian's
treaty with
Maelsech-
lainn, A.D.
998.

LXVII. Now,¹⁶ after the death of Domhnall Cloen, son of Lorcan,¹⁷ king of Laghin, the Laghin and the foreigners

Revolt of
Leinster
and of the
foreigners
from Brian.

¹² *Plein Pattoici*. *Ólén Patóici*, B.

¹³ *Hostages*. B. reads, .i. a nábé do bpaíob Leth Mogha, 7 Gall, ocuī lángean as Maelseclainn: "Such hostages of Leth Mogha, and of the foreigners, and of the Leinstermen, as Maelsechlainn had."

¹⁴ *Thenceforth*. *Ópín amac san cogad, san rogan do Úrian ar Maelseclainn*, B.

¹⁵ *Glenn Mama*. The battle of Glen Mama is dated 998 (the 20th year of Maelsechlainn), by the Four Masters; but A.D. 1000, according to O'Fla-

herty's Chronology; and, therefore, the alliance or treaty recorded in this chapter must be dated 996 (4 M.), or 998 (O'Fl.)

¹⁶ *Now*. B. omits *imorro*.

¹⁷ *Son of Lorcan*. These words are omitted in B. The death of Domhnall Cloen is dated 983, by the Four M., the 5th year of Maelsechlainn, which in O'Flaherty's Chronology would be 985, so that the revolt of Leinster must have begun twelve or thirteen years before the treaty with Maelsechlainn.

Battle of
Glen
Mama,
A.D. 1000.

The Lein-
ster-men
and Danes
of Dublin
defeated.

do ðrian, ocur batap ic tobpuçtað coccaio ppi ðrian, ocur ppi Mumnečaið arčena. Da luid, imorro, ðrian ocur morčinoð fear Muman leir co laignib, ocur co gullu .i. do gabail for Ač Cliat no co riapaisir gail. Ro cuirir dan ba, ocur muntepa lazen in arcaill gall, ocur i nlib ðrin Chualand, ocur i nlib Gabra, ocur i nlib Dončada, ocur tancatar lazin ocur gail peč na muntepaib i conni mðriain, ocur a comdaill .i. co Gleno Mama. Ro compaisret and rin ðrian co Mumnečaið, ocur gail co laignečaið lea. Ro ferad, imorro, cač fuleč, pičda, forðerc, feočaj, fearða, feramail, ačarib, aniapeča, epcardemail, eturpu ocur iðerair [pripš ocur eolaiš nar cuireað ó cač Muiše Rača nuar ár daíne ba mó ina rin. Do tuitreat ann rocharðe do Dal cČair, ocur do Mumneachaið arčena; po tuitreat ann foršla gall Ača Cliat, ocur gall Epenn uile, ocur tuccað ár laizen; eið tra ačt po muiš for na gallaið, ocur for na laigniš. Ro marbað tra ann Ačalt mac Ačhlaið pi damna gall Epenn, ocur Cuilen mac Ečtišern, ocur .xl. céð imro do neoč ar fearr bai do gallaið a nEpenn, ocur leanað ðrian iad co pangadar in dún, go nebrað—

¹ *Against Brian.* Fair, ocur for muman arčena, B., "against him and against Mumhain also."

² *The Laghin.* Co gulla, ocur co laigniu do gabail an Ačcliat no co riapaisiré, B., "against the foreigners and against the Laghin," [or men of Leinster,] "to lay siege to Ath Cliath until it submitted to him."

³ *The cattle.* Duar, B.

⁴ *Angle.* B. reads, inoršail gall in Uib ðriuin Cuallann 7 i nlib gabra: "Into the angle of the foreigners in Ui Briuin Cuallan, and into Ui Gabhra." It is possible that *Ascall Gall*, "the angle of the Gaill," ought to be regarded as a pro-

per name, denoting some place possessed by the foreigners. The reading of B. would seem to make it a place in the territory of Ui Briuin Cuallan, a district embracing the greater part of the barony of Rathdown, and a portion of the north of the co. Wicklow. See Dr. O'Donovan's note ², *Four M.*, 738 (p. 340). *Ascall* or *Asgall* (Latin *axilla*), is the arm pit; and hence an angular piece of ground, like the space between a man's arm and his body.

⁵ *Beyond:* i.e., in advance of their families (more to the south of the districts to which they had sent their wives and children), in order to inter-

became disobedient to Brian, and were menacing war against Brian,¹ and against the people of Mumhain also. Brian, therefore, marched, with a great muster of the men of Mumhain, against the Laghin² and against the foreigners, intending to lay siege to Ath Cliath until the foreigners should submit to him. But now the cattle³ and the families of Laghin were sent into the angle⁴ possessed by the foreigners, and into Ui Briuin Chualann; and into Ui Gabhra, and to Ui Donnchadha. And the Laghin and the Gaill came beyond⁵ their families to meet Brian and into his presence, viz., to Glenn Mama. They met there; Brian with the Mumhnigh, and the foreigners accompanied by the Laghin; and there was fought between them a battle, bloody, furious, red, valiant, heroic, manly; rough, cruel, heartless; and [men⁶ of intelligence and learning say that since the battle of Magh Rath,⁷ to that time, there had not taken place a greater slaughter. There fell there multitudes of the Dal Cais, and of the Muimhnigh in general; there fell there the greater part of the foreigners of Ath Cliath, and of the foreigners of all Erinn; and there was also a slaughter of the Laghin; for, in short, the foreigners and the Laghin were utterly defeated. And there were killed there Aralt, the son of Amlaibh, the crown prince of the foreigners of Erinn, and Cuilean, the son of Echtighern, and four thousand along with them, of the best of the foreigners of Erinn. And Brian followed them till they reached the Dún,⁸ whereupon was said—

Battle of
Glen
Mama,
A.D. 1000.

The Lein-
ster-men
and Danes
of Dublin
defeated.

cept Brian's march. B. reads, Tan-
gatar goill ocus laigin roe na
munteranb i ccoinne Brian go
gleand Máma. "The Gaill and the
Laghin came in advance of their fam-
ilies, against Brian at Glen Mama."

⁶ And [men. B. reads, Ro fearaó
imorro eatorra cat fuileac pí-
da, fordear, fearda, fearmanail,
ammin, asarb, amarda, ear-
ccáirdeanail. Occur a veipit, &c.

The passage which follows in brackets
from this place to the last line on p. 114,
is wanting in D., and has been supplied
from B. The Irish reader will perceive
the change of orthography.

⁷ *Magh Rath*. See the historical
romance of the battle of Magh Rath,
published by the Irish Archæological
Society.

⁸ *The Dun*: i.e., the dún or fortress
of Ath Cliath, i.e., of Dublin.

Poetical
celebration
of the
victory.

Fada an ruaisir tainic brian
O Glinn Mama co hAé-Chiath.
.
.
.
.
.

Tugram ríccir ar a dún,
Tugram coilcib, tucceam clúin,
Tugram eic maite meara,
Iy mna blaithe bangeala.
Do cuirriot Dal cCair anéy
An lá rin da ríet céo,
Socharde ó rugrat ba,
Iy da ttugrat lá fada.

facta.

The Castle
of Dublin
plundered
and burned.

LXVIII. Ro hintrað imorro an dún leó, ocur po
hairgeð, ocur po bai brian ar rin a pporlongpore
irin mbaile ó nolaic mór co nolaic becc. Tainic
iarrin irin marzað, ocur po loirceað an dún uile leó,
ocur nír fagaibriot cipe itaímain gan fagáil, amail
arbert an ríle, as inirín ríel and:—

Poem on
the battle
of Glenn
Mama.

Cat Glinne Mama iy mór mer,
Ní cruaidé cat dar cuiréð,
Ófir a fada ní fad só,
A ára ra earbado.
A érobaét iy a éruar,
A laemcuire ra lánluar,
Imda in gac trát doéar de,
Cac as cepochað a céile.
Treagdað iy ciorpað cneap,
Scoltað cent ccaom coimídeap,
Troigíte comalla, ní guac,
Ocur láma go lánluat.
Imda marb leoran iy líð,
Óreama ttainib ra tainib,
Óreami danar luain gan ppuarad,
Go cruaidé aga ccombualað.

¹ *Ath Cliath*. The remainder of this
quatrain is missing in B., but space
is left for it, as if the scribe had
been unable to decipher the antient

MS. from which he copied, but hoped
to repair the defect from some other
source.

Long was that route by which Brian came,
From Glenn Mama to Ath Cliath."¹

.
.

Poetical
celebration
of the
victory.

We brought silk out of the fortress ;
We brought bedding ; we brought feathers ;
We brought steeds goodly and fleet,
And blooming white fair women.
The Dal Cais put to death
On that day two score hundred² ;
Many they deprived of cows,
And gave them a long day³ !

LONG.

LXVIII. The fortress then was plundered by them and ransacked ; and Brian at that time remained encamped in the town from great Christmas to little Christmas.⁴ He came then into the market, and the whole fortress was burned by them, and they left not a treasure under ground that they did not discover. As the poet said in relating the story of it—

The Castle
of Dublin
plundered
and burned.

The battle of Glenn Mama was great and rapid ;
No harder battle was ever fought ;—
The man who says so makes no false assertion—
For its slaughters and its losses ;
Its valour and its severity ;
Its championship and its full impetuosity ;
Many on every side were its misfortunes,
Each party destroying the other.
Piercing, and hacking of bodies,
Cleaving of comely and handsome heads,
Feet in action—it is not false !—
And hands in full activity.
Many were the dead of them and of you ;
Crowds in trances and in swoons ;
Crowds of ready Danars, without cessation,
Bravely contending with them.

Poem on
the battle
of Glenn
Mama.

² *Two score hundred.* This seems to mean a hundred times two score: i.e., 4,000, a number probably exaggerated.

³ *A long day:* i.e., spared their lives for some time longer.

⁴ *Christmas:* i.e., from Christmas Day to the Epiphany.

Fada do bar nime rin
 O maidin co tuðhónais,
 Is fada do harórad de,
 Caé as marbad a céile.
 Rugrat meic na ríð bhrac,
 Tré cat na ngall co tnuithac,
 Ñur cuirrat cat gall co cruaid,
 Tré cat na ngaoideal fairtuaid.
 Do bhréad an cat ar rin
 Ar eigin ar na gallaib,
 Da éad décc ní beg a blad,
 Inniurtear ann do marbad.
 Cat Muise Rat re tearra,
 Ho cat mór Muise hEalta,
 Hoéa ninnhamail im rat,
 Is baranmail don aon cat.

cath.

Value of
the spoil
taken.

How the
Danes ob-
tained their
wealth.

LXIX. Is é rin aon ionad ar mó a ríð dóir ocu-
 dairccet, ocu dairionnóruine, ocu do leccaið, ocu do
 geamaið carpmogail, ocu do ñorraið buabail, ocu
 do bleideðaið blaithe. Ro tionóileð co haon ionad na
 reoit rin leo. Mór dona deideið exaíla gaéa daéa
 ríð ann for. Ní raið imorro dún no dairngean, no
 dairngna, no ceall, no cadar, no neimeð do gaðad
 rur an ngláim ngliríðis, nglonnmar, ngnuiríðir do
 bí as tearglaim, ocu as tearaccar na hédaia rin, óir
 ní raiðe ipolað fo éalman in Érin in a fá ñiaíðraið
 díðealta as rianaið no as ríðcuiraið ní na ruaratar
 na Danmargaið allmarðá ingantaéa rin, tre geint-
 liréet, ocu tre ióðalaðrað. Mór dona do ínnaið,
 ocu do macamaið, ocu dairngeanaið tugad fo ñaíre,
 ocu fo ñoçar leo,] ocu fo ñligréet in ní rin; dair is

¹ *Dark noon*: i.e., midnight.

² *Gaill*. The original words, *Gaill*, foreigners, and *Gaedhil*, Gael or Irish, are here retained because of the alliteration evidently intended by the poet.

³ *Magh Ealta*. No such battle is recorded in the Irish Annals, unless the

battle of Clontarf be intended, in which afterwards Brian fell. Clontarf was a part of the antient plain called *Seam Magh Ealta Eadair*, Four Mast., A.M. 2550.

⁴ *By them*: i.e., by Brian and his followers.

Long did they continue in this way,
 From the morning unto the dark noon¹ ;
 Long were the horrors continued,
 Each party killing the other.
 The sons of the kings made a brave charge
 Through the ranks of the sorrowing Gaill² ;
 And fiercely drove the ranks of the Gaill
 Through the ranks of the Gaedhil north-eastwards.
 The battle was thereupon gained
 By force against the Gaill ;
 Twelve hundred—not small the glory!—
 Are recorded to have there been killed.
 The battle of Magh Rath, as it is described,
 Or the great battle of Magh Ealta,³
 Are not equal in prosperous results,
 Nor to be compared with this one battle.

THE BATTLE.

LXIX. It was in that one place were found the greatest quantities of gold and silver, and bronze [*finndruine*], and precious stones, and carbuncle-gems, and buffalo horns, and beautiful goblets. All these valuables were collected by them⁴ to one place. Much also of various vestures of all colours was found there likewise. (For never was there a fortress, or a fastness, or a mound, or a church, or a sacred place, or a sanctuary, when it was taken by that howling, furious, loathsome crew, which was not plundered by the collectors and accumulators of that wealth. Neither was there in concealment under ground in Erin, nor in the various solitudes belonging to Fians or to fairies, any thing that was not discovered by these foreign, wonderful Denmarkians, through paganism⁵ and idol worship.) Many women also, and boys, and girls, were brought to bondage and ruin by them⁶ ;] and the

Value of
the spoil
taken.

How the
Danes ob-
tained their
wealth.

¹ Through paganism. The meaning is, that notwithstanding the potent spells employed by the Fians and fairies of old for the concealment of their hidden treasures, the Danes, by their pagan magic and the diabolical

power of their idols, were enabled to find them out.

⁶ By them: i.e., by Brian and his party. D. adds, *anorin there, or on that occasion*, and then proceeds as after the bracket in the text. The clause

riu daronat in dochain, ocu iriat ro inraig iccornum acurci, ocu aporba fein porpo. Cid na aet roimpo a ren ocu apolut anorin rir na gallaib, ocu gacl ole daronrat tarrar orpo roman. tomair. Ar in miao poramiret do fearib Erent ir rai ro midede doib.

The complete sub-
jection of
the foreign-
ers.

Olc irén do gallaib, imorpo, rogenair in gilla rin .i. Brian mac Cendetig. Dais ir leir romarbat, romudraigir, rodilapraigir, rodoprait ir romugranraigir. Cona rabi cátlech ó beint Eadair co Tech Duinn iarnEirinn gan gall in dairi rair, ocu narab bro gan gailirig. Conarba ni rí mac oclais no octigirint do goedelais adorint im ruir no im opair ele ar tal-
main, ocu ni moba ni re mna ní dorint im meli bron, no funi barigini, no nigi a hétair, aet gall no gailrecl danenam.

Brian's
twenty-five
battles.

He remains
at Dublin
five weeks.

Ravages
Leinster.

[LXX. Cúicc caeta ríet in ro tpeghad a ttaoib po-
dein, arret ro iraoim Brian porpa, gur in ceat in po
marbat éfén, genmota dehta ardena. Ro bai im-
morpo Brian annir o noelais mór so féil Brihe.
Ro hinorad Laign leir aet becc, ocu ro gab braighe,
ocu ro loircead Coill Comair leir, ocu ro leorad,
ocu ro reidigecl beilge ocu daingne leir. Ro elo im-

describing how the Danes came by their great wealth is a parenthetical digression, after which the narrative returns to the spoil taken by the victorious Brian and his followers.

¹ *Deserved.* B. reads, ocu do dligiot ríum in ní rin oir iriat goill no ionnraig iad do éornadh a ceirde, ocu a porba diler fein rriu: "And they had deserved that treatment, for the foreigners had begun the attack to contest with them their own country and their beloved lawful inheritance." In the use of *they* and *them* both MSS. are somewhat confused, meaning by those pronouns sometimes the Irish, sometimes the Danes, or other foreigners. To avoid this confusion, a slight liberty has been taken in the translation

by substituting "*the foreigners*" for "*they*."

² *The respect.* These words, to the end of the paragraph, are omitted in B.

³ *Ill luck.* B. reads, Olc imorpo an rén do gallaib in la no genair in gille rin: "Bad was the luck of the foreigners on the day when that youth was born."

⁴ *Exterminated.* B. reads, ocu ro diltapicclit.

⁵ *Winnowing sheet.* Caillec, B., "an old woman."

⁶ *Western Erin.* B. reads, in iarp-
tair Erent, "in the west of Erin," but the other reading, no iarp nEirinn, is given as a gloss in O'Clery's hand over these words. From Benn Edair [now Howth], to Tech Duinn [an

foreigners had deserved¹ that treatment, because by them the provocation had been given, and they had been the aggressors to contest with them [i.e., with Brian and his followers] their own country and their lawful inheritance. However, their good luck and fortune then turned against the foreigners, and all the evils they had hitherto inflicted were now fully avenged on them. For the respect² which they had measured to the men of Erin, was by the same standard now measured to themselves.

Ill luck³ was it, however, for the foreigners when that youth was born, viz., Brian, the son of Cenneidigh; for it was by him they were killed, destroyed, exterminated,⁴ enslaved, and bondaged. So that there was not a winnowing sheet⁵ from Benn Edair to Tech Duinn, in western Erin,⁶ that had not a foreigner in bondage on it, nor was there a quern without a foreign woman.⁷ So that no son⁸ of a soldier or of an officer of the Gaedhil deigned to put his hand to a flail, or any other labour on earth; nor did a woman⁹ deign to put her hands to the grinding of a quern, or to knead a cake, or to wash her clothes, but had a foreign man or a foreign woman¹⁰ to work for them.

[LXX. Five and twenty battles, in which their own sides were pierced, did Brian gain over them, including the battle in which he himself was killed, besides sundry skirmishes. Brian remained in that place from great Christmas¹¹ till the festival of Brigit. Laighin was ravaged by him, except a small portion, and he took hostages; and Coill Comair was burned by him, and hewn down, and passages and fortresses cleared by him. But Am-

The complete subjection of the foreigners.

Brian's twenty-five battles.

He remains at Dublin five weeks.

Ravages Leinster.

island off the south-western point of Kerry], was evidently a usual mode of describing the southern half of Ireland.

⁷ Foreign woman. In the original, *gaillsech*. A *quern* is a stone hand-mill still used in many parts of Ireland.

⁸ No son. *Conar bo ní le mac ócclanġ no oicctiġeipn*, B.

⁹ A woman. *Nip bo ní le mnaoi a lárġm meġe bpón no m ġme bapġine*, B.

¹⁰ Foreign woman. Lit., "A gall or a *gaillsech*." *ġall ocup ġaillsech ra óenash*, B. *Óanenam* in D. is for *ra nōenam*. Here another portion of the text (chaps. lxx. to first paragraph of chap. lxxii. incl.) is supplied from B. in consequence of an imperfection in D., from the loss of a leaf.

¹¹ From great Christmas: i.e., from December 25 to February 1, inclusive. See p. 113, note 4.

Amlaff flies
to Ulster.

Submits to
Brian.

Capture
of Mael-
mordha,
king of
Leinster.

Brian's
triumphant
return
home.

Brian's
rebellion
against
Maelsech-
lainn, king
of Ireland,
A.D. 1002.

A month's
truce
agreed to.

morpo Amlaib ri gall illó an caṭa, ocur po ríacṭ ar
ḡaṭ ionaṭ deir aṭéile co ríacṭ co hUlltu. Do cúar
immorpo o ḡrian ina ṭiaig, ocur ni fuaip aṭíon acc
Aloṭ, no acc Eoṭaib, ḡo ttainic hi tech ḡrian hi ceinn
raibṭe iaraib, ocur tue abreibṭ fén do ḡrian, ocur tucc
ḡrian a ṭún doroiṃ.

LXXI. Ro ḡab imorpo ḡrian Maolmorṭḡa mac Mur-
chaṭa alló an caṭa reibṭe in iuṭar taibṭe, ocur ire Mur-
chaṭ tucc ar an iuṭar ḡa aimdeóin hé, ocur bai hUlláib
occ ḡrian ḡur ḡaṭ bpaigṭe Laiḡen uile. Ro horṭlaicceṭ
de arriṃ, ocur tuccaṭ bpaigṭe Laiḡen do, ocur po
haiṭríogaṭ Donnchaṭ mac Doṃnaill Claoin reibṭe.

Tainic imorpo ḡrian ḡa ṭigh iarrin, ḡo ruṭaṭ
roiṃenmnaṭ, ocur co corcepach commaiṭmeṭ amail
ba minic laip. Ireṭ innirit luṭṭ fepa, ocur renchupa
conaṭ raibṭe upraibṭe drepaiṭ Muṃian don ṭrluaigṭe
rin ḡan aṭḡar aṭighedhaiṭ leiṭ doṛ ocur daiṭcett
ocur déṭṭaṭ ḡaṭa, ocur ḡa ḡaṭ ionnibaiṭ arṭena ; comṭ
ḡa foirḡell rin do roiaṭ an duan.

LXXII. Do roiaṭ mor rluaiḡeṭ leiṭe Moḡa uile
le ḡrian iarrin etir ḡullaṭ ocur ḡaibela co ríacṭ
Temraiḡ na rioḡ, ocur po cuireṭ teṭṭa uaṭa co Mael-
eṭlainn mac Doṃnaill co rí Temraiṭ, ocur po riṭe
bpaigṭe fap no caṭ muna aentaiṭeṭ bpaigṭe, ocur
tuccaṭ aroḡa do Maoileṭlainn diṭrin.] Ro riṭ, imorpo,
Moelreclainn capṭi mīṛ do ri comṭinoil leiṭ Cuinṭ,
ocur tugṭ in capṭi rin do can creibṭ can inreṭ can
airḡi ḡan roḡail can roploṭeṭ, ocur ḡrian in rop-
longpoṭ fpi rin pe rin i Temraiṭ.

¹ *With Aedh*: i.e., Amlaff, the Dan-
ish king, was not received by Aedh,
or Hugh O'Neill, the chief of the
Ulaid, or northern Ulstermen, nor by
Eochaidh, the chieftain of the East of
Ulster, to whom he had fled for pro-
tection.

² *House*: i.e. submitted to Brian. See
p. 123, line 3.

³ *His fortress*: i.e., his *dún* or fortress
of Dublin.

⁴ *Murchadh*: i.e., Murchadh or Mor-
rogh, son of Brian. Maelmordha, or
Maelmóra, son of Murchadh [i.e.,
of a different and older Murchadh],
was the king of Leinster, and brother
of Gormlath, Brian's third wife.

⁵ *The poem*. Meaning apparently
the poem given above in chap. lxviii.

⁶ *Maelsechlainn*. Here we return to the
text of D. B. reads, ocur po riṭer-
taip Maelreclainn capṭe mīṛ.

laibh, king of the foreigners, fled on the day of the battle, and went from one place to another, until he came to the Ulaid. But he was pursued by Brian's orders; and he found not shelter with Aedh,¹ nor with Eochaidh; so that he came into Brian's house² in a quarter of a year after, and submitted to Brian's own terms, and Brian restored his fortress³ to him.

Amlaff flies to Ulster.

Submits to Brian.

LXXI. Brian captured also Maelmordha, son of Murchadh, on the day of the aforesaid battle, concealed in a yew tree; and it was Murchadh⁴ that forcibly dragged him out of the tree; and he continued in captivity with Brian until *Brian* received the hostages of all Laighin. He was then liberated, and the hostages of Laighin were given to him, and Donnchadh, son of Domhnall Cloen, was dethroned for him.

Capture of Maelmordha, king of Leinster.

Brian now returned to his home after this, cheerfully, in good spirits, victoriously and triumphantly, as was his wont. Men of learning and historians say that there was not a yeoman of the men of Mumhain on that expedition who had not received enough to furnish his house with gold and silver, and cloth of colour, and all kinds of property in like manner. And it was to commemorate this the poem⁵ was made.

Brian's triumphant return home.

LXXII. A great expedition of all Leth Mogha, both Gaill and Gaedhil, was afterwards made by Brian, until they reached Temhair of the kings; and messengers were sent from them to Maelsechlainn, son of Domhnall, king of Temhair, and they demanded hostages from him, or battle, should he refuse hostages, and Maelsechlainn was given his choice of these.] Maelsechlainn,⁶ however, requested a month's delay to muster Leth Cuinn; and that delay was given to him⁷, during which no plunder or ravage, no destruction or trespass, or burning, was to be inflicted upon him. And Brian remained encamped⁸ during that time in Temhair.

Brian's rebellion against Maelsechlainn, king of Ireland, A.D. 1002.

A month's truce agreed to.

¹ To him. B. omits do, "to him."

² Encamped. B. reads, ocuṛ ḃṛian | Brian was in Temhair [i.e., Tara], during that time; viz., during the time of the truce.

1 ṛ Temhairḡ fṛuṛ an pe rṛn: "And

Maelsech-
lainn's
embassy to
the kings of
Ulster and
Connaught.

Is irin comarlí da rónaó la Moelreclainn andreim
Gilla Comgaill Ua Slebhín, ollum Ulaó, ocur in tuair-
ceirt arcena do cup ar cento Aeda U Neill ri Aelig,
ocur ar cento Eochara mic Aroghail ri Ulaó, ocur teóta
ele ar cento Caóail mic Concubair ri Conaó, ocur da
tirtair Let Cuinn co henmemnaó leopen cat pergaó
peramail do éabairt do Brian, ocur do Leit Moga,
ocur rairdaó Tempaó do cornum riu. Meni tirtir
rin, imorro, do cornum rairdaó Tempaó, ba hí a
comarlí brastí do tabairt do Brian, daig ní bí aco-
maing Leti Moga do pergal aci reom a enur, ocur
nir ba nairí dorom can Tempaig da cornum olóar
do clannaib Neill, ocur do raerclannaib Leti Cuinn
aróena.

Gilla
Comgaill
O'Slebhín's
poetical
address to
Aedh
O'Neill.

LXXIII. Conno and do rogní Gilla Comgaill Ua
Slebhín in duanra i gpeaó Aeda Ua Neill, ocur iga
griúar do tabairt caóa do Brian—

A dubraó rib dul ródear,
Uplam leir ac luigeaó lir
Do debarí re teglaó Tail,
Da ríacó ó Tempaig pal rir.
Fada re hÉirín, Aed,
A craeb oebínó cínó u Niall,
Co torgha Let Cuinn ar coir,
Co toirtea tuinnó mbroin ar Brian.
Benaóta per nÉirínó oir,
Na leic lonna lebénó leat,
Rit ita ár ríul ulí noót,
Cup i bpon do bnegmaig balc.

¹ *Poet.* B. omits the description,
"the poet of the Ulaid and of all the
north."

² *Should come.* B. reads, ocur da
tirtair Let Cuinn uile leir mar
rin co haén ionaó, ocur co haén
menmnaó, ir cat do bepaó do
Brian, ocur do Leit Moga, ocur
raerdaó Tempa do cornam mar
rin; ocur muna tirtair do cor-

nam rairirí na Tempaó. "And
if all Leth Cuinn should come with
them to one place and with one mind,
then to give battle to Brian and to
Leth Mogha, and to contend for the
freedom of Temhair in like manner;
but if they should not come to defend
the freedom of Temhair, &c."

³ *Because.* B. reads, dóig ní baí
acpaing Brian ocur Leit Moga

The counsel that Maelsechlainn adopted on this occasion was to send Gilla Comgaill O'Slebhinn, the poet¹ of the Ulaid, and of all the north, to Aedh O'Neill, king of Ailech, and to Eochaidh, son of Ardgall, king of the Ulaid, and another messenger to Cathal, son of Conchobhar, king of Connaught; and if the Leth Cuinn should come² unanimously with these, then to give a furious and manly battle to Brian and the Leth Mogha, and to contend for the freedom of Temhair with them. But should they not come to defend the freedom of Temhair, the counsel *he adopted* was to give hostages to Brian, because³ he had not the power by himself to meet the Leth Mogha; and it was not more disgraceful for him not to contend for the freedom of Temhair than it was for the Clann Neill, and all the other clans of Leth Cuinn as well.

LXXIII. And it was⁴ on that occasion that Gilla Comgaill O'Slebhinn made this poem, urging Aedh O'Neill, and inciting him to give battle to Brian—

Ye have been required to go southward;
Ready too at Lis Luigheach,
To battle with the House of Tal;
From Temhair of Fal has come the message.
Long does it seem to Erinn, O Aedh,—
O delightful tree—head of the O'Neill,
Until thou restorest Leth Cuinn to its right—
Until thou bring a wave of woe upon Brian.
The blessings of the men of Erinn upon thee;
Let not a coward in the field go with thee;
On thee is all our hope to-night—
Dispel its sorrow from the strong Magh Breagh.

Maelsechlainn's
embassy to
the kings of
Ulster and
Connaught.

Gilla
Comgaill
O'Slebhinn's
poetical
address to
Aedh
O'Neill.

do éorcc aicce a aenar, ocuf ní
mó ba náir doíorh gan Temhair do
éorcc ina do élanais Néill: "be-
cause he had no power by himself to
resist Brian and the Leth Mogha, and
it was not more disgraceful for him
not to defend Tara than it was to the
clann Neill, &c."

⁴ And it was. The whole of this sec-

tion, including the poem, is omitted in
B.; where we read here Do noine an
ríli a tēctairpēt amail ar fērr
no fēt fū hAéoh. Arbert imor-
po Aod ó Neill, 7c.: "The poet did
his message as best he could for the in-
formation of Aedh. Then Aedh O'Neill
answered, &c.," as in chap. lxxiv.

Ar bair goedel geib do ríat
 Co rin oenper forger cáe,
 Na leic toir Temha i tech mBhuain,
 It[er]elba bai biad co bpat.
 Bpatar duit Maelreclainn,
 Sepc riuir duit in matair dan mac,
 Déna debaid umpi a Aed,
 Com dútaig doib Temair brec mbalc.
 Natarbepat eactrainn uair,
 Cio decmainn, déntar bar rít,
 Minn rucar re bar re,
 Hi ruccad riu re na epié.
 Coiraid Temair, tren bar peidm,
 A ped [leg. peidm] Heill nept bar ndurind,
 Na raecam a ler bar ngairim,
 Hi der lib anm eactrainn uair.
 Ar do gaé oentu, blaetlan blait,
 Cain cáe cliait bpatar maó buaid,
 Sona re cumair cáe cuit,
 Forall cáe uile ilar rluair.
 Iri caingean ir coru duib,
 Cen sub daingean, dul co bhuain,
 Na leig in mallmaig do neoi,
 Milir a deoi ir a biad.
 Beiriu tuarcept Erend let,
 Aed rir a neigend cáe loit,
 Beped do celi in let tear,
 Na léig bar leat do lot.
 Beped Eoiu uoi cian,
 Ulu uil, ar do in dam.
 Beped Catal cetae coir,
 Cuced per nOinnesmaet nan.
 Eriú per na rluair ruar,
 Triénair ir cruair a réir,
 Ma da neair raed cáe,
 Bat per do co bpat da heir.

¹ *Thy brother*: i.e., near relative. Maelsechlainn was his nephew, his sister's son.

² *They*: i.e., Maelsechlainn and his mother.

³ *It*: viz., Temhair or Tara. "*Externs*:" i.e., not of the house of O'Neill.

⁴ *Between you*: i.e., between thee (Aedh) and Maelsechlainn.

⁵ *Disgrace*. *Lit.* "Disgrace of ex-

For the sake of the Gaedhil take thy shield
 Against that one man who injures all;
 Let not the hill of Temhair come into Brian's house—
 With those who now possess it let it be for ever.
 Maelsechlainn is thy brother¹;
 Thy beloved sister is the mother whose son he is;
 Make battle for her, O Aedh!
 They² have equal right to strong Temhair, of Breagh.
 Let not externs carry it³ away from you;
 However difficult, let peace be made between you⁴;
 If not carried away in your time
 It shall not be carried away until the time of the end.
 Defend Temhair, mighty be your exertion!
 Ye clans of Niall, by the strength of your hands—
 Let us not require to call you;
 It is not honourable to you that externs should disgrace⁵ us.
 Noble is every union—glorious, renowned;
 Beautiful every brother-battle if it be a victory!
 Prosperous by combining is each part;
 Powerful against all evil is a numerous army.
 The policy that is most proper for you,
 Although not strong, is to go against Brian;
 Surrender not the soft plain⁶ to any man—
 Sweet are its drink and its meat.
 Bring thou the north of Erinn with thee,
 O Aedh, who art followed by all parties;
 Let thy comrade⁷ bring with him the southern half;
 Suffer not your interests to be destroyed.
 Let Eochaidh bring—long the march—
 All the Ulaid—a noble company;
 Let Cathal, the warlike, the just, bring
 The province of the illustrious men of Olnegmacht.
 Rise up thou before the armies,
 Strengthen and harden their ranks;
 If thou wilt go, all others will go,
 Thou shalt be the better of it ever after.

terns [i.e., of Brian and his party] upon us is not honourable [*lit.*, handsome, pleasant] to you."

⁶ *Soft plain.* Meaning Breagh or

Bregia, the rich plain in which Temhair or Tara stood.

⁷ *Comrade* : viz., Maelsechlainn. The last word of this line was origin-

A mic Domnaill ua Neill nair,
 Fuil gormlaind bongreim it gair,
 Ar ti Tempa duit otair,
 Dat nì Epend aét co nìr.
 Romaind co òrian òroga Cuirc,
 Ar searand loga do lot,
 Eriug romaind, erguin leat,
 Na bat bíd anim Epend ort.
 A Aed mic Domnaill o Neill,
 Suir ar torblaind Tempa fuil,
 Òerir tìr Airt Oenfir o òrian,
 Bíd gíall gac oenfir it laim.
 Dat lan nì Epend ar teét,
 Na cleaét do lebend do lùrc,
 Uair nac tatar tarlaig ort,
 Na leic cnoc Cairmaic do Cuirc.
 Coraie in rluaged ar rliét
 Murcèptaig na ruasgal gairt,
 A lèrtaib glaine rot neét,
 Mìni raige raigear ort.
 Na rruicil fein fir im cept,
 Òem in ruz aét ruz na rliét,
 Bíd caé rruiciler do bein,
 Ir uairliu clann Neill caé nìr.
 Da tìrtair do clura i cein,
 Mar da éuadar a ua Neill náir,
 Nibar debar let in nuall,
 Dan in rluag im Temair fuil.
 O ré Cormaic o cuind Coir,
 Ir doib tarlaic in tor tìar,
 Aet tic caé a anam em,
 Nì dallad rúé Neill ar Híall.

ally written *dear* in the MS., and is corrected apparently by the original scribe to *tear*.

¹ *Noble*. The MS. has *nair* (of Naas?) which ought perhaps to be *nair*, noble. O'Niall is so called in this page (line 26), and *Circuit of Ireland*, line 1. But the rhyme is in favour of *nair*.

² *Brugh*. This word signifies a fort, or chieftain's residence. By "Corc's

Brugh" is here meant Cashel; so called from Corc, son of Lugaidh, who was king of Cashel in the time of St. Patrick, and was the first to make Cashel the royal residence.

³ *Of every man*. In the Irish *Oenfir*. There is a play upon words here that cannot be represented in the translation. The word *oenfir*, gen. *oenfir*, signifies literally *one man*, *unicus*, *individual*. Art,

O son of Domhnall, grandson of Niall, the noble,¹
 The bright sheen of the sun illumines thee,
 Since thou art intent upon Temhair for thyself
 Thou shalt be king of Erinn if thou wilt but come.
 Lead us against Brian of Corc's Brugh,²
 On Lugaidh's land be thy ravaging;
 Go thou before us—slaughter attend thee—
 Let not the disgrace of Erinn be upon thee.
 O Aedh, son of Domhnall, grandson of Niall,
 Sit thou on the glorious tower of Temhair-Fail,
 Wrest the land of Art Oenfer from Brian,
 Let the hostage of every man³ be in thy hands.
 Thou shalt be full king of Erinn by coming
 Let not thy platform [i.e. Tara] become accustomed to Lurc,⁴
 Since no reproach attaches to thee,
 Yield not Cormac's⁵ Hill to Corc.⁶
 Direct the army in the track
 Of Muirchertach of the red prowess;
 In vessels of glass he has washed thee⁷;
 Unless thou advance, thou shalt be advanced upon.
 Serve not thou thyself a man of right;
 Strike the king, except the supreme king;
 Let all be in vassalage under thy stroke;
 Nobler are the race of Niall than any might.
 If thy renown shall spread afar,
 As I have said, O descendant of Niall the brave!
 The shout will not be a contest against thee
 Which is raised by the hosts around Temhair-Fail.
 From the time of Cormac, grandson of just Conn,
 To his race belongs this western hill;
 But each man gave his ready life;
 Niall's fort was not taken from Niall.

king of Ireland, A.D. 220, son of Conn of the hundred battles, was surnamed Oenfer, because he was the only surviving son of his father. The meaning, therefore, is, "Wrest from Brian the lands of king Art Oenfer, [i.e., the kingdom of Ireland] and let the hostage of every oenfer [i.e., of every individual] be in thy hand." Oenfer in the preceding line is probably a mistake for beoio.

¹ Lurc, or Lorc: i.e., to Leinster; so called from Loeghaire Lorc of the Liffey, king of Ireland, A.M. 3649.

² Cormac's. Over the word Cairn-mac in the MS. a coeval hand has written "vel Cormaic," the more usual spelling.

³ Corc: i.e., to Munster. See note ², p. 124.

⁷ Washed thee. This seems a pro-

Caé nī ro gab Éirinn uaid,
 Dar cuan coelbinn clainnī Heill,
 Nī diaét tar bernaid neic duib,
 Ar caé tīr i Temraic tīem.
 Na leicīu ort na hob caé,
 Nīc peoil tīoīc da éoīc no deoē,
 U hui tīr Catal na caé,
 Na leic teē tatār do neoē.
 Nī hengnam bec gī bec moī,
 Iī ar deḡblad teit do ḡrian,
 Cī bec menman līnd a rād,
 Iī nāī rīeng rēn Temraic rīar.
 Santais rīu lūmneac na long
 Arḡais rēo conad cumneac aīd,
 ḡereḡ rīcīu līpī lūīc,
 Tucīu Capel Cuīc da cīnd.
 Iītīr [*vel* īrat] mac dīngbala dō,
 Ma dīngbala let rēcla,
 Maḡ tu bar de de naē dait,
 Dīd let ulī mī maīc īta.

a dub.

The refusal
of Aedh
O'Neill

LXXIV. Arbert, imorro, Aedh Ua Neill in tan bai
 Temair accorom .i. ic Ceneil Eoghain, ra corairpet a
 fairi, ocur inti ica miad da corḡad a fairi, ocur
 arbert naē tībped a anmain i cend caēa ro lamairb
 Dalcaīr do corḡam rīgī do neoē ele. Iī aīrīn ro
 ēairīr leo.

Maelsech-
lainn visits
Aedh in
person, and
offers to
resign his
crown.

Da poēt mī rēp dāna co Mailreclainn, ocur atpet
 na rēcla rīn do. Iīrī comarī da roḡnī Maelrec-
 lainn, do lūnd rēn co teāē Aedh Ua Neill, ocur bai

verbial expression, equivalent to our
 proverb of "dwelling in glass houses."
 But over the word neēt, "washing,"
 in a coeval hand, are written the
 letters rīc in the MS., probably to
 indicate another reading, neēt,
 "strength,"—"in vessels of glass is
 thy strength." But qu.?

¹ Over a gap: i.e., not one of you

obtained the sovereignty by any bye-
 way or treachery.

² *Lorc.* See above, note 4, p. 125.

³ *When they.* Lit., "When Temhair
 belonged to them, viz., to the Ceneil
 Eoghain;" i.e., the family of Eoghain,
 the branch of the O'Neill of which
 Aedh was the chieftain. B. reads,
 an tan ro bai Temair oc Ceneil

Of all the kings of you that ruled Erin,
 Of the sweet musical race of the sons of Niall,
 No one of you came over a gap¹
 From any quarter to strong Temhair.
 Let him not come upon you—refuse not battle—
 You are not dead flesh, in foot or horse;
 O descendant of the three Cathals of the battle,
 Leave not the house of thy fathers to any man!
 Tis no small valour, although the small is great;
 Tis with high renown thou goest against Brian,
 Although it is small courage in us to say so,
 Tis a shame to have old Temhair dragged to the West.
 Covet thou Luimnech of ships
 For this purpose—that thou mayest be remembered there,
 For thee will shout the Liphe of Lorc,²
 Pull thou down Caisel of Corc.
 Thou art a person worthy of it;
 If thou preserve thy worthiness in thy day—
 If thou be active now to the last,
 To thee shall belong all the good that remains.

THOU ART.

LXXIV. Aedh O'Neill, however, answered—“When they,³ namely, the Cenél Eoghain, had Temhair, they defended its freedom; and whoever possesses it, let him defend its freedom;” and he said “that he would not risk his life in battle against the Dál Cais, in defence of sovereignty for any other man.” This was the final answer.⁴

³ The refusal of Aedh O'Neill.

The man of poetry returned to Maelsechlainn⁵ and related to him those tidings. The counsel that Maelsechlainn acted on was this: he went himself to the house of Aedh O'Neill, and he spoke to him and offered him host-

Maelsechlainn visits Aedh in person, and offers to resign his crown.

Eoghan no coruatair apanne, ocu
 an ti aga mbiaó é péin ba coruath
 cona rannu: “When Temhair belong-
 ed to the Cinel Eoghan its freedom
 was defended, and whoever possesses it
 let it be his business to defend its
 freedom.”

⁴ Answer. Lit., “Thus he con-
 cluded with them,” i.e., the negotiation
 was concluded between Aedh and the
 ambassador of Maelsechlainn.

⁵ To Maelsechlainn. B. reads, ba
 innuinn rin co Maelsechlainn,
 “to tell this to Maelsechlainn.”

ieca agallaim, ocur tarḡio bpaḡti do, ocur po paib
ppir, Corain Temḡais duit fein ar re, ocur do beppa
ḡiallu duit, daig ir ppp lem beib accatpo na beib ie
ḡrian. Daig ni pil a acmaing againo can teaḡt i teaḡ
mḡrian min ḡriu leam i cenḡ caḡa, ocur maḡi leḡi
Cuind apcena.

Aedh as-
sembles the
Cenel
Eoghain.

Ro ḡinolit, ḡna, Ceneal Eogain iarpin co hḡeo Ua
Neill, ocur po innir doib in pcel rin .i. Maelpeclainḡ
i tairḡri ḡiall do ar dul i cenḡ caḡa leir in naḡio
ḡrian ocur ḡailcair. Ro paipret Cenel Eogain ni bi
ano rin [aḡt] elatḡ, daig po itir Maelpeclainḡ naḡ
ḡebad ḡeo a ḡiallu, daig ba rin ocur ba huapliu
Maelpeclainḡ ina ḡeo, ocur bad cuma leir i atpom
do toḡt i cenḡ caḡa leir, ocur co marbad do denam
doib, ocur ḡailcair.

Aedh ad-
vises deli-
beration.

Arbert ḡeo ppiu toḡt i comapli, ocur i cocup, ocur
ppcpa maiḡ do tabairt ar Maelpeclainḡ innar na
bad ḡortuḡ plaḡemnair doib a ḡupur cucu.

The answer
of the Clan.

ḡa cuatarpun i caḡur, ocur po batap iea impad
ca ḡcpa bad comaiḡ doibpcon ppi a nanmain in nuair
ḡa paḡtair i cenḡ caḡa ppi ḡailcair. Daig de etatar
naḡ teiḡpitiḡ ḡailcair romporom, ocur naḡ teiḡpitiḡ
peom ppi ḡailcair; ocur ḡa etatar na bi acmaing a

¹ *Hostages.* B. has tarccairḡ ḡó
Temhair, "he offered him Temhair;"
i.e., he offered to resign to him the
sovereignty of Ireland.

² *Temhair.* Corain duit fein i,
B., "Defend it for thyself."

³ *Said he.* Omit., B.

⁴ *Than.* Ina, B.

⁵ *Power.* Accaincc, B.

⁶ *Falling into.* Lit., "going into
Brian's house;" i.e., becoming one of
his vassals.

⁷ *Come not.* Muna ttiopairpi, B.
At the head of the battle: i.e., as com-
mander-in-chief.

⁸ *Assembled.* B. omits ḡna, and
iarpin.

⁹ *Offered.* Acc tairḡrin, B.

¹⁰ *Could be.* Nap bo cḡir rin,
oir po ppiir Maelpeclainḡ, B.:
"That this was not right, for Mael-
sechlainn knew, &c."

¹¹ *Older:* i.e., in pedigree; of an elder
branch of the family. B. reads, naḡ
ḡebad ḡeo a bpaḡḡe, oir ba fine.

¹² *Of themselves.* ḡoib fein ocur
do, B.

¹³ *Advised.* Accubairt ḡeo ppi
toḡt hi ccoccap, ocur hi ccomaple,
do tabairt deiḡppcpa, B.

¹⁴ *Secret council.* Caḡur, the same
word spelt cogur, three lines before.
B. reads hi ccoccap, another variation
of orthography.

ages¹; and said to him—"Defend Temhair² for thyself," said he,³ "and I will give thee hostages; for I would rather be dependent on thee than⁴ on Brian. For we have not power⁵ to prevent our falling into⁶ Brian's hands if thou come not⁷ with me at the head of the battle, and the nobles of Leth Cuinn also."

The Cenél Eoghain were then assembled⁸ to the presence of Aedh O'Neill, and he related to them the fact that Maelsechlainn had offered⁹ hostages to him provided he would go with him at the head of the battle against Brian and the Dál Cais. The Cenél Eoghain said that that could be¹⁰ nothing but evasion, for Maelsechlainn knew that Aedh would not accept of hostages from him, because Maelsechlainn was older¹¹ and nobler than Aedh; and he cares not, provided they go with him to the head of the battle, to the mutual slaughter of themselves¹² and the Dál Cais.

Aedh advised¹³ them to retire into secret council and conference, and to give a favourable answer to Maelsechlainn, so that his journey to them should not be a rejection of the sovereignty on their part.

They retired to secret council,¹⁴ and they asked themselves what benefit would accrue to them compared with their lives,¹⁵ should they take the lead in battle against the Dál Cais. For they knew¹⁶ that the Dál Cais would not retreat before them; and that they would not retreat before the Dál Cais; and they knew that it would be

Aedh assembles the Cenél Eoghain.

Aedh advises deliberation.

The answer of the Clan.

¹⁵ *Their lives.* Doib fpu a nannannaib, B.

¹⁶ *They knew.* Dais go fectattar rom nae teirpittir Dal cCair romparan, ocuf do fectattar nae biao acpains a neopana aet commarbad a ciele do denaib; ocuf do raiopiot nari bo fupail leo roear mor da cclonn tar a neir, oir ni biao a fuil le roear na le romane go bpat maó dia ccuipre an cat; ocuf a dubratar an cineoh nari teic ria loclanncoib, .i. an cineoh ar cpoda ran

toinan, B.: "For they knew that the Dal Cais would not retreat before them, and they knew that it would not be possible to separate them, and that they would mutually slaughter each other; and they said that they sought no great benefits for their children after them, for they could have no hope of benefit or of wealth for themselves for ever, if the battle was fought; and they said that the tribe that retreated not before the Lochlanna, who were the bravest tribe in the world, &c."

They demand from Maelsechlainn half of his territory.

Maelsechlainn departs in wrath.

He submits to Brian and offers him hos-

tages. Brian's answer.

neorana da compaigtiur oen caċ aċt caċ do commarbad a cele tob. Ro paitpet nar bupail leo roera da clainn dāneir. Dais ne [*leg. ní*] hé a ruil fein no biad pe roera da cuirtea in caċ. Dais ro etatar in luċt nar ċeic pe Loċlannaċaib no pe Danmarċaċaib .i. perin cinuud ir cpođa ir [in] doman naċ teicritiur pompurrom. Ir ri, imorro, comarbi da ponad leo .i. leċ per Miodi ocur perand Tempaċ doib, amail ro bad comduċaig doib, ocur do beptair caċ malle ppiur.

LXXV. Ro hinnireo do Maelreclainn in rcel rin, ocur po ġab perġ mor é, ocur po imoig ro dimdaig, ocur luio iarpin co clainn Colmain, ocur inniur doib in rcel rin, ocur ir comarbi da ponu teċt i teaċ mċuain. Da luio iarpin da pċet dec marċaċ co topaċt co pupull mċuain, can cor, can comarbi, aċt eneaċ Ġuain fein ocur Dalcair, ocur inniur na rcela ppi do, ocur po pait da baġbad acmaing comad caċ do bepad, ocur o naċ puair arbert comad do denum a puarrom tanic ocur co tibreo braġti do.

Ro pġair Ġuain rin, ocur po pait; dais ir amlaio tanacairiu cucainn, arpe, can cor, can comarbi, can coma, paġaio capoi mbliatona duitriu, can ġiall can etiri diairpait opġ; ocur paċmaitni dindirigi in luċta

¹ *Danmarkians.* Omit., B. Re hanmarċaċaib, D., for pe danmarċaċaib, according to the usual orthography of this MS., omitting the eclipsed or quiescent letter, and so in the line preceding etatar. for ġetatar.

² *Therefore.* Ocur ari comairle, B.

³ *The men.* B. reads, Leċh Miodi ocur pearann na Tempaċ a coiridūċar doib, ocur do bepdair caċ hi malle ppiu: "That half of Midhe [i.e., Meath], and of the territory of Temhair be their own inheritance, and that then they would fight the battle along with them."

⁴ *Was told.* Do hinnireo, B.

⁵ *Great wrath.* B. reads, ocur do ġab perġ mor Maelreclainn, ocur

do imoig ro dimiaċ, ocur do imoig ar rin co clainn Colmāin: "And great wrath seized Maelsechlainn, and he departed in displeasure, and he returned then to the Clan Colmāin, &c."

⁶ *To submit.* Lit., "to go into Brian's house;" i.e., become vassal or tributary to Brian; see note 6, p. 128. Ocur ari comairli do ponad leċ, .i. Maelsechlainn, do tol i tech Ġuain, B.: "And this was the advice they gave him, viz., Maelsechlainn, to go into Brian's house."

⁷ *Brian's tent.* Do luio iarpin Maelreclainn da pċet dēcc marċach go puāċt pupal Ġuain ar paitċe na Tempaċ, B.: "Then Maelsechlainn went forth with twelve

impossible to separate them, should they once join in battle, and that each would kill the other. They said that they sought not benefits for their children after them, for they themselves could have no hope of any benefits if the battle was fought. For they knew that the people who retreated not before the Lochlanns, nor before the Danmarkians,¹ the bravest nation in the world, would not retreat before each other. The resolution, therefore,² that was adopted by them was this: "that half the men³ of Midhe and of the territory of Temhair be ceded to them, as if it had been their inheritance, and that then they would fight the battle along with him."

LXXV. This fact was told⁴ to Maelsechlainn, and great wrath⁵ seized him, and he departed in displeasure; and he returned then to the Clann Colmain, and told them these tidings; and the advice they gave him was to submit⁶ to Brian. He, therefore, set out with twelve score horsemen, until he arrived at Brian's tent,⁷ without guarantee or protection, beyond the honour of Brian himself,⁸ and of the Dál Cais; and he related to him⁹ these facts; and he said¹⁰ that had he been able he would have given him battle, and as he was not able, he said that he came to make his submission to him, and to give him hostages.

Brian answered¹¹ that, and said: "Since¹² thou hast come unto us thus," said he, "without guarantee, without protection, without treaty,¹³ we give thee a truce¹⁴ for a year, without asking pledge or hostage from thee; and we will

score horsemen, until he arrived at Brian's tent, on the green of Tara."

⁸ *Himself.* B. omits *fein*.

⁹ *To him.* *Do Druan*, B., "to Brian."

¹⁰ *He said.* B. reads, *ocur a dubairt da mbeir a acpann asce gurab cat do béraró, ocur ó naé rianbe, a dubairt gurab do dé-narh a rianaróih táinic, ocur go ttiubharó brianóe dó:* "And he said that if he had been able he would have given battle, but as he was not able, he

said that he came to make his submission, and to give him hostages."

¹¹ *Answered.* B. reads, *ocur po fpreccair Druan:* (*negair* in D. being the same word with the initial *p* omitted.)

¹² *Since.* B. omits *tan*; and for *tanacairin*, reads *tanaróair*.

¹³ *Treaty.* *Cotharó*, B.

¹⁴ *Truce.* *Racharó cairde bliar-na tuit, gan gilla gan eoirie diarrair fort, ocur ríacaimne*

ryn impadryu, co rinnam ca ppegra do bepat forainn.
 .1. Aed ocyr Eochaid, ocyr mað cað do bepat duin, ar re,
 na tairryu nar naghaid leo. Arbert Maelreclainn
 nað ragað eter, ocyr arbert nað i comarli bað coir
 pobail re ðryan, aet bað copu do toet da tairg daig ba
 degturur do cena eirryun do tect na tect. Ocyr ba
 maið la cað uli in comarli rin, uair ni rabi aet dero
 lointi accu; ocyr ir ri rin comarli darronrat.

Brian
presents
twelve
score steeds
to Mael-
sechlainn,
who be-
stows them
upon Mur-
chad,
Brian's son.

Tuccat da picet dec eað anðryn do Maelreclainn
 o ðryan, ocyr ni rabi don dana picet dec bai apoen
 re Maelreclainn nec ryr ar biu eað do bpeit inaci
 leir, co tuc Maelreclainn uli iat do Murcðad mac
 ðryan tuc a lam in a laim in la rin. Daig ir é rin
 oen ríðdomna do epaib Epend nað rab i coracur ac
 Maelreclainn remi rin. Ro rcarpat, imorro, iarryn
 po rit ocyr po bennaetain, ocyr tancatar da tig.

Brian sails
to Athlone:
takes hos-
tages from
Connaught
and from
Maelsech-
lainn,
A.D. 1001.

LXXVI. Do ronað mor coblað muryoi [iarryn, accinn
 bliatna, la ðryan co hAelluain, ocyr rluáð ar tír ar
 rpuð Connaet, gur gabatar bpaigðe Connaet uile rru
 haointreectman, ocyr po rpeoth bpaigðe uaðba ar
 Maoleclainn, ocyr po inolaic Maoleclainn bpaigðe
 conuice rin in aenló. Tuccað bpaigðe Connaet, ocyr
 Maoleclainn go hAelluain. Impaithir ðryan leo rin
 oia tigh.

Brian
meets the
O'Neills
at Dun-
dalk.

Do ronað mór rloiríð arur accinn bliatna la ðryan
 co Dún Decca, ocyr po rpeoth bpaigðe uað ar Aoth
 ocyr ar Eochaid, no cað dpeora forra muna tugðair,

tionnraigíð in locta rin impaithir
 ir go rionnam, 7c., B.

¹ Aedh. Aedó ó Heill, B.

² Said he. Omit., B. Na tairry
 leó inar naghaid, B.

³ Said. Ocyr arbert, B.

⁴ He said. Arbert nar bí an
 comarle cóir nobail le ðryan
 do denaith, ocyr ba copu, 7c., B.

⁵ Submission. Lit., "from his [Mael-
 sechlainn's] having gone into his
 [Brian's] house." See above, note 6,
 p. 128. Do aetactrom da tig, B.

⁶ Provisions. Da lóintib, B.

⁷ Twelve score. Don da picet
 dec bai hi rparpat Maolec-
 lainn, aon duine lar ar mhað
 each do bpeit leir ina aice, B.

⁸ All. Omit., B.

⁹ For he was. Doig do bé rin en
 ríðdomna dpeaib Erynn nað
 raibe ar coracur, B. To under-
 stand this transaction the reader should
 know that by accepting the twelve
 score horses, Maelsechlainn acknow-

go to visit those people whom thou hast mentioned, that we may know what answer they will give unto us, viz., Aedh¹ and Eochaidh, and if they will give us battle," said he² "come not thou with them against us." Maelsechlainn said³ that he would not go on any account; and he said⁴ that Brian was not acting on a right advice, for it would be better for him to return to his home, because his expedition was sufficiently successful in having received submission⁵ from himself. And that advice was pleasing to all, because they were at the last of their provisions⁶; and this was the advice they adopted.

Twelve score steeds were then given to Maelsechlainn by Brian, and there was not one of the twelve score⁷ men who accompanied Maelsechlainn who would deign to carry a led horse with him; so that Maelsechlainn bestowed them all⁸ upon Murchad, son of Brian, who had given his hand into his hand on that day. For he was⁹ the only royal heir of the men of Erin who was not in alliance with Maelsechlainn before that time. They then¹⁰ parted in peace and with benedictions, and repaired to their respective homes.¹¹

Brian presents twelve score steeds to Maelsechlainn, who bestows them upon Murchad, Brian's son.

LXXVI. A great naval expedition was made [at the end¹² of a year after this, by Brian to Ath Luain, and an army by land throughout Connacht, so that he received the hostages of all Connacht in one week; and hostages were sought by him from Maelsechlainn, and Maelsechlainn conducted hostages to that place on the same day. The hostages of Connacht and of Maelsechlainn having been conveyed to Athluain, Brian returned with them to his house.

Brian sails to Athlone: takes hostages from Connaught and from Maelsechlainn, A.D. 1001.

A great expedition was made again, at the end of a year, by Brian to Dun Delga, and hostages were sought by him from Aedh, and from Eochaidh; or that war

Brian meets the O'Neills at Dundalk.

ledged Brian's sovereignty (see *Book of Rights*, p. 176). Maelsechlainn's followers refused to lead them and Maelsechlainn therefore bestowed them upon Murchad, Brian's son, in token of alliance and friendship.

¹⁰ Then. Ro rccapraetan ianrin B.

¹¹ Homes. Oia ttiḡib, B.

¹² At the end. Here there is another defect in the MS. D., owing to the loss of a leaf.

co ttangattaribh .i. Aodh ocuŕ Eochaid da accallaim
 go Dún Dealgá, go nderirar ríe ann, ocuŕ orrad, ocuŕ
 cáirdes mbliadhna dóibrium do dhénaim accomairle an
 cat no an bŕaighde do berdair hi ccinid bliadhna, ocuŕ
 gan raiŕib doibrium ar Maoilŕeclainn no ar Connaċ-
 taib fŕur an mbliadhain rin, aċt a mbeir ina ccáirdib.

Brian
 conquers
 Ulster,
 A.D. 1002.

Aodh and
 Eochaidh
 killed
 at Craebh
 Tulcha,
 A.D. 1003.

Brian con-
 quers the
 North,
 A.D. 1004.

Brian's
 expedition
 round
 Ireland,
 A.D. 1005.

LXXVII. Do ronaċ mórŕluaiŕib dŕepaib Eŕenn uile
 le Ħrian etir gall ocuŕ gaoibhel, do neoċ bai ó ŕliaċ
 ŕuaid atuid, accionn bliadhna iarrin go hUlta; ŕur
 ŕab ŕialla Ulaċ uile ó do ŕéimio Aodh cath dó. Ocuŕ
 accionn da bliadhain iarrin do raċ Aodh ocuŕ Eochaid
 cat Craibhe Tulcha, dú ar marċaċ iad araon, ocuŕ
 ro marċaċ maire Ulaċ uile ann.

Do ronaċ mórŕloigib iarrin la Ħrian, co raibhe
 aċhaiŕ iŕtaillein, ocuŕ go raibhe ŕeaċtġhain in Aŕo-
 macha co tuce ŕiche uinghe dóŕ ar aldoir in Aŕoma-
 chae, ocuŕ co tuce ŕialla Ulaċ ocuŕ Dalnaraibhe,
 ocuŕ in tuairceirŕ leir arcena, cenmoċa Cenel Conuill.

LXXVIII. Do ŕoine Ħrian mórŕluaiŕib iarrin accionn
 bliadhna ele timcell Eŕenn, ŕur ŕab bŕaighde ŕep
 nEŕenn uile. Iŕeċ do ċóirġh tŕé lár Connaċt, ocuŕ
 hi Maŕ nÁí rin Coirŕŕliaċ, ocuŕ hi tŕir Áilella,
 ocuŕ hi ceŕich Cairppe, ocuŕ tar Slicceach, ocuŕ lám
 ċlé le muir, ocuŕ lám ċep le tŕir, ocuŕ le Ĥeinn ŕul-
 ban, tar Duib, ocuŕ tar Ŧroċaoir, ocuŕ iMaigh nEine,
 ocuŕ tar Áċ Senaiŕ aŕ Ŧairŕuaib, ocuŕ iŕŕir nÁeda,
 ocuŕ tar Ĥepnar Mór, ocuŕ tar ŕerraid, ocuŕ iŕŕir
 Eoŕain, ocuŕ inŦail Riada, ocuŕ inŦail Araibhe, ocuŕ
 inUltaib ŕur gabairŕar ŕo Luŕnaraċh i mĤealaċ Dúin.
 Ro léice ŕiru Eŕenn iarrin dia tŕiŕib ŕompa. Do

¹ *Men of Erin.* A coeval hand has written over these words in the MS., no ŕep nEŕenn.

² *Lammas.* The *Ann. Ul.* read, co ŕoaċtaroir Luŕnaraċ co Ĥealach nDúin, "until at Lammas he reached Belach-dúin," or "Belach-múin," as in Dr. O'Connor's edition. The *Four Masters* use the same word, co tŕop-

ŕaċtatar, or doŕaċtatar, "he reached." But the text is correct; gabairŕar is a verb deponent, and signifies he took up at, or took possession of the place. We have an instance of this construction, ch. xxxi. p. 34, *supra*. ŕur gabairŕar ar eiccin i nDuiblinn, "they took possession by force of Dublin;" *lit.*, "took up [a position] in

should be proclaimed against them, if they gave them not. And they came, viz., Aedh and Eochaidh, to confer *with Brian* to Dún Dealga, and they made a peace and truce there; and they were given a year's time to come to a decision, whether it should be battle or hostages they would give at the end of the year; and that they were not to attack Maelsechlainn, nor the Connacht men, during that year, but continue as friends.

They make
a truce for
a year.

LXXVII. A great expedition of all the men of Erin,¹ both Gall and Gaedhil, of all who were from Sliabh Fuaid southward, was made by Brian at the end of a year after that against the Ulaidh, and he took the hostages of all Ulaidh since Aedh failed to give him battle. And in two years after that Aedh and Eochaidh fought the battle of Craebh Tulcha, in which they were both killed together; and all the nobles of Ulaidh were killed there.

Brian
conquers
Ulster,
A.D. 1002.
Aodh and
Eochaidh
killed
at Craebh
Tulcha,
A.D. 1003.

A great expedition was made after that by Brian; and he was a night in Tailltin; and he went from that to Ard Macha, and he laid twenty ounces of gold on the altar in Ard Macha; and he brought away with him the hostages of Ulaidh, and of Dál Araidhe, and of all the north likewise, except the Cinel Conaill.

Brian con-
quers the
North,
A.D. 1004.

LXXVIII. Brian made a great expedition afterwards at the end of another year all round Erin, and took the hostages of all the men of Erin. His route was through the middle of Connacht, and into Magh-n-Ai, over the Coirr Shliabh, and into Tir Ailella; and into the country of Cairpre, and beyond Sligech, and keeping his left hand to the sea, and his right hand to the land and to Beinn Gulban, over Dubh and over Drobhaois, and into Magh-n-Eine, and over Ath Seanaigh at Easruaidh; and into Tir Aedha, and over Bearnas Mór, and over Fearsad, and into Tir Eoghain, and into Dál Riada, and into Dál Araidhe, and into Ulaidh, until about Lammás² he halted at Belach Duin. He then dismissed the men of Erin to their homes

Brian's
expedition
round
Ireland,
A.D. 1005.

Dublin." In the old Irish of the Book of Armagh *pogab* occurs in the same sense, "he took up at" (a place).

lottaib laigib tar bregha buidhe dia ttiagib, ocur goill tar muir go hactliait, ocur co port lairge, ocur co luimneac, ocur Connaecta for fuo mibe riap dia ttiagib.

Supplies himself with provisions at Craebh Tulcha.

Ir ann bai brian hi cCraoib Tulcha, ocur Ulaib aga biataib ann. Tuccrat do ann da .c. decc mart, da .c. .x. muc, ocur da ceo decc molt, ocur po tioblaic brian da .c. decc eac doibhion, pe taoib oir, ocur airccit, ocur eadag; doig ni deachaid biataib aen baile doib o brian gan each, no ni diamadh buideac e draibail.

Levies tribute upon the Saxons, Welsh, the men of Lennox of Scotland, and Argyle.

Ro cuir coblac muirib iarrin ar muir .i. goill actliait, ocur puirt lairge, ocur ua cCeinnrelaig, ocur ua neatach Muhan, ocur urthor per nErendo do neoib portar ionmara doib; gur tobairiot an cior moigda sharan ocur bpetan, ocur Lemnaig, ocur [leg. i] Alban, ocur Airer gaoibhel uile, ocur a mbraibde ocur aneirpe, maille le moir cior. Do roinn brian an cior uile mar do bli .i. atriap do rig actliait, ocur atriap doccuib laigib, ocur ua neatach Muhan, ocur atriap ele daer dana, ocur ealadhna, ocur da gac duine ar mo painic a lep.

Ireland enjoys profound peace.

Brian enforces law and order.

LXXIX. Cio tra aet tainic brian morcuairt rig timcell Erendo amlaib rin, ocur do foccradh ritcan Erenn leir, etir cealla, ocur tuata, co nderhad rit in Eriann uile pe alin. Ro caet, ocur po cuibrig luc morca rogla, ocur dibairge, ocur coccad. Ro cpoth, ocur po mharb, ocur po muthaid meirleaia, ocur bit-benaia, ocur roglaia Erenn. Ro rcpior, po rcaoil,

¹ *Purveyor*. The *Biatach* or *Biadhtach*, an officer whose duty it was to supply provisions to all chieftains and persons of rank, travelling with attendants through the country.

² *And Alba*. The word in the original being in the genitive case (nom. *Alba*, gen. *Alban*), it is evident that for 7 Alban in the text, "the Lemhnaigh and Scotland," we should read .i. Alban, "the Lemhnaigh [or men

of Lennox] i.e., of Scotland." This removes the impropriety of distinguishing Scotland from Lennox and Argyle. The Lemhnaigh were descended from Maine Leamhna (so called from the river Leamhan), who was son of Corc, king of Munster, fifth in descent from Oilioll Olum, and of the same race as Brian (O'Flaherty *Ogyg.* p. 384); the Airer-Gaethil ["*Fines Gadeliorum*"], or men of Ar-

in all directions. The Laighin went over Bregha southward to their homes; and the foreigners over the sea to Ath Cliath, and to Port Lairge, and to Luimnech; and the Connacht-men through Midhe, westwards to their homes.

Brian was then at Craebh Tulcha, and the Ulaidh with him getting him provisions there. They supplied him there with twelve hundred beeves; twelve hundred hogs, and twelve hundred wethers; and Brian bestowed twelve hundred horses upon them, besides gold, and silver, and clothing. For no purveyor¹ of any of their towns departed from Brian without receiving a horse or some other gift that deserved his thanks.

Supplies himself with provisions at Craebh Tulcha.

He sent forth after that a naval expedition upon the sea, viz., the Gaill of Ath Cliath, and of Port Lairge, and of the Ui Ceinnselaigh, and of the Ui Eathach of Mumhain, and of almost all the men of Erinn, such of them as were fit to go to sea; and they levied royal tribute from the Saxons and Britons, and the Lemhnaigh of Alba,² and Airer-Gaedhil, and their pledges and hostages along with the chief tribute. Brian distributed all the tribute according to rights, viz., a third part of it to the king of Ath Cliath; and a third to the warriors of Laighin and of the Ui Eathach of Mumhain; and another third to the professors of sciences and arts, and to every one who was most in need of it.

Levies tribute upon the Saxons, Welsh, the men of Lennox of Scotland, and Argyle.

LXXIX. So Brian returned from his great royal visitation around all Erinn made in this manner; and the peace of Erinn was proclaimed by him, both of churches and people; so that peace throughout all Erinn was made in his time. He fined and imprisoned the perpetrators of murders, trespass, and robbery, and war. He hanged, and killed, and destroyed the robbers and thieves, and plunderers of Erinn. He extirpated, dispersed, banished,

Ireland enjoys profound peace.

Brian enforces law and order.

gyle, were also of Irish race, so that the object of this paragraph is to claim for Brian the supreme sovereignty of the Gaelic race. But it is most probably an interpolation inserted by some zealous partizan. The next chapter continues the history from Brian's

"great royal visitation round Ireland," without any reference to this foreign expedition; nor is there a record of his having invaded England, Wales, and Scotland in any other historical authority.

Complete
subjugation of the
Danes.

po ðealaiḡ, po ling, po lomair, po ledoiṛ, po mill, ocur
po mudhaiḡ Gullu gaḡa tpe, ocur gaḡa tuaitḡ in
Epenn uile ḡo foirleḡan. Ro marḡ aih a pioḡa, ocur
a puirpeacha, a tpeitill ocur a tpein mihlḡ, a laḡaile
ocur ḡairceiḡ. Ro daep, ocur po moḡranaiḡ a mair,
ocur a pḡaḡtaipeḡa, ocur a puaitpeacha a naḡair,
ocur a macaemḡa mairda moḡlana, ocur a ninḡena
mine macḡaḡa; comoh do rin po paitḡeḡ an laiḡ .i.

Ro bpaonnaḡ ḡil.

A lone
woman,
bearing a
ring of
gold,
travels un-
molested in
Ireland.

LXXX. Iar monnarbaḡ imorpo ḡall a hEpinn uile,
ocur a ccup Epenn na pioḡáin, tainicc aenḡen ó
Thopaiḡ tuairceipt Epenn, co Cliaḡna deirceipt Epenn,
ocur fail óir ap eaḡluirc pḡ aḡair, ocur nḡ puair a
rlaḡ, na a rapuccaḡ do ḡenaiḡ; conaḡ aipe rin po ḡan
an rle—

O Thopaiḡ co Cliaḡna cair,
Ir fail óir aice pḡ a ḡair,
I pḡ ḡriain taoibḡil nar tḡm,
Do tḡmḡil aenḡen Epinn.

Brian en-
courages
learning.

Ro cumḡaigeḡ leir ḡna cealla caḡair Epenn, ocur
a neiḡeḡa. Ro cuiritt paoiḡe, ocur maiḡirpeaḡa do
ḡeaccarcc ecna, ocur eolair, ocur do ḡenḡaḡ leaḡar
tar muir, ocur tar mórfairḡe; uair do loirceḡeḡ
ocur do baiḡeḡ a rceperḡa, ocur a liuḡair in ḡaḡ cill,
ocur in ḡaḡ neiḡeḡ ina poḡattar la ḡibepcaḡaiḡ ó
toḡaḡ ḡo deirḡeḡ. ḡriain imorpo do beirḡeḡiḡe luac
poḡlama, ocur luac leaḡar do ḡaḡ aon poleiḡ ḡa
tpeigeḡ anḡrin. Do ponaḡ imorpo luḡra iomḡa,
ocur lepaiḡte leir. Do ponaḡ leir tempull Cille
ḡálua, ocur tempull Inḡri Cealḡra, ocur cloicḡeach

He builds
and repairs
churches,
makes
bridges and
roads.

¹ Bestowed, &c. The poem here quoted was probably so well known at the time that the scribe did not think it necessary to copy more than its first words; but the editor has not been able to find it elsewhere.

² Banishment. It is clear that there

was no such "peace" and prosperity under Brian, as is here described. The annals exhibit their usual records of war and murder, nor were the Danes and other northmen ever "banished" from Ireland, not even after the famous battle of Clontarf, which did no more

caused to fly, stripped, maimed, ruined, and destroyed the foreigners in every district and in every territory throughout the breadth of all Erin. He killed also their kings, and their chieftains, their heroes, and brave soldiers, their men of renown and valour. He enslaved and reduced to bondage their stewards and their collectors, and their swordsmen, their mercenaries, and their comely, large, cleanly youths; and their smooth youthful girls. And it was on that occasion the poem was recited, viz.:

There was bestowed, etc.¹

LXXX. After the banishment² of the foreigners out of all Erin, and after Erin was reduced to a state of peace, a lone woman came from Torach, in the north of Erin, to Cliodhna, in the south of Erin, carrying a ring of gold on a horse-rod, and she was neither robbed nor insulted; whereupon the poet sang—

From Torach to pleasant Cliodhna,
And carrying with her a ring of gold,
In the time³ of Brian, of the bright side, fearless,
A lone woman made the circuit of Erin.

By him were erected also noble churches in Erin and their sanctuaries. He sent professors and masters to teach wisdom and knowledge; and to buy books beyond the sea, and the great ocean; because their writings and their books in every church and in every sanctuary where they were, were burned and thrown into water by the plunderers, from the beginning to the end⁴; and Brian, himself, gave the price of learning and the price of books to every one separately who went on this service. Many works, also, and repairs were made by him. By him were erected the church of Cell Dálua, and the church of Inis

Complete
subjugation of the
Danea.

A lone
woman,
bearing a
ring of
gold,
travels un-
molested in
Ireland.

Brian en-
courages
learning.

He builds
and repairs
churches,
makes
bridges and
roads.

than check their progress to complete ascendancy.

¹ *Time.* Keating, who quotes this stanza, reads, a bplait dhuan, "in the reign of Brian." Taoibgil being the gen. sing. masc. the epithets

taoibgil nan tım. "bright-sided, fearless," must be applied to Brian.

⁴ *To the end:* i.e., from the beginning to the end of the Danish sway in Ireland, the destruction of books was their universal practice.

Strength-
ens fortified
places
throughout
the coun-
try.

His pros-
perity for
fifteen
years.

Celebrated
by Gilla
Moduda.

Tuama Driene], ocur lubra imda ele arcena. Da
ponait leir drochait, ocur dochair, ocur rligeda. Ro
daininguit leir, dha, dúin ocur dainingui, ocur inpeda,
ocur ríspuirte aipeda na Muman. Da ponad, dha,
cumdač Capil na rí, ocur Cind Abrait, ocur inir Loča
Cento, ocur inir Loča Gair, ocur Dún Eochair Mangi,
Dún Cliach, ocur Dún Crot, ocur inir Loča Saiglenn,
ocur inir in Gail Duib, ocur Rorač, ocur Cento Corad,
ocur Dóruma, ocur ríspuirte Muman arcena. Ro bai
an arpen co rona, ríamail, co pleadač, fupideč, rí-
breatač, co conaich, cadurač; co ngenmnadeačt, ocur co
crabud, ocur corpečt, ocur co ríaglaib ic clepáib,
co ngail ocur co ngarced con neneach, ocur co nengnum
i laečuib, ocur co torpečt, tpen, tailc, trebarglan, u.
bliadna dec in arto rígi nEpend amail arbert Gilla
Moduda:—

Fúidh rígi, tui tpecc,
Drian breo of Danba blatbric,
Can ciabair, can biat, can brat,
Cuis bliadna dec fa degrač.

Da bliadain, imorro, deirbaid du da ríchet in artoirí
na Muman.

¹ *And many.* Here we return to the text of D. B. omits arcena.

² *Causeways.* Tochair, B.

³ *Strengthened.* Ro cumdaigeó leir dúinte, ocur dainingne, ocur ríospuirte, ocur inpeda oirgeda, B.: "By him were fortified duns and fastnesses, and royal forts, and celebrated islands, &c."

⁴ *Also.* "Do ponad leir, B., "By him was built." Ro cumdaigeó leir ror, "By him were additionally fortified," Keating.

⁵ *Cenn-Abrat.* Centopebratt, B., and Keating.

⁶ *Dun Cliath.* Ocur Dún Cliach, B., Keating.

⁷ *Inis an Ghaill Duibh.* Inir an Gail Duib, ocur inir Loča Saiglenn, ocur Rorač na ríog, B.: "Inis

an Ghaill duibh [island of the black foreigner, or Dane,] and the island of Loch Saiglenn, and Rosach of the kings." The names of these places are thus given by Keating:—"Cenn-fabhrad, Inis Locha Cé, Inis Locha Gair, Dún Eochair Mhaighe, Dún Iasg, Dún-trí-liag, Dún-gCrot, Dún Cliach, Innsi [the islands] an Ghaill-duibh, Inis Locha Saighlionn, Ros na Riogh, Cenn-Coradh, the Bórainmhe (an Órainmhe)."

⁸ *In like manner.* Ríspuirte Muman uile arceana, B.

⁹ *Peaceful.* Ro bai amlao rí co ríodamail, rona, pleadač, fupideč, ríbreatač, ocur co conáigh, cadurač; co ngeanmnagečt, ocur co ocrábad ic clepáib pé a lino, ocur co neineč, 7c., B.

¹⁰ *Firm.* B. omits tpen.

Cealtra, and the bell tower of Tuam Greine], and many¹ other works in like manner. By him were made bridges and causeways,² and high roads. By him were strengthened,³ also, the duns, and fastnesses, and islands, and celebrated royal forts of Mumhain. He built, also,⁴ the fortification of Caisel of the kings, and of Cenn Abrat,⁵ the island of Loch Cend, and the island of Loch Gair, and Dún Eochair Maige, Dún Cliath,⁶ and Dún Crot, and the island of Loch Saiglend, and Inis an Ghaill Duibh,⁷ and Rosach; and Cend Coradh, and Borumba, and the royal forts of Munster in like manner.⁸ He continued in this way prosperously, peaceful,⁹ giving banquets, hospitable, just-judging; wealthily, venerated; chastely, and with devotion, and with law and with rules among the clergy; with prowess and with valour; with honour and with renown among the laity; and fruitful, powerful, firm,¹⁰ secure; for fifteen¹¹ years in the chief sovereignty of Erin¹²; as Gilla Mududa¹³ said—

Strength-ens fortified places throughout the country.

His prosperity for fifteen years.

Celebrated by Gilla Moduda.

A boiling sea, a rapid flood—

Brian the flame¹⁴ over Banbha of the variegated flowers;
Without gloom,¹⁵ without guile, without treachery,
Fifteen¹⁶ years in full prosperity.

For two score years, wanting two, was he chief king of Mumhain.¹⁷

¹¹ Fifteen. *Da bliathain déas*, B. Keating. "twelve years."

¹² Erin. *Na hÉirenn*, B.

¹³ Gilla Mududa. B. has *gile*, "the poet," without naming him, nor does Keating give the poet's name, although he quotes the same stanza, which occurs in the poem attributed to Giolla Moduda O'Cassidy, abbot of Ardbrecan, and preserved in the *Book of Lecan*, fol. 312 a, and in the *Leabhar Gabhala* of the O'Clery's (MS.), in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, p. 233, stanza 51. This poem begins thus:—*Éire ogh iní na naomh*, and contains a list of the kings of Ireland from the introduction of Christianity to the year 1022. O'Flaherty's *Ogyg. Prolog*, p. 2.

¹⁴ Torch, or flame. D. reads *beo*, "living," but *bpeo*, the reading of B., of the *Leabhar Gabhala*, and *Book of Lecan*, has been adopted, as giving a better sense. Keating has *Óneag*, "Brian of Breagh," or Bregia.

¹⁵ Without gloom. B., Keating, and the *Leabhar Gabhala*, give this line thus:—*San ciamaip san beo san bpat*. The *Book of Lecan* reads, *San ciamaip san bet san bpat*.

¹⁶ Fifteen. B., with Keating, *Leabhar Gabhala*, and *Book of Lecan*, reads, *da* (i.e., "twelve years"), and a "his" for *pa*.

¹⁷ Mumhain. B. reads, *da bliathain ceapda do da píet no bai iníge Muman*. "Four score years, wanting two, was he king of Munster."

Maelmordha, king of Leinster, brings a tribute of pine trees to Brian.

He arrives at Kincora.

Gormlaith excites him to throw off Brian's yoke.

His quarrel with Murchadh, Brian's son.

LXXXI. Da luib, imorro, iarrin Maelmorda mac Murchada nu lagen do mólucan tri feolcrand giurais dibbaid feda saille co Brian co Cend Corad .i. feolcrand o Uib Falgi, ocu feolcrand o Uib Faelan, ocu feolcrand o Uib Muirtheadis [ocu o Laighi, ocu o na tri Comnaib.] Co tarla imarbaig etorro ac toct in nagaib plebi mboccaic, co ndeicid in nu fein, .i. Maelmorda, ro feolcrand Ua Faelan, ocu innar rroil tuc Brian remi do ocu corpair [oir] ina timcell, ocu enaip arsaic and, bai in tinar umi, ocu mebaic enap da enapaib perin feidim. Ar roctain doib, imorro, co Cend Corad, tall in nu a inar de ocu pucad docum a retar e do cur enaip arsaic ind .i. do cum Gormlaith ingini Murchada mna Brian, ocu robi rde matair Donada mic Brian. Ro gab in rigan intinar, ocu tuc urcuir irin tenid de, ocu ro bai ica curracad, ocu ica gregaic a bratar, daig ba holic le mogranu, ocu daiprini ocu docra do denum do neoic, ocu in ni nar faematar a atair na fenaicair do femaic do, ocu arbert co rirthead a mac ara mac in ni cetna.

LXXXII. Tohruid fuitheoir fuigill etorro ocu Murchadh,

¹ After this. Feicu do luib Maolmordha, B., "Once upon a time Maolmordha, &c."

² Convey. Dmolucan, B.

³ Pine. Lit., "sail-trees of pine."

Tri feolcrand nsiura ofioibaid feda saille co Brian, B. Saille in the text is probably a mistake of transcription in the MS. D. for saille.

⁴ *Ui Faelain.* In B. these names are in the singular, o Faelga, o Faelain, o Muirtheadis; and the words "and from Laighis, and from the three Commainns," are omitted, being an evident interpolation, for otherwise there would have been more than three masts. This clause has, therefore, been placed within brackets, although it occurs in the text of D.

⁵ The king himself. B. reads, nu Langean fein, "The king of Leinster himself," omitting, .i. Maelmorda. The dispute was evidently for precedence among the three tribes who had supplied the masts; and it broke out at a boggy place, where it became necessary to proceed in single file, and the question arose who should go first, the king himself decided the question by assisting to carry the mast of the *Ui Faelain*.

⁶ Buttons. B. reads, ocu inar rroil tuc Brian do reimhe rin, ocu corpair oir in a timceall, ocu enapide arsaic ann: "And he had on a silken tunic which Brian had given him before that, which had a border of gold around it, and silver buttons on it." This gift was the token

LXXXI. After this,¹ Maelmordha, son of Murchadh, king of Laighin, set out to convey² three masts of pine³ of the trees of Fidh Gaibhli to Brian to Cenn Coradh, viz., a mast from the Ui Failghe, and a mast from the Ui Faelain,⁴ and a mast from the Ui Muireadhaigh [and from Laighis, and from the three Commainns]. But a dispute took place between them when ascending a boggy mountain, whereupon the king himself,⁵ viz., Maelmordha, put his hand to the mast of the Ui Faelain, having a silken tunic which Brian had previously given him, which had a border [of gold] round it, and silver buttons⁶; the tunic was⁷ on him, and one of its buttons broke⁸ with the exertion.⁹ Now, when they had arrived at¹⁰ Cenn Coradh, the king took off his tunic, and it was carried to his sister to put a silver button on it, viz., to Gormlaith,¹¹ daughter of Murchadh, Brian's wife¹²; and she was the mother of Donnchadh, son of Brian. The queen took the tunic and cast it into the fire¹³; and she began to reproach¹⁴ and incite her brother, because she thought it ill that he should yield service and vassalage, and suffer oppression from any one, or yield that which his father or grandfather never yielded; and she said that his [Brian's] son would require the same thing from his son.¹⁵

Maelmordha, king of Leinster, brings a tribute of pine trees to Brian.

He arrives at Kincora.

Gormlaith excites him to throw off Brian's yoke.

LXXXII. Some peevish words followed between him and

His quarrel with Murchadh, Brian's son.

of his vassalage to Brian. See above, note 9, p. 132.

¹ Was. Ocuṛ do bī, B.

² Broke. Do mēabairō, B.

³ Exertion. Re mēo an fēōma, B.

⁴ Arrived at. Ar ttopaētān imorpo doib, B.

⁵ Gormlaith. B. reads, call an nī a ionar de do cūp an cnaipe ann cūm ḡormlaitha: "The king put his tunic off to have the button put on by Gormlaith."

⁶ Wife. .i. bean ḡruain, ocuṛ do bī ḡin matair, 7c., B.

⁷ Fire. Ocuṛ do beṛt upcār de ipin tēme, B.: "She made a cast of it into the fire."

⁸ Reproach. B. omits ic a cupra-cad ocuṛ.

⁹ His son. This is better expressed in B., thus:—doig ba hōlc le moḡ-ranne no dairpe do cūp do neōc ele fāir, .i. an nī nār fāom a atair no a fēnatāir nār, ocuṛ atbeṛt fōr co ḡirpēad mac ḡruain ar a mācraṇ mā dāig, ocuṛ gād dūine dēir aṇoile: "For she thought it ill that service or vassalage should be yielded by him to any one, a thing that his father or his grandfather never yielded; and she said also that Brian's son would hereafter require it from his [Maelmordha's] son, and all other men afterwards."

Maelmordha departs in anger.

Brian sends to recall him.

ċad ar matin tre riċimpeparin pīocellaċta .i. Murċad ocuŕ Conaing batar ic imiŕt piċilli, bai Maelmorda ac tegore ar Murċad, ocuŕ po tincoirċ beirt diaro cluċi ſor Murċad. Ro ſeſgaċed Murċad, ocuŕ arbert, 1ŕ tu tuc comarli do gallaib in tan po mebaiſ ſorpu. Ro ſaiſ Maelmorda do, ſeſad comarli aſuſ doib, ocuŕ ni mebaiſ ſorpo. Arbert Murċad, ſiſ int ibar inaiſti accut ſodein doib. Ro ſeſgaċed Maelmorda, ocuŕ da ċuaiſ da ċiſ lebċa can ceſacuſ can celebrad.

LXXXIII. Ro hinnireſ ſen do ſrian, ocuŕ po ċuſ gilla na diaiſ dia aſtad corpo aſaillead ſrian, ocuŕ corpuċad cſod ocuŕ tuararſul leiſ. 1ŕ and ſin ſuc in gilla ſaiſ i cino claiſ Cilli Dála allanaſ, ocuŕ ſeiſſium ic ſul ar a eċ and. Tohſaiſ ſiċnoſ eturpu ocuŕ in gilla, ocuŕ impoſ ſſuſin gilla, ocuŕ do beſt

¹ *Conaing*. "Conaing, son of Donnchuan," *Keating*, i.e., Brian's nephew who was afterwards killed at the battle of Clontarf; but *Keating* adds, no do ſéir ſhuinge ar é Comorba Caoimġin Shlinne da loċ do ſi aſ imiſt ſó Murċad. "Or according to some it was [Conaing] successor of St. Kevin of Glendaloch that was playing with Murchadh," meaning, no doubt, Conaing O'Carroll, erenagh of Glendaloch, whose death is recorded by the *Four Masters* at 1031.

² *Defeated*. *Keating* adds, aſ cat Shinnemama, "at the battle of Glenmama," which is evidently the defeat alluded to.

³ *Yew tree*. Alluding to Maolmordha having concealed himself in a yew tree after the battle of Glenmama, see ch. lxxi., p. 119, *supra*. *Keating* softens this insulting speech into a ſlan ſaoi ſin, ar Murċad, "I defy thee to do it, said Murchadh."

⁴ *Taking leave*. The whole chapter is thus given in B.: Cſo tſa

aċt tſaſla ſſiċnoſce ſuigill ſoiſ Murċad (mac ſrian), ocuŕ Conaing, ocuſ iad oc imiſt ſiċilli. Do teſaſiſ Maolmorda beſt ar Murċad da ſuſad cluċe ſaiſ. Ro ſeſgaċed Murċad mon beſt, ocuŕ po ſéſ ar Maolmorda, ocuŕ arbert ſſuſ: ar tu tuc an cſoiſſle dona gallaib an la po mebaiſ ſorpo. Ro ſáiſ Maolmorda ar na imſeſad co mſoſ: Do beſſa comaiſle doib aſuſ 1ſ noċa muigſe oſſa. Arbert Murċad, ſiſo anſiſban ina áſte ſot tſin da tucċa, ar ſe. Do ċuaiſ ſi laigen da teg leabċa ſan ceſuſġad ſan celeabſad: "It happened also that he had some hasty words with Murchadh, son of Brian, and Conaing, who were playing chess. Maolmordha taught a move against Murchadh by which the game went against him. Murchadh became angry at this move, and he looked at Maolmordha and said to him, Thou art he who gavest advice to the foreigners

Murchadh the next morning, arising out of a casual controversy at chess; for as Murchadh and Conaing¹ were playing chess, Maelmordha was teaching against Murchadh, and he advised a move by which a game went against Murchadh. Murchadh became angry, and said: "It was thou that gavest advice to the foreigners when they were defeated."² Maelmordha said: "I will give them advice again, and they shall not be defeated." Murchadh said: "Have the yew tree³ made ready for them by yourself." Maelmordha became angered, and retired to his bed-room without permission, without taking leave.⁴

LXXXIII. This was told to Brian, and he sent a messenger⁵ after him to detain him until Brian should converse with him, and until he should carry away with him cattle and pay. The messenger overtook him at the end of the plank-bridge of Cell Dálua, on the east side, and he was mounting his horse there. A dispute ensued between him and the messenger, and he turned on the messenger and gave him a stroke of a yew horse-switch on his head,

on the day when they were defeated. Maelmordha said in great wrath, I will give them advice again, and they shall not be defeated. Murchadh said, Let the yew tree be ready for thee to sit on, said he. The king of Laighen went to his bedchamber, without asking permission, without taking leave." On comparing this passage with Keating's narrative, and with the context, it is evident that something is omitted in both MSS., and that we should read, "Maelmordha retired to his bedchamber, and next morning left the house, without asking permission or taking leave." Keating says, *Éirigh a muca na marone, agus fagbair an baile san céiliobhras do Brian*: "He arose early in the morning and left the place without bidding farewell to Brian."

⁵ *Messenger*. *Do éirigh gilla ghrada do féin do portas ní Laighen, .i. Cogarán ainm an gilla, agus beirir*

an gilla fear, agus fearóir fear cloí co níg Érenn ar cenn tuar-
artail óir agus éirí. Impar an
ní fear agus se ar eé a cenn clair
Cille dá lua, agus tís beim don
eacraire ibair go gur bair enaim
an énn uile, agus ip iméar bai
fear co teag níg Érenn, B.: "He
sent an officer of his own to stop the
king of Laighen. Cogarán was the
name of the servant; and the servant
gave him the message, and asked him
to return to the king of Ireland for
wages of gold and vestments. The
king [Maelmordha] turned upon him,
and he was on horseback at the head
of the plank-bridge of Cell dá lua,
[Killaloe], and struck him a blow
with a horse-switch of yew, so that he
broke all the bones of his head, and he
was carried back to the house of the
king of Erinn." The next clause from
mapcar to áinn in gilla, is omitted
in B.

L

Maelmordha smites the messenger.

He raises a rebellion against Brian.

O'Neill with the kings of Cairbre and West Breffni plunders Meath.

beim do eadlaire ibair do na čento, cor bpur enama in cind uli. Imarcup bai fair in gilla co Cento Copad. Cocarán, dona, ainm in gilla. Robail do fairind an točt ina diaid, ocur can a lečud ar comad riarač. Arbert ūrian ip for colba a čaizi fein po riuread coir fair, ocur ni fell ina čiz fein do genad fair.

LXXXIV. Ro poič, imorro, Maelmorda in aoidhi rin co sin Lear Abain, i nUib ūuidi .i. co teač Mic Berdai, riš Ua mūuidi. Ro poič moč arnambarac in Garbtam-naiz, co teač Dunlaing mic Tuatail .i. ri lartair lipi, ocur timairgeter mači lažen ina conui co rici rin, ocur ina comdail; ocur inniur doib mičadur dagbail do, ocur ail brečri do tabairt air fein, ocur ar in cugeo uli. Ip i comarli for ar delaiš leo impo ar ūrian, ocur fairid tečta co Flaitbertač mac Murchertaiš Uí Neill .i. co riš Ailiz, ocur ačnit do cožad do denam rri Maelreclaind, ocur rri hultuib, raiter perra ele co Pergal Ua Ruairc co riš ūreiri, ocur co hualgarš Ua Ciarda ri Carbri, ocur poemait rin uli impo ar ūrian.

Do ponu Flaitbertač cpeč i Muidi, ocur po inpetar formor Muidi leir. Ar diuide po marbad Orlí mac ūbeind mic Imair, fer grada do ūrian, ocur Mormaer da maeruib e, ocur rocharde ele. Do ponad cpeč mor ele re hualgarš Ua Ciarda ocur re Pergal Ua Ruairc

¹ Pursue. Rop áil ūpōirinn ann točt an deašairó ri lažen, ocur gan a leigin arf go mač riarač, B.: "Some were anxious to pursue the king of Laigen and not to let him off until he made submission."

² Demand. Sippemair, B.

³ Treacherous. Ocur ni feall inar ttiš fein do gēnam fair, B.

⁴ Maelmordha. Maelmordha mac Murchadā, B.

⁵ Arrived. Raimic, B.

⁶ Son of Berdai. Co fein lip Abain in uib ūuidi co teč mic ūeinde, B.: "At Senlis Abain [old Fort of

St. Abban] in Uí-Buidhi, to the house of the son of Benne."

⁷ Early. For moč arnambarac, B. reads arnamarač.

⁸ Assembled. Ocur po timairgettar mače an čuicčō uile ma čoinne ocur ina čoinčāil, B.: "And the nobles of the whole province assembled to meet him, and in his presence."

⁹ Received. B. omits dagbail do.

¹⁰ Decision. Ip i comarple ar an cinnead aca, impo ar ūrian, B.: "This was the decision that they came to, to turn against Brian."

and broke all the bones of the head. It was necessary to carry the messenger back to Cenn-coradh. And Co-carán was the name of the messenger. Some were anxious to pursue¹ him [Maelmordha] then, and not allow him to escape until he made submission. But Brian said it should be at the threshold of his own house he would demand² justice from him, and that he would not prove treacherous³ to him in his own house.

LXXXIV. Maelmordha⁴ arrived⁵ that night at Sen Leas Abáinn, in Ui-Buidhi, viz., at the house of the son of Berdai,⁶ king of Ui-mBuidhi. He arrived early⁷ the next morning at the Garbh Thamhnach, at the house of Dunlang, son of Tuathal, king of Iarthar Liphí; and the nobles of Laighin assembled⁸ to meet him at that place, and in convention; and he told them that he had received⁹ dishonour, and that reproachful words were applied to himself and to all the province. The decision¹⁰ that they came to thereupon was to turn against Brian; and they sent messengers to Flaithbhertach, son of Muirchertach O'Neill, i.e., to¹¹ the king of Ailech, exhorting¹² him to make war upon Maelsechlainn and Uladh; and other messengers were despatched to Ferghal Ua Ruairc, king of Brefni; and to Ualgarg O'Ciardha, king of Cairbri; and these all¹³ consented to turn against Brian.

Flaithbhertach made a plunder in Midhe, and the greater part¹⁴ of Midhe was ravaged by him. It was on this occasion was slain Osli,¹⁵ son of Dubhcenn, son of Imar, an officer of Brian, and one of his high stewards, and many more. Another great plunder was made by¹⁶

Maelmordha smites the messenger

He raises a rebellion against Brian.

O'Neill with the kings of Cairbre and West Brefni plunders Meath.

¹¹ To. B. omits, .i. co.

¹² Exhorting. *Al aine do cogad do denath an Maelseclainn. Faiden feara ele co hUalgarg hua Ciarrda co ru Carrpne, ocuf co Ferghal ó Ruairc co ru Dneipne [ocuf a aine do cogad do denath an Maelseclainn ocuf an fearaib Mroé, ocuf impot an Drian], B. :* But it is evident that the clause within

brackets is a mere repetition by a clerical error of the scribe.

¹³ These all. This clause is omitted in B.

¹⁴ Greater part. *Urmor Mroé uile leir, ocuf is di rin, B.*

¹⁵ Osli. Or Fosli; the Flosa or Flosius, of the Sagas.

¹⁶ By. *Le hUalgarg hua Ciarrda, ocuf le. B.*

Maelsechlainn defeats them, A.D. 1012.

pop Maelreclainn, cop airsgret Galenga, cop marbhat Domnall mac Donchaid Ua Maelreclainn, ríghdomna Tempač, ocur Cernač mac Flainn, rí Lini, ocur Senan Ua Leucan, rí Galeng, ocur rocharde ele. Airtarraig Maelreclainn iarrin ordo, co tuc Maelreclainn tacup, ocur cop marbat leir Ualgarg Ua Ciardha rí Carbri, ocur Tado Ua Cernacan, airri bpremi, ocur rocharde ele and.

He plunders the foreigners as far as Howth.

Da ponad creč re Maelreclainn iarrin pop gallaib, ocur po inrit co beinn Eoir; ocur po appaid ordo Maelmorra mac Murčada, ocur Sitruuc mac Amhlaid, ocur gail ocur Lagin, ocur po marbhat in tper creac da crečaid uli. Iorocair and in tAlbanač mac Maelreclainn, ocur Lorcan mac Eactigern [ri] Ceneil Mecair, ocur da cet apoen riu.

His son and 200 others slain.

The foreigners and Leinstermen plunder Meath.

Maelsechlainn complains to Brian.

LXXXV. Da ponad morfluageo iarrin la gallaib, ocur re Laguib, ocur po hinpeč Mičleo co fabur Fečín, ocur rucrat brait mor ocur buar diairmuiri leo a Termuinn fabair. Da lotar teačta iarrin o Maelreclainn da acaim rin re brian .i. a čir ca hinpeč, ocur a macu ea marbat, ocur napodaim cocao gall ocur Lagen ocur bpremi ocur Carbri ocur Cenel Eogain in oen abull fair.

¹ Upon. Ar. B., "against."

² Royal heir. B. omits ríghdomna Tempač, and reads ocur sup marbhat Cernač mac Flainn. The Four Masters and Ann. Ult. call him Cearnachan.

³ Liné. So in both MS. But we should read Luighne. See Four Mast. and Ann. Ult. 1012.

⁴ Senan. Senač ó Lócán rí Galeng; so rucrat riu Mičleo, ocur Maelreclainn rorpa, ocur rucrat tačar da čéile, sup marbhat and Ualgarg Ua Ciardha rí Cairpre, ocur Tado ó Cernačán oirrič bpreme, ocur daine imda eile, B.: "Senach O'Lóchán, king of

Galeng; until the men of Meath and Maelsechlainn overtook them, and they had a skirmish together, in which were slain Ualgarg Ua Ciardha, king of Cairpre, and Tadhg O'Cernachán, subking of Brefne, and many other men." The Four Masters read "Senán Ua Leochan, Lord of Galeng."

⁵ Overtook. Over artarraig in D. the original scribe has written no artarraig: i.e., "or artarraig," a different form of the same word.

⁶ After this. B. omits iarrin, and reads ar gallaib ocur po hinpeč.

⁷ But. B. reads ocur ruc orpa. Arpaio in the text is for artarraig.

Ualgarg Ua Ciardha, and by Ferghal Ua Ruairc upon¹ Maelsechlainn; and they plundered the Gailenga, and they killed Domhnall, son of Donnchadh, grandson of Maelsechlainn, royal heir² of Temhair, and Cernach, son of Flann, king of Linè,³ and Senan⁴ Ua Leuchan, king of Gaileng, and many others. After this, Maelsechlainn overtook⁵ them; and Maelsechlainn gave them battle, in which Ualgarg Ua Ciardha, king of Cairbri, and Tadhg Ua Cearnachan, sub-king of Brefni, and many others were killed by him.

Maelsechlainn defeats them, A.D. 1012.

A plundering expedition was made after this⁶ by Maelsechlainn against the foreigners, and he ravaged as far as Benn Edair; but⁷ Maelmordha, son of Murchadh, and Sitriuc, son of Amhlaibh, and the foreigners, and the Laighin⁸ overtook them, and killed the whole⁹ of one of their three plundering parties. There fell there the Albanach,¹⁰ son of Maelsechlainn, and Lorcan, son of Echtigern [king]¹¹ of Cinel Mechair, and two hundred along with them.

He plunders the foreigners as far as Howth.

His son and 200 others slain.

LXXXV. A great expedition¹² was afterwards undertaken by the foreigners and the Laighin, and Midhe was plundered by them as far as Fabhar of Fechin; and many captives and cattle innumerable were carried off by them from the Termon of Fabhar. After which messengers went from Maelsechlainn to Brian, to complain of this, namely, that his territory was plundered and his sons killed, and praying him not to permit the foreigners and the Laighin, and the Brefni, and the Cairbri, and the Cinel-Eoghain, to come all together¹³ against him.

The foreigners and Leinstermen plunder Meath.

Maelsechlainn complains to Brian.

⁸ *And the Laighin.* B. has *ocuf gaili laigen* "and the foreigners of Laighen." *Su mapbrat*, B.

⁹ *The whole.* B. omits *uili*. The Four M. (1012) read, *cpneic dia ccre-acarb*, "one of his plundering parties."

¹⁰ *The Albanach*, i.e., the Scotchman. Ann. Inisf. (DUBL) and Four Masters read, "Flann, son of Maelsechlainn." For *torocann*, B. reads, *ocuf torocann*.

¹¹ *King.* This word is inserted from B. The Four Masters say that it was the son of Lorcan, not Lorcan himself, who was slain on this occasion; and they add, "This was the defeat of Drainen," now Drinan, county Dublin.

¹² *Expedition.* This chapter occurs only in D.

¹³ *Together.* *Ocbull* is for *paroball*, "at the same time;" *simul*.

Brian
plunders
Ossory and
Leinster.
Murchad
devastates
the country
from Glan-
daloch to
Kilmain-
ham.
They block-
ade Dublin.

LXXXVI. Da ponad mor pluaged fer Muman ocur
Conaēt la Brian iarrin in nOrpraigib ocur illaighib,
ocur po inpit Orpraig leo. Da ponu Murchad mac
Brian cpeē mor illaighib, ocur po aig in tip uli co
roēt ramud Cairngin, ocur po inperair in tip uli ocur
po loipe, ocur ruc brait mor leir, ocur buar diarmuī,
ocur po roēt co Cill Maighneon, co faēi Aēa Cliat. Ro
ruaēt Brian, am, ocur in pluag ina comdail, do ponrat
forbari ocur forcomet for Aē Cliat, ocur forlongport
ano. Batar ano rin ó feil Ciaran fogmair co notlaic
mor, ocur ni po riarrat gail no laigin ppurin oen gail,
no oen cat, no oen coma do. O tapnic doib allom tanic
Brian da taig po notlaig.

Brian ad-
vances
against
Dublin.

LXXXVII. Do gniēer mor pluaged ele la Brian ar
feil Patraic eppraig, do gabail for Aē Cliat ocur ar
laigin. Ot cuatat, tra, gail in toēartul rin cucu,
po cupit teēta ocur perra ar caē leē uaēib, do ēinol
topeaē ocur pocraidi cucu, do peratal caēa do Brian.
Ro toēuped ēucu, em Dpodor iarla, ocur Amlaib mac
ni Lochlan .i. da iarla Cairi, ocur tuarairt Saran uli.

The auxili-
aries of the
foreigners.

¹ After this. B. omits iarrin.

² Osraighe. The clause within brackets is omitted in B.

³ The whole. B. omits ule.

⁴ Cairnghen: i.e., the religious house or monastery of St. Cairnghen, (St. Kevin,) of Glandaloch. According to the reading of D. this devastation was by Murchadh, son of Brian; but B., by omitting the words within brackets, makes Brian himself the devastator.

⁵ Country. Ocur po hinorad an tip leir, ocur ruc brait mōr eirte, ocur po ruāēt co Cill Maighneann, co faēēē Aēa Cliat cona pluag, ocur do ponrat forbari ocur forēomēēt for Aē Cliat, ocur do batar ann ó feil Ciaran, 7rl., B.: "And the country was ravaged by him, and many captives taken by him, and he marched to

Cill Maighneun, to the green of Ath Cliath, with his army, and they made a siege and a blockade round Ath Cliath, and remained there from the Feast of Ciaran, &c."

⁶ To join him. Lit., in his presence: i.e., Brian with his army came up to join his son Murchadh.

⁷ Great Christmas. See above, p. 113 and p. 117.

⁸ Subsidy. B. reads, ni po riarrat aigret gail inat laigin iat ppur an pe rin im gail, im cat, no im comag.

⁹ Provisions. A lōinte, B.

¹⁰ On. Im, B., "about."

¹¹ In spring. Om. B.

¹² Attack. Do gabail ar, B.

¹³ When. O po cuatat imorpo goil Aēa Cliat an toēertal rin cucu cupit perra, ocur teēta ar

LXXXVI. After this¹ the men of Mumhan and of Connacht, under Brian, made a great expedition against the Osraighe and against the Laighin, [and Osraighe² was ravaged by them. Murchadh, son of Brian, made a great plunder of the Laighin], and he devastated the whole³ country, until he reached the community of Caimhghen,⁴ and he ravaged and burnt the whole country⁵; and many captives were carried off by him, and cattle innumerable; and he came to Cill-Maighnenn, to the green of Ath Cliath. Then Brian and the army arrived to join him.⁶ They made a siege and blockade round Ath Cliath, and an encampment there. They were there from the festival of Ciaran in harvest, to great Christmas⁷; and neither the foreigners nor the Laighin yielded him, during that time, one hostage, nor one battle, nor one subsidy.⁸ So when their provisions⁹ were exhausted, Brian retired to his home about Christmas.

Brian
plunders
Ossory and
Leinster.
Murchad
devastates
the country
from Glan-
daloch to
Kilmain-
ham.

They block-
ade Dublin.

LXXXVII. Another great expedition was made by Brian on¹⁰ the festival of Patrick in spring,¹¹ to attack¹² Ath Cliath and the Laighin. But when¹³ the foreigners heard of this muster coming against them, they sent messengers and ambassadors every where around them, to gather troops and armies unto them, to meet Brian in battle. They invited unto them Brodor, the earl, and Amlaibh, son of the king of Lochlann, i.e. the two earls of Cair, and of all the north of Saxon-land.¹⁴ These two were

Brian ad-
vances
against
Dublin.

The auxili-
aries of the
foreigners.

gac let uataib do cinól pluair, ocu poairde cuca, do ppeptal cata do Druan, B. It will be seen that D. reads ppeptal for ppeptal, omitting the initial p, as usual in that MS.

¹⁴ *Saxon-land*: meaning England. B. reads, Ro tocupeard cuca annym Druan iapla Cair hCpcaual mac n Lochlann, ocu Cpcaual iapla Cair hCpcaual, .i. n cuap-cept Saxon, ocu cuapc longri, 7nL: "They invited to them Brodar,

the Earl of Cair Ascadal, son of the king of Lochlann, and Ascadal, earl of Cair Ascadal, viz., king of the north of Saxon-land, and the chiefs of ships, &c." There is evidently some confusion in these readings. The *Annals of Loch Cé* call Brodar iapla Caóipe Eabpoig, "Earl of Caer Ebroc" [i.e., York], but this must be a mistake. The romantic tale, called "The Battle of Clontarf," has "Brodar and Asgal, two sons of the king of Lochlann."

Ταιρις longri ocur inarbtaiḡ ocur danair iartair
Eorpa uli in diaḡ rin, can čagill, can aittirin, can čatur,
can comarci do Dia no da duni, do cill no do nemeat,
ocur rice cet danar dian, dolis, dibercač, durcraideac,
do Anmarḡačaiḡ allmarḡaiḡ ingantačaiḡ, aca cpeic,
ocur ica paicleat babein, no ar op ocur ar arḡat ocur
ar cač inmur arčena. Ni bai, imorpo, danar no
diberḡač don ričit cet rin, can lupis lainderḡa, tailc,
tpenḡualaiḡ taitnemaiḡ, do iarunḡ aith aitleḡčta, no
duma innuar nemeḡḡiḡ, ima toebaib, ocur imma cne-
raiḡ leo o cennaib co bonḡaiḡ.

Superiority
of the
Danish
armour.

Sigurd,
earl of
Orkney,
arrives with
an army
from the
Isles.

The sons of
the king of
France,
with
others, join
against
Brian.

Ro točupet cucu, ḡna, Siucraio mac Lotair, iarla
inri Opc ocur na niri arčena, ocur comtinol plois
buiḡb, barḡarḡa, dičeillio, dočirc, dočomainḡ, do ḡallaib
inri Opc, ocur inri Cat; a Manainḡ, ocur a Sci, ocur a
Leotur; a Cinto Tiru, ocur a hčirer ḡoedel, ocur da
barun a Corp ḡpetnaiḡ, ocur Cornḡabbliteoc a ḡpet-
naiḡ Cilli Munu.

Ro točupet cucu, ḡna, Carlur ocur Ebric, da meic
riḡ Franc, ocur Plat, tpen milio Loclanḡ, ocur Conmael
tpeitel. Da počt, tra, in longer rin ar cač aipḡ co
hčč Cliač. Bai, ḡna, rocraiḡi aobul mor i nčč Cliač
badein .i. tri cača comora comnerḡa. Da počt, ḡna,
Moelmorḡa mac Murčarḡa mic Finḡ, ri Lagen, ocur
rocraiḡi Lagen ocur Ua Centḡelaiḡ leiḡ, co čč Cliač.
Tri cača mora dibriḡe.

¹ *Danars*. This word, though originally signifying *Danes*, is often used in the sense of violent, villanous, ferocious, persons. It probably has this signification here, and is certainly so used again, lines 4 and 7, of this page. B. omits uli, "all."

² *Veneration*. ḡan paicill, ḡan aittirin, B.

³ *For man*. Do Dia no dume, do naerh, no do neimeḡ, B.: "For God or man, for saint or for sanctuary."

⁴ *Two thousand*. Lit., "twenty hundred." So both MSS.; but the

Ann. Ult., Four Mast., and Leabhar Gabhala, read "one thousand."

⁵ *Hard-hearted*. B. omits durcraideac, and reads, durdiberccač do ḡhanmarccaib, supplying the initial ḡ, which, as usual, is dropped in D.

⁶ *Selling*. Ar na cpeic, ocur ar na ccenḡač ar óri, ocur ar ionnmur maraen riḡ, B.: "Selling and hiring themselves for gold and for treasure, along with them."

⁷ *There was not*. Ni ranbe imorpo, B.

⁸ *Triple-plated*. tpenḡualaiḡ, B.

the chiefs of ships, and outlaws, and Danars¹ of all the west of Europe, having no reverence, veneration,² respect, or mercy for God or for man,³ for church or for sanctuary, at the head of two thousand⁴ cruel, villanous, ferocious, plundering, hard-hearted,⁵ foreign, wonderful Danmarkians, selling⁶ and hiring themselves for gold and silver, and other treasure as well. And there was not⁷ one villain or robber of that two thousand who had not polished, strong, triple-plated,⁸ glittering armour of refined iron, or of cool uncorroding⁹ brass, encasing their sides and bodies from head to foot. Superiority of the Danish armour.

They invited to them also Siucrad,¹⁰ son of Lotar, earl of the Orc islands, and of other islands also; with an assembled army of ignorant, barbarous, thoughtless, irreclaimable, unsociable foreigners of the Orc islands, and of the Cat islands; from Manann, and from Sci, and from Leodhus; from Cenn Tire, and from Airer-gaedhel; and two barons¹¹ of the Corr Britons, and Corndabbliteoc of the Britons of Cill Muni. Sigurd, earl of Orkney, arrives with an army from the Isles.

They invited to them also Carlus and Ebric,¹² two sons of the king of France, and Plat, a strong knight of Lochlann, and the hero Conmael.¹³ This fleet then arrived¹⁴ from every quarter at Ath Cliath. There were also in Ath Cliath itself¹⁵ a very great force, namely, three very great strong battalions; for Maelmordha, son of Murchadh, son of Finn,¹⁶ king of Laighin, and the muster of Laighin, and of Ui Cennselaigh,¹⁷ with him, came to Ath Cliath. These formed¹⁸ three great battalions. The sons of the king of France, with others, join against Brian.

⁹ *Cool, uncorroding.* Inoſuair nenn meingis ima cneapab leo ó inoab co bonnab, B.

¹⁰ *Siucrad.* "Sitric, son of Lodar," B. "Sichfrith, son of Lodar," *Four Mast.* "Siuchradh, son of Lodar," *Ann. Ult.* "Sigurd, Hlödver's son," *Nial's Saga.*, cap. clviii.

¹¹ *Two barons.* B. reads, ocuf a barru, ocuf a Cornbreatnaib, ocuf a Cornbliteoc, ocuf a bpeatnaib Cille Muine: "And from Barra and from the Corbritons, and

from Corn-bliteoc, and from the Britons of Cill-Muine [St. David's]."

¹² *Ebric.* Eilric, B.

¹³ *Conmael.* Maol, B.

¹⁴ *Arrived.* Do roctabar tra an longet rin, B.

¹⁵ *Itself.* B. reads, ocuf do bí roctarís aóbal in Ath Cliath féin .i. trí cata commóra coimneptae.

¹⁶ *Son of Finn.* Om., B.

¹⁷ *And of Ui Cennselaigh.* Om., B.

¹⁸ *These formed.* For ocuf trí cata commóra doibféin, B.

The forces
of Brian.

He plun-
ders all
around
Dublin.

Fingal and
Howth
burned.

Brian holds
a council.

The march
of Brian's
army.

LXXXVIII. Imēura, imorro, Brian mic Cennetig
ni Epend. Ro tinolite éucí sein noē do pēcair é do
pēraib Epend .i. da cinceo Muman ocur Conaēta, ocur
fir Míoi; ocur ni ba tairri dorum fir Míoi, uair da
firir sein cotreicfirir é re huēt in caēa rin, ce tan-
catar ir in comēinol. Ocur pancatar, tra, co hāē
Cliaē. Ocur ro inrit Ua Gabla, ocur Ua Donēada, ocur
fini Gall uli leo. Ro lorced leo Cell Maighnend. Ro
cured, dona, Donēad mac Brian ocur glaplanē Dalcair,
ocur tper cat Muman por tuatāib lāgen, ocur ndiaio
na muinter, dia nareain ocur dia inoruiro in tiri. Ot
concatar na gall na porloici i fini ocur tuatē-ētair,
tancatar ina nāgair i Maē nēlāda, ocur por compaircet
ocur tucrat a nōna caēa or airo.

Ir and bai Brian andren ar pāēi āēa Cliaē, ocur
matē Dāilcair in aipectur, im Maelreclaind ocur im
Murēad, ocur im Conaing, ocur im Tadh mac Catail,
ocur im matib Conaēt arēna, ocur fir Muman, ocur
fir Míoi; aēt maō enni nīr ba pun oen fir ic pēraib
Míoi re caē, no ic Maelreclaind.

LXXXIX. Da deārtair Brian uada dārair co
pācartar uad in cīrī comēruind, comor, cengailtī,

¹ Now. B. omits imorro.

² King. Cīrōrī, B., "chief king."

³ Obeyed. In neō po pēccair é, B. Lit., "responded to him."

⁴ Conacht. B. reads, ocur cingeō Conaēt, ocur beccān do cingeō Ulaō: "and the province of Conacht, and a small portion of the province of Uladh."

⁵ Faithful. Rob ettairirī dō ran fir Míoe tangatar na ēmōl, oir dōis po firir co ttreicpēttair é re huēt an caēa, B.

⁶ And they. B. omits this clause.

⁷ And Uí Gabla. Ro hinorad hua Gabra, B.: "They plundered Uí Gabhra," &c., omitting and.

⁸ All. B. omits uli leo.

⁹ By them. B. reads, ocur ro lorced Cluain Dalláin, ocur Cell

Maighnenn la Brian: "And Cluain Dalláin [Clondalkin], and Cill Maighnenn [Kilmainham] were burnt by Brian."

¹⁰ New levies. Lit., "green levies." Co nglapath, *Dubl. Ann. Inisf.*, which Dr. O'Connor translates "cum cœruleis militibus Dalcassiorum," and explains *Gallo-glass*, or soldiers painted a livid colour to excite terror, *Rer. Hib. Scriptt.* tom. ii. The romantic tale, "Battle of Clontarf," reads, co nglaplanh.

¹¹ Were sent. Ro toēupēad, B.

¹² Territories. I porpuatāib, B.

¹³ The country. Da ninnpāō ocur da nāgair, B., "to plunder and spoil."

¹⁴ Saw. Ot concatar, B.

¹⁵ Fine. Fini Gall ocur attuatē

LXXXVIII. To return now¹ to Brian, son of Cennedigh, The forces of Brian. king² of Erinn. There assembled around him all that obeyed³ him of the men of Erinn, namely, the two provinces of Mumhain and Conacht,⁴ and the men of Midhe; but the men of Midhe were not faithful⁵ to him, for he knew himself that they would desert him at the approach of that battle, although they came to the assembly. And they⁶ now reached Ath Cliath. And⁷ Ui Gabhla, and Ui Donnchadha, and all⁸ Fine Gall were plundered by them. He plunders all around Dublin. Cill Maighnenn was burned by them.⁹ Then Donnchad, son of Brian, and the new levies¹⁰ of the Dal Cais, and the third battalion of Mumhain were sent¹¹ into the territories¹² of Laighin, in the absence of its people, to spoil and plunder the country.¹³ When the foreigners saw¹⁴ Fingal and Howth burned. the conflagration in Fine¹⁵ Gall and the district of Edar, they came against them in Magh n-Elda,¹⁶ and they met, and raised their standards of battle on high.

Brian was then on the plain¹⁷ of Ath Cliath, in council Brian holds a council. with the nobles of the Dál Cais,¹⁸ and with Maelsechlainn, and with Murchadh, and with Conaing, and with Tadhg, son of Cathal, and with the nobles of Conacht together, and with the men of Mumhain and the men of Midhe;¹⁹ but it happened that the men of Midhe and Maelsechlainn were not of one mind with the rest.²⁰

LXXXIX. Brian looked out behind him and beheld the battle phalanx, compact, huge, disciplined, moving in The march of Brian's army.

Εδομψ, B., which readings being more correct, are adopted in the translation.

¹⁶ In *Magh-n-Elda*. Co Maḡ nElda ocuṛ po conaigset a moðnaða cata of aṛto, B.: "To Magh-n-Elda, and they ranged their standards of battle on high."

¹⁷ *Plain*. Fathca, B.

¹⁸ *Dal Cais*. Ocuṛ maite pep nEpeun a naṛeaðtar ime ann, im Mupcað, 7c., B.: "And the nobles of the men of Erinn with him there, with Murchadh," &c.

¹⁹ *Midhe*. B. omits all mention of Maelsechlainn and the men of Midhe or Meath, and reads, ocuṛ im maithib Connaðt ocuṛ Murhan, "and with the nobles of Connacht and Mumhain."

²⁰ *The rest*. B. reads, Oðet ceta, nīr bo nūn anṛīr ag Maelsechlainn nē cað, óir innīrīr pcan-ðarbo co ttaṛpnic, 7c.: "But Maelsechlainn was not of one mind with the rest; for historians relate," &c., proceeding as in chap. xc., and omitting the whole of chap. lxxxix.

copait̄i caṭa, co tai tarṭaṭ, co cobrait̄ coṭnaṭ, co hoentaṭaṭ oenmenmnac, ic rlaigi in maiḡi čucu, ocur .x. merḡi ocur tpi ričit opo, do deḡ, ocur do buiṭi, ocur duani, ocur do cenel caṭa ṭaṭa; mon merḡi ričit rap ruāčn̄o, penta, painemail, puc buait̄ [caṭa] caṭa ocur caṭa eliaṭa, ocur caṭa congala, p̄r ap b̄riṭeṭ .iii. caṭa conicci inninat̄ p̄n .i. merḡi opḡpanemail Fergail Ua Ruairc, aip̄oṛi tuat̄ ḡp̄eṛni ocur Conmacni, ocur Fergal p̄in and̄p̄in, ocur Domnall mac Ragallaiḡ, ocur ḡilla na Noem mac Domnall ua Fergail, ocur maičit̄ tuat̄ ḡp̄eṛni ocur Conmacni apčena. Ocur tan-catar ḡair̄it̄ on longp̄oṛit̄, ocur ṭa p̄aiṭp̄et̄ar and̄, ocur tanic Fergal ocur na mačit̄ map̄ arab̄i ḡp̄ian ṭa aḡal-laim, ocur ṭa p̄earap̄tar ḡp̄ian p̄ailt̄i cundail cap-demail p̄ir, ocur p̄o ep̄iḡ Murčait̄ p̄emi, ocur p̄o p̄aiṭp̄ium ina inat̄; ocur p̄obi ḡp̄ian ic p̄iap̄p̄aiḡiṭ̄ p̄cel ṭe, ocur innip̄rium ṭo, Ōeo mac Ualḡairḡ Ua Ciap̄a, p̄i Cap̄p̄i, demet̄ tiačt̄ leiṛ ṭočum in čaṭa p̄in, ṭo cunḡnum p̄e ḡp̄ian; ocur p̄o mallaiḡ ḡp̄ian and̄p̄in Ua Ciap̄a ocur Cap̄p̄i, ocur tuc bennačt̄ ap̄ Fergal ocur ap̄ p̄earaib̄ ḡp̄eṛni apčena.

Another
account.

XC. Ṭaiḡ ip̄eṭ innip̄it̄ p̄aip̄eṭo co tap̄nic ṭo na hallmap̄ačait̄ a tuap̄ap̄tal in naṭaich p̄emi p̄in ṭo caičit̄um, ocur co p̄ancatar co ḡeint̄ eṭaiṛ, in t̄p̄at̄ at concatar na p̄op̄loṛci ocur in t̄p̄i ica hinp̄eṭ; uair̄ tap̄cat̄ar ṭo ḡp̄ian in aṭaiḡ p̄emi cap̄oṛi ṭoib co t̄p̄at̄h eip̄i ap̄nambap̄ač, can na p̄op̄loṛci ṭo ṭenum, co ṭoebait̄ir na p̄eolcp̄ain̄o, ocur ni impob̄ṭaiṛ ṭop̄ir; uair̄ p̄ub eḡail leo ḡair̄ceṭ Murčait̄, ocur Ṭálcair apčena.

¹ *Fergal himself.* This chapter occurs in D. and not in B. No mention of Fergal Ua Ruairc and his followers, as present in the battle, is to be found in the Annals, nor is he mentioned in the Book of Conquests, or by Keating.

² *Refused.* The MS. has demet̄, for ṭp̄emet̄, or ṭoṭemet̄.

³ *Some.* Seanchaib̄e, B., "historians."

⁴ *Battle.* In aṭhaḡ p̄oime, B., "the night before."

⁵ *When they saw.* Ōn tan aṭ-

silence, mutely, bravely, haughtily, unitedly, with one mind, traversing the plain towards them; and three score and ten banners over them, of red, and of yellow, and of green, and of all kinds of colours; together with the everlasting, variegated, lucky, fortunate banner, that had gained the victory in every battle and in every conflict, and in every combat; by which seven battles had been gained before that time, namely, the gold-spangled banner of Fergal Ua Ruairc, chief king of the territory of Brefni and Conmaicni; and Fergal himself¹ was there, and Domhnall, son of Ragallach, and Gilla-na-naemh, son of Domhnall, grandson of Fergal, and the nobles of the territory of Brefni and Conmaicni in like manner. And they came near the tent, and stopped there; and Fergal and the nobles advanced to where Brian was, to meet him, and Brian gave them a hearty friendly welcome; and Murchadh rose up to him, and seated him in his place. And Brian asked him the news, and he told him that Aedh, son of Ualgairg Ua Ciardha, king of Cairbri, refused² to accompany him to that battle in defence of Brian. And therefore Brian cursed Ua Ciardha, and the Cairbri, and gave a blessing to Fergal and to the men of Brefni also.

XC. Some,³ indeed, have said that the pay of the pirates was spent the night before that battle,⁴ and that they had gone *homewards* as far as Benn Edair, when they saw⁵ the conflagration and devastation of the country; for they had offered Brian the night before,⁶ that if he would delay the burning until the morrow's sunrise, they would raise⁷ their sail-masts, and never return again⁸; for they dreaded the valour of Murchadh, and of the Dál Cais in general.

conncatar na poploircte : Fingall, ocuf an tîr ga hinðreò, B. : "When they saw the conflagration in Fingall, and the country devastated."

⁵ Night before. In aóarð romie rin, B., "the night before that."

⁷ They would raise. Ocuf co toc-pairir, B.

⁸ Again. Ocuf na hiompoðoar to rinðir, uair nob eccanl leo, 7c., B. D. has rub for nob, evidently an error of the scribe.

Another account.

Assembling
of the
forces.

XCI. Cíð, trā aēt, ro impoðar in longear, ocur tan-
catar in oen inat, ocur gaili Aēa Cliaē, ocur Lagin, co
pabatā .uii. catā comora comnera. Cíð, ðna, aēt ba
ðail glecaē, ðonaē, ðlipiteaē, ðuleaē, ðorðerð, aðmar,
aðarb, ipðalaē, in comðail rin Ðálcaip ocur ðer Munan
ocur Conaēt, ocur ðer Ðreðni, ocur gaili, ocur Lagin.

Description
of the forces
of the
enemy.

Ðatar, imorpo, ðun ðarna leið in catā rin glaim
ðlonmar, ðurmar, glecaē, ðalaē, ðnimaē, ðarðbeoða,
ðuabpiz, ðian, ðemnietaē, ðaraētaē, ðiceillið, ðocoipe,
ðoðomuinð, beoða, boðb, barðarða, boaðba, aē, aēlum,
anniarða, uplam, angbað, ipðalaē, nemneē, niata,
namðemaið ðanaip; ðana, ðurðerðeē, annarðach,
anbli, allmarða gaili, ðorðglara, ðentlið; can ēagill,
can eadur, can aitiin, can comarai ðo Ðia no ðo ðuni.

Their
weapons.

Ðatar leo ðen ðo ðerðal catā ocur comlainð ara cino,
ðaiðti ðeði, ðeoðpacha, ðuleē, ðorðerð, ðuēðip, ðuē-
baccanaē, ðera, ðoipri, ðuneē, aðmara, aēi, acbeli,
niata, nemneē ar na ðobpeð, ocur ar na ðorðamnat, a
ðulib ðrecon, ip loðconð, ip ðoborðatðac, uipðec, ipcorð
ip oncon ip naēðac aēnemneē, necramaið arðena, ða
caēiun ðein ocur ða niðpucad im naipaiðtib aiz, ip
ipðali, ip engnuma. Ðatar leoren ðaiðtibuilc baðba,
barðarða, ocur boðaða blaēi blauið; ocur Laiðni
lonna, leiðanglara, ðera, ðarða, temnið, i lamaib leið-
meē, ðana, ður ðiðberðac leo. Ðatar leo, trā, lupeē
laiððerða, luēmarða, ðreðualac, ðroma, ðrentreðpað
ðo iarunð ait, aēleðē, ocur ðuma imnuar, nemerðið,
ðe ðitiin corð, ocur cneð, ocur cenðmullaið, ðib ar
arðmaib aēi, aizbeli, ocur ar ilðæðpaib, ilib, aðmara.

¹ *One place.* An aen ionat, B.

² *A conflict.* Cíð trā aēt ba
coñðat, B.

³ *Wounding.* Om., B. In the next
line B. omits "and the men of Brefni,"
and adds after "Laighin" ðe ceile,
"together," or "with each other."

⁴ *Of that battle.* Ðatar ðna ðon
ðarna leið ðon cat rin, B. We
have here an extravagant specimen

of the heaping together alliterative
epithets, in which the Irish bardic
writers took delight. To find English
equivalents for such absurd verbosity
is no very profitable or easy task: there
are here something like twenty-seven
adjectives strung together before we
come to the substantive they are in-
tended to describe. The corresponding
passage in B. is as follows: glánh,

XCI. But now the fleet returned, and came to one place¹; Assembling of the forces. both the foreigners of Ath-Cliath and the Laighin, and they formed seven great strong battalions. And then ensued a conflict,² wrestling, wounding,³ noisy, bloody, crimsoned, terrible, fierce, quarrelsome: that conflict of the Dal Cais and the men of Munster, and of Conacht, and of the men of Brefni, and of the foreigners, and of the Laighin.

Now on the one side of that battle⁴ were the shouting, Description of the forces of the enemy. hateful, powerful, wrestling, valiant, active, fierce-moving, dangerous, nimble, violent, furious, unscrupulous, untamable, inexorable, unsteady, cruel, barbarous, frightful, sharp, ready, huge, prepared, cunning, warlike, poisonous, murderous, hostile Danars; bold, hard-hearted Danmarkians, surly, piratical foreigners, blue-green, pagan; without reverence, without veneration, without honour, without mercy, for God or for man. These had for the purposes of Their weapons. battle and combat, and for their defence,⁵ sharp, swift, bloody, crimsoned, bounding, barbed, keen, bitter, wounding, terrible, piercing, fatal, murderous, poisoned arrows, which had been anointed and browned in the blood of dragons and toads, and water-snakes of hell, and of scorpions and otters, and wonderful venomous snakes of all kinds, to be cast and shot at active and warlike, and valiant chieftains. They had with them hideous, barbarous, quivers; and polished, yellow-shining bows; and strong, broad green, sharp, rough, dark spears, in the stout, bold, hard hands of freebooters. They had also with them polished, pliable, triple-plated, heavy, stout, oorslets of double refined iron, and of cool uncorroding brass, for the protection of their bodies, and skin, and skulls, from sharp terrible arms, and from all sorts of fearful weapons. They had also with

glonnmar, gliproc, gluphar, šalac, gleacac, gníomac, gairce-
beoá, éruaroe, éomnarra, élogat
éam, curraáca [clorine], plerín-
na, plipéa, plirgeala, gear, glana,
gornglara, luirneé, larrac, lann-
veoá, óera, díorá, doirngeala,
ruirpeé ocup ruígmileó leó rri

leatracó ocup rri harpleac, ocup
rri hatcuma cner, ocup conp, ocup
cenomullac, diblinib. All that
follows in the text is omitted in B.
to the end of chap. xcii.

⁵ Defence. Lit., "over their heads:"
rreacal is for rreacal; the r omitted
as usual in D.

ḡatar, ḡna, leo claiḡmī calma, cupata, tḡoma, tḡort-
bulleā, tailēi, tḡena, tairbteā.

Description
of Brian's
troops.

XCII. ḡatar, imorpo, ḡon leiē ele in caā ḡn,
cupair cḡoda, comēalma; garrair, glangḡata, luēmaḡa,
letmeā, lanēalma, meḡda, moḡḡnimaē, ullā, alainḡ.
allaā, bḡutaē, bḡiḡaē, boḡḡḡudach, miamḡa, nuagel,
nemeḡtneē, aḡmaḡ, enḡaē, ilbuadaē; tḡéit ocuḡ tairiḡ
tḡetil, ocuḡ tḡenmilḡ laeē ḡali, ocuḡ ḡaircḡ, eniḡ, ocuḡ
enḡnuma ḡḡeno .i. In luair letḡom ḡo bḡuḡ caē tḡen,
ocuḡ ḡo ḡain caē ḡot, ocuḡ ḡo liḡ caē ḡocair, ocuḡ ḡo
lomair caē tḡen ēeno .i. Clanna luḡdeā mic Oenḡuḡa
Tiriḡ, ḡuḡ a ḡateḡ ḡálcair ḡoḡama, ocuḡ ḡḡatai glan-
ḡairta ḡoedel ar oen ḡu.

Panegyric
on the Dál
Cais.

The Franks
and Israel-
ites of
Ireland.

The lions of
the Gael.

The wolf
dogs of
Ireland.

The hawks
of Europe.

Ciniḡ intamlaiḡteā ḡn ḡo macair Milead ar ḡiḡ-
daē, ocuḡ ar ḡologuḡ, ar tḡeoir, ocuḡ ar airbḡit, ocuḡ
ar inḡaiḡ. ḡḡainc na ḡotla ḡonḡairḡ, ar ḡlicuḡ, ocuḡ
ar glangaircḡ .i. Meic airḡa, alli, uairli, ilbuadaā,
Irḡaēil naēḡḡeno illataiḡēi, ar caḡi, ocuḡ ar cunlaē, ar
ḡiḡinni, ocuḡ ar inḡacuḡ. Leomain lonna, letairēā,
letmeā na ngoedel, ar ḡail, ocuḡ ar ḡaircḡ, ocuḡ ar
ḡnimpad. Onēoin aēi, atluma na ḡanba buadaēi, ar
talci ocuḡ ar talcaireē. Sebuic ḡuairci ḡairḡenḡa na
hḡoppa alli, aduair, ḡuḡ naḡ ḡabad caē no caḡair no
cliataē no comlonḡ ḡiam ḡemiriḡ, no anḡiriḡ ḡein.

Their arms
and ar-
mour.

ḡa, ḡna, leo ḡo ḡḡtal caā ocuḡ comlonḡ, oḡa cinḡ,
ḡlegā ḡuairci, ḡemneā, ḡiēnaraā, ḡiḡcaini, ḡianamla ḡuḡ
alli ḡinḡuill. ḡḡa boḡba bḡairēi, co ḡuaēnemair ḡita,
ḡainemair, congḡan tairiḡnib, ḡlana, ḡloḡda, ḡlainḡi,
ḡa nian ḡibḡucud ḡuḡ hairiḡēi baḡ ocuḡ irḡaili. ḡatar
leo, ḡna, lenti leḡa, lainḡḡa, cuana coema, cneḡgela,
cunḡa, copu, comēoema. ḡatar leo, ḡna, inair alli, illa-
daā, cneḡta, coema, cumdaēta, cḡḡantanaā, ēoema,

¹ *Weight.* Luair. *Lit.*, "lead."

² *Nails.* The MS. D. has here congḡḡan; but the ḡn are a mani-
fest mistake which the scribe probably

forgot to erase. The correct reading
congḡan has been adopted in the
text.

them valorous, heroic, heavy, hard-striking, strong, powerful, stout swords.

XCII. But on the other side of that battle were brave, valiant champions; soldierly, active, nimble, bold, full of courage, quick, doing great deeds, pompous, beautiful, aggressive, hot, strong, swelling, bright, fresh, never-weary, terrible, valiant, victorious heroes and chieftains, and champions, and brave soldiers, the men of high deeds, and honour, and renown of Erinn; namely, the heavy weight¹ that broke down every stronghold, and cleft every way, and sprang over every obstacle, and flayed every stout head, that is to say, the descendants of Lugaidh, son of Oenghus Tirech, who are called the Dal Cais of Borumha, and the stainless intelligent heroes of the Gaidhil along with them.

These were a tribe worthy of being compared with the sons of Miledh, for kingliness and great renown, for energy, and dignity, and martial prowess. *They were the Franks* of ancient Fodhla, in intelligence and pure valour; the comely, beautiful, noble, ever-victorious sons of Israel of Erinn, for virtue, for generosity, for dignity, for truth, and for worth; the strong, tearing, brave lions of the Gaedhil, for valour and bold deeds; the terrible, nimble, wolf-hounds of victorious Banba, for strength and for firmness; the graceful, symmetrical hawks of mild Europe, against whom neither battle, nor battle-field, nor conflict, nor combat was ever before, nor then was, maintained.

And these had for the purposes of battle and combat, above their heads, spears glittering, well riveted, empoisoned, with well-shaped, heroic, beautiful handles of white hazle; terrible sharp darts with variegated silken strings; thick set with bright, dazzling, shining nails,² to be violently³ cast at the heroes of valour and bravery. They had on them also, long, glossy, convenient, handsome,

Description
of Brian's
troops.

Panegyric
on the Dál
Cais.

The Franks
and Israel-
ites of
Ireland.

The lions of
the Gael.

The wolf
dogs of
Ireland.

The hawks
of Europe.

Their arms
and ar-
mour.

¹ Violently. *Nian* is for *nōian*, | the MS. D., omitting the letter eclipsed
according to the usual orthography of | in pronunciation.

comtapačā ʔar ʔeupoiḡ ʔuapci, ʔičlebra leo. ʔatar leo, ʔna, ʔceit moḡa, mileta, eḡočta, alli, illatačā, co comḡaiḡoiḡ cori cḡeduma, co ʔlabḡaḡoiḡ ʔiḡ alli ʔinoḡuni, ar ʔleḡaiḡ ʔoeḡclano ʔoeḡbeḡiāč, ʔuapc, ʔeḡaino, ʔočomaino, leo. ʔatar leo, ʔna, cačḡaiḡ ʔiḡačā, ʔoḡoḡḡa, co nḡeḡaiḡ ḡloḡḡa, ḡlaniḡoi, co leḡaiḡ laiḡḡeḡḡa, loḡmaḡa, im cenḡoiḡ ʔupeač iḡ ʔiḡ mileo. ʔatar leo tuḡaḡa tḡoma, tḡoḡlečā, tḡena, toḡḡḡa, tḡatḡemačā, ḡeḡa, ḡluaiḡ, ḡlaniḡoi, lečḡa, liḡčā ločlannačā, illamaiḡ tḡiač, ocuḡ tḡiḡeāč, tḡetel, ocuḡ tḡenḡmileo, ʔiḡ ʔlaiḡoi, ocuḡ ʔiḡ tuapcain luḡeāč lučmaḡ oḡulineč oiḡ. ʔatar, ʔna, leo claiḡoi cḡuaḡoi, comḡeḡḡa, colcḡa, coema, cumḡačta, ʔlemḡa, ʔliḡḡa, ʔliḡḡeḡa, ḡeḡa, ḡlana, ḡoḡḡiḡlḡa, luḡnečā laiḡaḡčā, laiḡḡeḡḡa, ʔeḡḡa ʔiḡḡi ʔeocḡḡiḡ emi, ačḡi, ačluma, inḡoiḡoi ʔeḡḡa, ʔoḡḡḡeḡa, ʔupeač ocuḡ ʔiḡḡmileo leo, ʔiḡ leoḡ ocuḡ ʔiḡ letḡaḡ, ʔiḡ haiḡleāč ocuḡ ʔiḡ haččuma cḡeḡ, ocuḡ corḡ, ocuḡ cenḡmulač oiḡ.

Danger of
an encoun-
ter with
them.

XCIII. Maiḡ na ʔo inḡaiḡ in muiḡtiḡ ʔin ʔoneoč naḡ ar ʔiaḡaiḡeḡḡaiḡ. Maiḡ ʔo čḡoiḡḡe a ʔoḡḡlaim ʔoneoč iea ʔabi aemaiḡ a niḡḡabala. Maiḡ ʔo inḡaiḡ ʔoneoč nač inḡaiḡḡiḡiḡ: oḡ ba ʔnaḡ in naḡaiḡo ʔiḡočā; ba heḡaḡḡaiḡ ʔapač ʔu ʔoḡḡoiḡoi; ba ʔal ʔe mḡḡučtuḡo ʔobaḡḡa; ba ḡat im ḡanem, no im ḡḡian; ba ʔoḡḡo i nḡae ḡḡḡeḡoi, tḡiḡall ʔḡeḡḡaiḡ cačā no comḡaino ʔoiḡ; ʔaiḡ ni ba ʔuaiḡ in ni ʔiḡ ba ʔamalḡa ḡaḡḡḡleo ocuḡ cḡuaḡ čunḡḡeḡleo na laičḡaiḡoi ʔin ʔo toḡuḡcuḡ.

Disposition
of the ene-
my's forces.

XCIV. Cio, tḡa ačt, ʔa oḡḡaiḡiḡ, ocuḡ ʔo conḡaiḡiḡ na cačā cēčḡaḡḡa ʔon cuma ʔein. Tucḡo tḡa toḡač ic

¹ Bronze. ʔinoḡuni. See above, pp. 50, 94, 115.

² Who did not yield. B. reads, ḡa mḡiaiḡ aḡaiḡ a niḡḡabala, "if it was possible to escape from it:" omitting "woe to those who aroused their anger."

³ Pummelling. B. reads, ocuḡ ba heḡaḡḡaiḡ.

⁴ Sicelling. Muiḡḡuḡḡ, B.

⁵ It was. "And it was," ocuḡ ba, B.

⁶ The fist. B. reads, ocuḡ ba ʔoḡḡo im ḡae.

⁷ Attempt. B. omits ʔḡeḡḡaiḡ.

⁸ For. ʔoiḡ ni ʔuaiḡ, B.

⁹ Warriors. B. adds (after na laičḡaiḡoi ʔin) oḡi ba laiḡ i neo

white, neat, well-adjusted, graceful shirts. They had on them also, beautiful, many-coloured, well-fitting, handsome, well-shaped, well-adjusted, enfolding tunics, over comfortable long vests. They had with them also, great warlike, bright, beautiful, variegated shields, with bosses of brass, and elegant chains of bronze,¹ at the sides of their noble, accomplished, sweet, courteous, eloquent clansmen. They had on them also, crested golden helmets, set with sparkling transparent brilliant gems and precious stones, on the heads of chiefs and royal knights. They had with them also, shining, powerful, strong, graceful, sharp, glaring, bright, broad, well-set Lochlann axes, in the hands of chiefs and leaders, and heroes, and brave knights, for cutting and maiming the close well-fastened coats of mail. They had with them, steel, strong, piercing, graceful, ornamental, smooth, sharp-pointed, bright-sided, keen, clean, azure, glittering, flashing, brilliant, handsome, straight, well-tempered, quick, sharp swords, in the beautiful white hands of chiefs and royal knights, for hewing and for hacking, for maiming and mutilating skins, and bodies, and skulls.

XCIII. Woe unto all who shunned not this people, who did not yield unto them.² Woe to those who aroused their anger, if it was possible to escape from it. Woe to those who attacked them, if they could have avoided attacking them; for it was swimming against a stream; it was pummelling³ an oak with fists; it was a hedge against the swelling⁴ of a spring-tide; it was⁵ a string upon sand or a sun-beam; it was the fist⁶ against a sun-beam, to attempt⁷ to give them battle or combat; for⁸ it is not easy to conceive any horror equal to that of arousing the fierce battle and hard conflict of these warriors.⁹

XCIV. So these battalions were arranged and disposed¹⁰ in the following manner.¹¹ The foreigners and the

Danger of
an encoun-
ter with
them.

Disposition
of the ene-
my's forces.

gruibi, ocup ba coll palac leomam
no neoc ugra, ocup pepceoinne na
laocraibe rin no coourcaio.

¹⁰ *Disposed.* B. omits ocup no
conpaigir.

¹¹ *Manner.* Fon ramail rin, B.

Leaders of
the Danes
of Dublin.

Disposition
of the Irish
who were
on the
Danish
side.
Their
leaders.

gallaib ocuꝝ ic laighnib dona danairib tibercaib all-
marpaib rin, do bꝛotar iarla Cairi Ebꝛoc, tuipeač
Danar, im Conmael, mac a matar, ocuꝝ im Siucaid mac
Lotair, iarla inri Oꝛc, ocuꝝ im Plait, tꝛen milid gall
uli, ocuꝝ Anrač mac Elbꝛic mac ri Ločlano, ocuꝝ
Capllur, ocuꝝ Torbento dub, ocuꝝ Sunin, ocuꝝ Suanin,
ocuꝝ mačĩ gall iartair Eorpa o Ločlano riap, ap oen
riu rin. Da ponad, imorpo, cipi oen cača cꝛuind
comor do gallaib Ača Cliač uli, ocuꝝ tucad ina negaid
ren é .i. i ndiač na nanmargač. Ro batap pompoꝛde,
Dubgall mac Amlaib, ocuꝝ Gillaclapan mac Glúin-
iaraio mic Amlaib, ocuꝝ Dončad ua hEꝛuilib, ocuꝝ
Amlaib Lagmairio mac Gofraio, .i. cetꝛi ričdomna
gall. Batap pompo, dna, Ottir dub, ocuꝝ Gꝛuꝛin ocuꝝ
Lummin ocuꝝ Snaođair .i. cetꝛi iꝛuꝛg gall, ocuꝝ cetꝛi
toꝛiꝛg longꝛi, ocuꝝ mathi gall Eꝛend apoen riu ren.
Do ponad dan oen cač do Lagin, ocuꝝ duib Centꝛelais,
ocuꝝ tucad re řalaib rin é. Batap pompoꝛen dna,
Moelmorpa, mac Muꝛčada, rič Lagen, ocuꝝ Doetan,
mac Dunlaing, ri iartair Lagen, ocuꝝ Dunlang, mac
Tuatail, ri Lipi, ocuꝝ Oꝛogorban, mac Cončobuir, ri u
řalgi, ocuꝝ Domnall, mac řerřaile, ri řoꝛčuač Lagen,
ocuꝝ mathi Lagen aꝛčena.

¹ *Placed in.* Tucad dna, B. The meaning is, that the foreigners who had established themselves in Ireland, and who were in alliance with the Leinstermen, put their Danish and Norwegian auxiliaries in the front of the battle.

² *Murderous.* B. omits tibercaib.

³ *Under Brodar.* B. reads, .i. bꝛo-
tar iarla toꝛpech danar; omitting
"of Caer Ebꝛoc."

⁴ *Siucaid.* A mistake in the MS.
D. for Siucraid. See above, p. 153,
note ¹⁰. B. reads *Sitriuc*.

⁵ *Elbꝛic.* "Anrad, son of Elbꝛic,"
B.

⁶ *Suanin.* Im Capllur ocuꝝ im

Torbento dub, ocuꝝ im Suimni,
ocuꝝ im Suainni, B.: "With Carlus
and with Torbend the black, and with
Suimhni and with Suainni."

⁷ *Along with them.* B. reads, mače
gall Eꝛenn uile ap aon riu řein,
"the nobles of the foreigners of all
Erinn along with them."

⁸ *Strong.* Cꝛuind cengailte com-
móꝛ, B.

⁹ *After.* Ina diač ģin hé .i.
andiač na nDanmarcc, B.

¹⁰ *Head.* Batap pompa ģin, .i.
B., where the names of the chieftains
are given thus: "Dubhgall, son of
Amlaf, and Donchad, grandson of
Erulf, and Amlaf, son of Lagmann

Laighen placed¹ in the front the murderous² foreign Danars, under Brodar,³ earl of Caer Ebroc, chieftain of the Danars; with Connael, his mother's son, and with Siucaid,⁴ son of Lotar, earl of the Orc Islands, and with Plait, the bravest knight of all the foreigners, and with Anrath, son of Elbric,⁵ son of the king of Lochlann, and Carlus, and Torbenn the black, and Sunin, and Suanin,⁶ and the nobles of the foreigners of western Europe, from Lochland westwards, along with them.⁷ A line of one very great strong⁸ battalion was formed of all the foreigners of Ath Cliath, and it was placed after⁹ the above, that is after the Danmarkians. At their head¹⁰ were Dubhgall, son of Amlaf, and Gilla Ciarain son of Glun-iaraind, son of Amlaf, and Donchad, grandson of Erulf, and Amlaf Lagmund, son of Goffraidh, the four crown princes of the foreigners. At their head also, were Ottir¹¹ the black, and Grisin, and Lummin, and Snadgair, four petty kings of the foreigners, and four chieftains of ships, and the nobles of the foreigners of Erin along with them. A battalion¹² was also formed of the Laighin and of the Ui Cennselaigh, and it was placed behind¹³ the above. And at the head of them were Maelmordha, son of Murchadh,¹⁴ king of Laighin, and Boetan, son of Dunlang, king of western Laighin,¹⁵ and Dunlang, son of Tuathal, king of Liphí, and Brogorban, son of Conchobhar, king of Ui Failghi, and Domhnall, son of Fergal, king of the Forthuagha of Laighin, and the nobles of Laighin likewise.¹⁶

Leaders of
the Danes
of Dublin.

Disposition
of the Irish
who were
on the
Danish
side.
Their
leaders.

son of Gofraidh, four crown princes of the foreigners." But three only are mentioned.

¹¹ *Ottir*. B. gives these names thus: "Oitir the black, and Grifin, and Suanin, and Luimnin, and Sigraidh," omitting the description which follows, and adding only after the last name, *ocuf apó gail na hÉirenn apcena ardon ruu rin*, "and the chief foreigners of Erin also along with them."

¹² *A battalion*. *Cat mór*, B., "a great battalion."

¹³ *Behind*. *Lit.*, "at the heels of." *Ar a pálaib rin é*, B.

¹⁴ *Murchadh*. B. adds *mac Finn*. "Murchadh, son of Finn."

¹⁵ *Laighin*. B. reads, *ru iapcain Lipe, ocuf Brogorbán, 7c.*, omitting the second Dunlang.

¹⁶ *Likewise*. B. reads, *uile ardon riurín*, "the nobles of all Laighin along with them."

Disposition
of Brian's
army.

The Dál
Cais.
Their
leaders.

The other
troops of
Munster.
Their
leaders.

XCV. Tuccad imorro, torač caſa ūriain, ocur maſi
Epend arcena du dampraid vein, diulainz pempati,
dun gamandpraid glain, garſa, geta, galaiſ, gnimaiſ,
garſbeoda .i. do Dálcair cupata conpumaiz, ocur do
clannaiſ Luigbeač arcena. Ūai pompu ríde in hečtoir
intamlaiſteč ilbuadač na hſſdam clainni ilcenealaiſi
allatai .i. Murčad mac ūriain, eo Ropra, piſopaidi
Epend; cend gaili, ocur garſid, ocur gnimrada, eniſ
ocur enſnuma, ocur aeboadačta fear talman, re re, ocur
re pemir; daiſ ni armit penčaidi goedel combeth
don adamclaind re re fein oen duni no čongbad ſeiač
comperſail imbuailta do. Ūatar, dna, ar oen pír rin,
.i. Tairdelbač a mac, in piſdomna a airi [ir] perr bai
in nEpinđ, ocur Conaing mac Doneuan, in tper duni ir
toču pı ūrian bai i nEpinđ, ocur Hiall Ūa Cuinđ, ocur
Eochu mac Dunadaiz, ocur Cuſullig mac Cendetiſ,
tri cometidi ūriain, ocur Domnall mac Diarmata, pı
Copeubairſind, ocur poſgla laič gaili, ocur garſid
Dálcair ar oen pıu rin. Ūa ponad tra oen cač
comnart comor do glepi pluaz Muman uli, ocur tuccad
re ſalaid pen é. Ūatar pomporide Močla, mac
Domnall, mic ſaelan, piſ na Depi, ocur Mangnur,
mac Anmčada, pı uliačan, ocur tperit ocur tperit na
Muman uli ar oen pıu pen.

¹ *The front.* Tuccad torač caſa
ūriain imorro, B.

² *To the.* Don dampraid, vein,
diſpuling, ocur don gamandpraid
gloin glérta garſa, galac, gnio-
mač, garſbeoda, .i. do Dál Cair,
ocur do Clannaiſ Luigbeač arcena,
B.

³ *Heroes.* Gamandpraid; "the
Gamandraidh," were an antient warlike
people of the Firbolg race in Erris, in
Connaught; but their name is here
used in the general ſenſe of heroes, or
warriors.

⁴ *Adam.* B. reads, bai pompa
rin, Ečtair intamlaiſce na
hEpinđ, .i. Murchad: "There was

leading them the matchleſs Hector of
Erinn, viz., Murchadh," &c.

⁵ *Yew of Ross.* One of the famous
old trees of Ireland. See *O'Flaherty's*
Ogyg., Part iii., c. 60, p. 313.

⁶ *Bravery.* B. reads, Cendgailo
ocur garſid einiſ ocur enſnaina,
ocur aobdačta an talman ina ré,
ocur ina peimep. Doiz ni armit
ſeanchaíde co ſaib re ré, ocur re
peimep fein, neč no čongbad ſiač
co pperſal imbuailta do: "The
head of the valour of bravery; muni-
ſcence and liberality and beauty of
the world in his time and in his career;
for hiſtorians do not relate that there
was any one in his time and in his

XCV. The front¹ of Brian's battalion and of the nobles of Erinn with him, was given to the² aforesaid impetuous, irresistible, troops, to the fine, intelligent, valiant, brave, active, lively heroes,³ viz., to the heroic, victorious Dal Cais, and to the Clann Luighdeach likewise. At the head of these was the matchless, ever victorious, Hector, of the many-nationed heroic children of Adam,⁴ namely, Murchadh, son of Brian, the yew of Ross,⁵ of the princes of Erinn; the head of the valour and bravery,⁶ and chivalry, munificence and liberality, and beauty, of the men of the world in his time, and in his career; for the historians of the Gaedhil do not relate, that there was any man of the sons of Adam in his time who could hold a shield in mutual interchange of blows with him. Along with him were also, Tordhelbach, his son,⁷ the best crown prince of his time in Erinn, and Conaing, son of Doncuan, one of the three men⁸ most valued by Brian, that were then in Erinn; and Niall Ua Cuinn, and Eochaidh, son of Dunadach, and Cudulligh, son of Cennetigh, the three rear guards⁹ of Brian; and Domhnall, son of Diarmaid, king of Corcabhaiscinn, and the greater part of the men of bravery and valour of the Dal Cais along with them.¹⁰ One very strong and great¹¹ battalion was also formed of the chosen hosts of all¹² Mumhain, and was stationed in the rear¹³ of the former. At the head¹⁴ of these was Mothla, son of Domhnall, son of Faelan, king of the Desii,¹⁵ and Mangnus, son of Anmchadh, king of Ui Liathain,¹⁶ and the brave and heroic of all Mumhain along with them.

Disposition of Brian's army.

The Dal Cais.

Their leaders.

The other troops of Munster.

Their leaders.

career that could hold a shield in mutual interchange of blows with him."

⁷ *His son.* B. reads, ar aon riar .i. Toirnealbac an mac a aoiri, ocuf an hiodauna rop fearu po bai in Erin: "Along with him was Toirdhealbach [or Turlogh] the son of his age" [i.e., there was no other son of his time to be compared to him,] "and the best crown prince" [i.e., heir apparent to the crown,] "that was in Erinn." He was at this time but fifteen years of age.—*Ann. Clonm.*

⁸ *Men.* B. reads, an tpep per ar coeu la huan po bai in Erin.

⁹ *Rear Guards.* Cúlcomeadaiße, B.

¹⁰ *With them.* B. omits rin; and reads dona for tpa, next sentence.

¹¹ *Strong and great.* Cothmóir coinnapt, B.

¹² *All.* B. omits uá.

¹³ *Rear.* Re a rálaid rin é, B.

¹⁴ *At the head.* Romporin .i., B.

¹⁵ *Desii.* Rí na nDéiri, B.

¹⁶ *Ui Liathain.* Maḡnur mac Anmécada ní ua Liathain ocuf

The batta-
lion of Con-
naught
and their
leaders.

XCVI. Do ratad, dña, caċ Conaċt im Maelruanair
Ua nEidin, ocur im Tadg Ua Cellais, rí Ua Mani, ocur
Moelruanair mac Murguira, rí Muinntirí Maelrua-
nir, ocur im Domnall Ua Concenin, rí Ua nDiarmada,
ocur im Ualgarg mac Ceirín, ocur im maċib. Conaċt uli
ina deċair fein.

Brian's
Danish
auxiliaries.

Da corċeard deċ mormair Ġriain cona ngall
roċraitib ar in dapa cimar don caċ. Da corċeard
Fergal Ua Ruairc, ocur u Ġriain, ocur Conmacn uirí,
ar in cimar cle don caċ cerna.

The batta-
lion of
Maelsech-
lain and
the men of
Meath.

Ro bai, dña, Maelseclain, mac Domnall, rí
Temraċ, ocur caċ per Míri uirí, ocur ní ro raimeide
comċoroċud re caċ etir, uair ba hi comarlı gall in
airaid remi dó, clao [do ċur] etorpo ocur ġail, ocur
míri inraġtir ġun ġail, ní inraġtir ġail iatruim,
ocur ir amlair ġin da roġrat, uair ro bí in droċomarlı
etorpo.

The post
assigned to
Murchadh,
son of
Brian.

XCVII. Atberait, imorpo, araili renċairí Muman,
conid tre caċ Dermuman bai Murċad, mac Ġriain,
ocur a tċglaċ .i. reċt rċit mac ġig bai ina commai-
teaċt, uair ní rabi ġig oen tuaċi in Ġrin, can a mac
no can a braċair i tċglaċ Murċair, uair rube tċerna
amraċ Ġren, ocur a macan é, dar heir Aeda Uí Neill.
Atberait conid air in air batar in da caċ .i. caċ
Dermuman, ocur caċ Tuadmuman, ocur ir pollur arpo
conid ġir fein, uair in tan batar i corucud na caċ,
da cuair Murċad ed urcair re caċ dínraġtid ġall.

treċim ocur treitil Muman uile,
B.

¹ *Ua-n-Eidhin.* O nEidin, B., i.e.,
O'Heyne.

² *King.* Im rí, B.

³ *Maelruanaidh.* B. reads, ocur
im Maelruanair mac Muirġuira,
ocur im Ualgarg mac Ceirín,
ocur im maċib Conaċt uile na
nċeċair fein.

⁴ *Between them.* The two para-
graphs beginning da corċeard, line
7, and ending etorpo, line 17, of this
page, are omitted in B. The words
do ċur, line 14, are inserted as neces-
sary to the sense.

⁵ *Historians.* B. reads, Atberait
imorpo araili ġonáir re cċat
Dermuman ro bai Murċad:
"Others, however, say that it was

XCVI. The battalion of Conacht also, was led by Maelruanaidh Ua-n-Eidhin,¹ and by Tadhg Ua Cellaigh, king² of Ui Mani, and by Maelruanaidh,³ son of Murghius, king of Muintir Maelruanaidh; and by Domhnall, grandson of Cuceninn, king of Ui nDiarmada; and with Ualgarg, son of Cerin, and with the nobles of all Conacht along with him.

The battalion of Connaught and their leaders.

The ten great stewards of Brian were drawn up, with their foreign auxiliaries, on one side of the army. Fergal Ua Ruairc, and the Ui Briuin, and the Conmaicne, were ordered to the left wing of the army.

Brian's Danish auxiliaries.

Maelsechlainn also, son of Domhnall, king of Temhair, and the battalion of the men of Midhe, with him, were next; but he consented not to be placed along with the rest; because the counsel of the foreigners on the preceding night was that he should put a ditch between him and the foreigners; and that if he would not attack the foreigners, the foreigners would not attack him; and so it was done, for the evil understanding was between them.⁴

The battalion of Maelsechlainn and the men of Meath.

XCVII. Some of the historians⁵ of Mumhain, however, say that Murchadh, son of Brian, was placed, mixed with the battalion of Desmumhain, along with his company, namely, seven score sons of kings that were in attendance upon him; for there was not a king of any one tribe in Erin, who had not his son or his brother⁶ in Murchadh's household; for he⁷ was the lord of the volunteers of Erin, and of her sons, next to Aedh Ua Neill. They say that the two battalions were side by side, namely, the battalion of Desmumhain, and the battalion of Tuadhmumhain, and it is clear that this is true⁸; for when they were arranging⁹ the battalion, Murchadh went forward beyond the rest a

The post assigned to Murchadh, son of Brian.

before the battalion of Desmumhain [Desmond, or South Munster] that Murchadh was placed."

⁶ Brother. No a bratair, B.

⁷ For he. Ríbe, for pob é, D. Uair

pob é Murchadh tígerna amháid Éirenn, an éir Aodha i Néill, B.

⁸ True. Anns go gur fíor rín, B.

⁹ Arranging. Ais coruicadh na ccat, B.

Alteration
between
Murchadh
and Domh-
nall, son of
Emin.

Ro cuir imorro Brian Domnall mac Emin, da rad
re Murchadh feibiu ara culu co mbeir aird in aird
ocur Dálcair. Da luid Domnall mac Emin, ocur po
raid fhu Murchadh fein. Arbeir Murchadh ba diuit
meta a comairli, uair da mbeir a hoenur ar lap feda
gabli, ni beirad oen traig ar culu re fepair Erenn, cia
dearad nee fhuir techead i rianairi gall ocur goethel.
Ireth, dona, rodera maí Dermuman uli do marbut
and, triall lenmnana Murchadh doib ic timecellad na
gall, ocur na nCnmarzag. Arbeir Domnall mac
Emin fhu Murchadh, ir ole do gne, a rug milid, cid mor
do meirne. Arbeir Murchadh bai adug do, uair
irochaidi do trod oclaidib no lecead a cuir cafa [do]
fair co deirad lae. Arbeir mac Emin ni he fein no
lecead; ocur ba fhu do rom fen uair da comail.

Dunlang
O'Hartu-
gan pro-
phesies his
own and
Murchadh's
death.

XCVIII. Ro coraigir na cafa aird in aird iarrin.
Ir and rin da deairtar Murchadh feda ocur ic connaic
da leir deir cuigi ina comairiur in toen oclae mor
menmae, mileta, meiridala, rainemal, rapuachu,
ritamail, data, diuiue, deghenmae, .i. Dunlang O hAr-
tugan, ocur aicmhir e, ocur tue tri caircem in aigir.
ocur tairbirir poic do, ocur fepair failti fhuir, ocur
A gilli, ar re, ir rada co tanacair eugand, ar re,
ocur ir mor in ghrad mna, ocur clemna diuit mo

¹ *Hand's cast.* Murchadh re cae
diomraigir gall, B.

² *Then.* B. omits imorro.

³ *To tell.* Da rada re Murchadh
fuo for cula, B.

⁴ *His counsel.* Domhnall, it seems,
did not tell Murchadh that the counsel
came from his father. B. reads, 'Do
luid Domhnall ocur po rada le
Murchadh clid. Ro rada Murchadh
po ba diuit, meta a co-
marle, 7c.

⁵ *He was.* B. reads, ocur po rada
da.

⁶ *Fidh Gaibhle.* "The wood of
Gaibhle" (now *Figile*), King's county,

near Portarlinton. See above, chap.
lxxix.; from which it appears that the
trees from this wood were in part the
cause of the breach between Brian
and Maelmordha, king of Leinster;
and it is probable that the wood *Fidh*
Gaibhle was one of the disputed border
frontiers. This seems the real expla-
nation of the above very obscure pas-
sage. B. reads, ar lap feda gabile,
ni tiubrad aon traig ar cula re
fepair Erenn, ocur ir luga po
ceirpeo.

⁷ *Reason.* B. omits dona.

⁸ *All.* B. omits uli.

⁹ *Follow.* Leanathna, B.

hand's cast¹ to attack the foreigners. Then² Brian sent Domhnall, son of Emin, to tell³ Murchadh to fall back until he should be on a line with the Dalcais. Domhnall, son of Emin, went and told this to Murchadh. Murchadh answered that his counsel⁴ was timid and cowardly; for if he was⁵ alone in the midst of Fídh Gaibhle,⁶ he would not retreat one step backwards before the men of Erin, why then should any one ask him to retreat, in presence of the Gaill and Gaedhil. And the reason⁷ why the nobles of all⁸ Desmumhan were killed there, was because they endeavoured to follow⁹ Murchadh to surround the foreigners¹⁰ and Danmarkians. Domhnall, son of Emin,¹¹ said to Murchadh, "thy countenance is bad, O royal champion, although thy courage is great." Murchadh answered that he had¹² cause for that, because many a false hero¹³ would leave his share of the battle to him at the end of the day.¹⁴ The son of Emin¹⁵ said that he would not leave his share. And he said truly; for he fulfilled his promise.¹⁶

Altercation
between
Murchadh
and Domh-
nall, son of
Emin.

XCVIII. The battalions¹⁷ were placed side by side after that. Then Murchadh looked to one side and beheld approaching him, on his right side, alone, the heroic, courageous, championlike, active, beautiful, strong, bounding, graceful, erect, impetuous, young hero, Dunlang O'Hartugan; and he recognised him and made three springs to meet him, and he kissed him, and welcomed him; and "O youth," said he, "it is long until thou camest unto us; and great must be the love and attachment of some woman to thee, which has induced

Dunlang
O'Hartu-
gan pro-
phesies his
own and
Murchadh's
death.

¹⁰ *Foreigners.* Na ngall ocuṛ na nDanmaircc, B. A distinction is here drawn between the Gaill and the Danes.

¹¹ *Son of Emin.* Acbeṛt Doimnall pe Murchadh, B.

¹² *He had.* Ro bai, B.

¹³ *False hero.* Dochoch Laocharadh po léiceparadh, B. The po seems superfluous in D., and is therefore given within brackets.

¹⁴ *Day.* Fain pe noíche, B., "before that night."

¹⁵ *Son of Emin.* Doimnall, B.

¹⁶ *His promise.* Do Doimnall fain, ocuṛ po éorhaill, B. This narrative seems to show that there was dissension or jealousy amongst the leaders of Brian's army.

¹⁷ *The battalions.* The whole of this chapter is omitted in B.

treghudra, ocur treghud ḡriain, ocur Conaing, ocur
 Don̄c̄aid, ocur maṭi Dálcair ar̄c̄ena, ocur aibni
 Erend cor aniu. Truas r̄in, am, a r̄i, ar Dunlang, iſ
 mo intaibniur do treighiur ort, da ſeſtaru é, .i. beṭa
 can bar, can uaḗt, can itaid, can accurur, can iſera,
 ar maiṭiur do maṭuiſaib in talman dam co bṛaṭ,
 ocur nem ar mbṛaṭ amaḗ, ocur muna tucaindrea
 bṛetir r̄itru, ni tieſaind anōro; ocur ſor a beiṭ inṭan
 dam bar daḡbail in la da ḡeṭtaru bar. In baiḡiubra
 bar anniu, am? ar Mur̄c̄ad. Da ḡeba, am, ar Dunlang,
 ocur do ḡeba ḡriain, ocur Conaing, ocur urmor maṭi
 Erend, ocur Tairdelbaḗ do mac. Ní ſaiṭ maṭe com̄raic
 annora eter, ar Mur̄c̄ad, ocur da biaḡ accaind ſeela
 nōdapeſait ort; aḗt em cena, ar Mur̄c̄ad, iſ menic
 tarcar dam̄ra i ſiṭaib, ocur i ſiṭbṛuḡaib, in beṭa r̄in,
 ocur na com̄ada, ocur n̄ir treighiur oen aib̄i mo tir,
 no mo ducur oro. Cuiḗ eter, ar Dunlang, baḡ ſer
 letru do d̄inḡbail d̄it anniu. Itait anō ſiut, ar
 Mur̄c̄ad, ſe ſir dec neoḗ iſ tairēaḗ lonḡir, ocur iſ
 ſer com̄laind cet caḗ oen d̄uni d̄ib, ar m̄uir ocur ar
 tir, cenmota ḡrotoir, ocur Cornabb̄liteoc, ocur Mael-
 mor̄da, ocur Laḡin ar̄c̄ena. Leic dam̄ra, am, ar Dun-
 lang, Cornabb̄liteoc, ocur da ſia lem ní iſ mo, do
 ḡen do congnum let ſor. Iſ d̄iulainḡ in ſeioim ſin
 am, ar Mur̄c̄ad, a Dunlang, da ſeſtaru é.

Order of
the battle.

XCIX. C̄id, t̄ia, aḗt, iſ anōſin no com̄ar̄daiz̄it, ocur
 no ḡor̄aiz̄it na caṭa ceḗtar̄da iad ſon cor ſin, ocur
 ſon cuma, co ſeſed carbat ceter̄p̄ida on ḡind cor̄aele
 don caḗ ceḗtar̄da, ocur no tur̄med bloḡ beim baile.

¹ *Delight.* The word is now spelt aoidneay.

² *The hills.* Iſiṭaib. See *O'Flah. Ogyg.*, III., c. 22, p. 200. This passage is a curious proof how long a belief in the Pagan deities of the Irish lingered in the country, mingled with Christianity. Dunlang declares that he was offered long life, worldly prosperity, and *heaven hereafter*, if he abandoned Murchadh; but he preferred cer-

tain death in battle to a breach of his engagement. Murchadh replies that he, also, had been offered in fairy mounds and palaces all worldly advantages, but never would abandon his country and his inheritance.

³ *Cornabb̄liteoc.* Written *Corn-da-b̄liteoc*, p. 153, *supra*; and see also chap. xcix., p. 183, *infra*.

⁴ *Drawn up.* B. omits ocur ſo ḡor̄aiz̄it

thee to abandon me; and to abandon Brian, and Conaing, and Donnchadh; and the nobles of Dal Cais in like manner, and the delights of Erin until this day." "Alas, O king," said Dunlang, "the delight¹ that I have abandoned for thee is greater, if thou didst but know it, namely, life without death, without cold, without thirst, without hunger, without decay; beyond any delight of the delights of the earth to me, until the judgment: and heaven after the judgment; and if I had not pledged my word to thee, I would not have come here; and moreover it is fated for me to die on the day thou shalt die." "Shall I receive death this day, then?" said Murchadh. "Thou shalt receive it, indeed," said Dunlang, "and Brian, and Conaing, shall receive it, and almost all the nobles of Erin, and Toirdhelbhach thy son." "This is not good encouragement to fight," said Murchadh, "and if we had such news we would not have told it to thee; but, however," said Murchadh, "often was I offered, in hills² and in fairy mansions, this world and these gifts; but I never abandoned for one night my country nor my inheritance for them." "What man," said Dunlang, "wouldst thou choose to be kept off thee this day." "There are yonder," said Murchadh, "sixteen men who are captains of fleets, and every one of them is a man to combat a hundred, on sea and on land; besides Brotor, and Cornabbliteoc,³ and Maelmordha, and the Laighin also." "Leave to me, then," said Dunlang, "Cornabbliteoc; and if I can do more, thou shalt have my further aid." "That is a severe service, indeed," said Murchadh, "O Dunlang, if thou didst but know it."

XCIX. The battalions were now arranged and drawn up⁴ on both sides, in such order and in such manner, that a four-horsed chariot could run from one end to the other of the line, on both sides⁵; and the battalions then made a stout,

Order of
the battle.

¹ Both sides. *Fon ccóir rin, ocup fon ccuma, co peirpeò carpat centir ruada on cinn co ariate don cat ceatarra ór a ccent, ar a ccomolúr, ocup po fuirmeat blórbéim, 7c., B.* "In this order and

in this manner; so that a four-horse chariot could run from one end to the other of the lines on either side, on their heads" [i.e. on the heads of the soldiers standing in line], "so compact were they."

Birds and
demons
expecting
their prey.

booba, barbarda, don caē i cenō aphaele. Uē, ōna, ba haḡti namat im poe yen, ocur ni ba haḡti capat im cuipm. Ocur po cummiz ceētarōe dib a ōiḡuḡra ḡapailē. Ocur po inḡaiḡ caē apailē dib. Ocur ba ni do inḡnataib bpaēa tuaparebail in tḡomḡlera rin do inniḡin. Ro epiz em, baḡb ḡiḡciḡ, ḡian, ḡenmnetāč, ḡaračtač, ḡur, ḡuabreč, ḡetceḡḡtač, cḡuaid, cḡoḡa, cḡoḡatech, co bai ic ḡepečaid ap luamain of a cennaiḡ. Ro eipḡetar am bananaiḡ, ocur boccanaiḡ, ocur ḡeliti ḡlinni, ocur amati aḡḡaill, ocur ḡiabpa, ocur ḡeneoin, ocur ḡemna aḡmīliti aeoiḡ, ocur ḡipmamintī, ocur ḡiabapḡluas ḡebil ḡemnač, co mbatar a comḡḡepačt, ocur i commoḡaḡ aiḡ ocur ipḡaili leo.

The combat
of Domh-
nall, son of
Eimin,
with Plait.

C. Ro comḡaiceḡar apḡouḡ and rin, Domnall mac Emin, moḡmaep Alḡan, o ḡḡian, ocur Plait mac ḡi Ločlanḡ, tḡen milio ḡall; ap na ḡáḡ do Plait in aḡaič ḡemi, ni ḡabi i nḡḡino ḡep baḡ incomlainto do, do ḡab, imoḡḡo, Domnall mac Emin do laim é, ḡačetoir, ocur ba cuimneč ceētar de, ap maitin. Ip apḡin taniḡ Plait a caē na lupeač amač, ocur apḡepḡ ḡo tḡi, Paḡap Domnall? .i. caḡ ita Domnall? Ro ḡeaiḡ Domnall, ocur apḡepḡ, Sunḡ, a ḡniḡiḡ, ap ḡe. Ro comḡaiceḡar iaḡḡun, ocur ḡo ḡab caē ic aipḡleč apailē dib, ocur itḡocaiḡ ceētar ḡepailē, ocur ip

¹ Each other. Ōa ceile, B.

² At a feast. Uē, ōna, ba haḡte náḡat imḡae, ocur níḡ ḡo haḡte capat im comḡail. Ro cuimniḡ caē dib ceētarōe a ḡaiḡ, ocur a acaiḡ ḡa ḡoile, ocur ba banna ḡioḡnaiḡ bḡáta, 7c., B.

³ To relate. Re a inniḡin, B.

⁴ There arose. Ro eipḡ ōna baḡb ḡian ḡiḡciḡ, B.

⁵ Screaming. Co mbai ḡa nḡḡeḡačt, B.

⁶ Also. Ōna, B.

⁷ Maniacs. ḡeilte ḡlinne, ocur ammaḡo, B.

⁸ Destroying. B. omits aḡmīliti.

⁹ Firmament. ḡipminnte, B.

¹⁰ Both parties. B. reads, ocur ḡiabap ḡluas ḡenmneḡeč co ḡabatar occa nḡḡepačt, ocur aḡa ccommaḡoerh in aiḡiḡ ōḡ ocur ipḡailē.

¹¹ First. Ro cōḡḡaiceḡar annḡin ap tḡiḡ, .i. Domnall, 7c., B.

¹² On Brian's side. B. omits oḡḡian.

¹³ Night. Inoiḡe ḡeime nač ḡaiḡe in ḡḡinn, B.

¹⁴ Immediately. B. omits imoḡḡo and ḡa četoir.

¹⁵ In the morning. Ap a ḡeallat ap maḡain. Ap ḡin taniḡ Plait, 7c., B.

furious, barbarous, smashing onset on each other.¹ But, alas! these were the faces of foes in battle-field, and not the faces of friends at a feast.² And each party of them remembered their ancient animosities towards each other, and each party of them attacked the other. And it will be one of the wonders of the day of judgment to relate³ the description of this tremendous onset. And there arose⁴ a wild, impetuous, precipitate, furious, dark, frightful, voracious, merciless, combative, contentious, vulture, screaming⁵ and fluttering over their heads. And there arose also⁶ the satyrs, and the idiots, and the maniacs⁷ of the valleys, and the witches, and the goblins, and the ancient birds, and the destroying⁸ demons of the air and of the firmament,⁹ and the feeble demoniac phantom host; and they were screaming and comparing the valour and combat of both parties.¹⁰

Birds and demons expecting their prey.

C. First¹¹ then were drawn up there, Domhnall, son of Eimin, high steward of Alban, on Brian's¹² side, and Plait, son of the king of Lochlainn, brave champion of the foreigners; because of Plait having said the night¹³ before, that there was not a man in Eriinn who was able to fight him, Domhnall, the son of Eimhin immediately¹⁴ took him up, and each of them remembered this in the morning.¹⁵ Then Plait came forth from the battalion of the men in armour, and said three times, "Faras Domhnall,"¹⁶ that is, "where is Domhnall?" Domhnall answered and said, "Here, thou reptile," said he. They fought then,¹⁷ and each of them endeavoured to slaughter the other; and

The combat of Domhnall, son of Eimin, with Plait.

¹⁶ *Faras Domhnall*. B. reads, *Fuepup Domhnall, Fuepup Domhnall ? Suna an Domhnall*. This word *Faras*, or *Fueris*, seems an attempt to represent the old Danish.

¹⁷ *They fought then*. B. gives the remainder of this paragraph thus: *Ro éomhpaeiretar ianah, ocup ro gað caé vñ ac aipheac ocup atéu-ma a céile a cétoir. Cñ tra aét ipocpatan comtuim ne*

céile, ocup ipamlaio no pñt iao an na thápac, ocup polt céctan ve i noorn apañle, ocup a celar-óme tpe épaioib a céile: "They fought then, and endeavoured each to slaughter and mangle the other. And they fell slain by each other, and they were found in the morning thus—the hair of each in the fist of the other, and the sword of each through the heart of the other."

amlaid ro tuitret ocur claidium cehtar de tre cruoi
apail, ocur polt cehtar de i nduinn a cele. Ocur po
be rin a cet comlonn na derry rin.

The combat
of Dunlang
of the Lif-
sey with
the Ui
Briuin and
Conmaicni.

CI. Ipe dan bi ar imell cafa na nallmapac,
Dunnall mac Tuathail, ri Lipi, .x. cet fer narpac
nincomlainn. Taplla do i cimai cafa Briuin cucu
ren a comlin ocur a comadair ar ariun, ocur ar imad,
.i. Pergus uRuairc, ocur Donnall mac Ragairis, ocur
Silla na noem mac Donnall O Pergus, ocur mati
O Briuin ocur Conmaicni ardena. Aetmad oen ni cena,
da cromatar ren ara celi, ocur po delaigetar on cat
mor amac, corabi ped curboir etorro don leit atuid
don mor cat, ocur po gabatar ic tregad, ocur ic tren
tercat apail. Ro ba comair, am, airm, ocur
erpuud, ocur ecorc cehtar de dibren. Dais ni tue
nec dib ren do uir no da airm olc da neimad i
Cluain Tarb in la rin, aet in neimatar fein etorro
dulc ocur deraintu pe cele, aet i ruail nar marbatar
rin uli aceli, ocur ni armit rencaid co ndeaid do
Briuin ocur do Conmaicib ar, aet oen cet ar oen pe
Pergus, ocur po dilairgit uli u Centrelais and, ocur
mebair porro podoir co cat na lupe. Uair roba
gairt in caill comarci uatib iat, ocur a peidm cafa
porro, ocur a nduim ru; cor po andrin imcirtair
.i. bui do teglac Pergus ar Dunlang mac Tuathail,
ocur po marbrat e, ocur po dicenrtair Mac in Trin e,
tairead locta tairi Pergus epein, ocur tue leir in
cent cum Pergus da comudium ri. Ocur tecat
iarrin, in becan po batar, i cent cafa Briuin, ocur i
ndegair mersu Murcaid, ocur mersu Pergus accu
andrein, etrubuar artoim a mersad uli, ocur ar
marbad a tizermad .i. x. mersu ocur tri ricit.

Dunlang
beheaded.

¹ *Pirates.* The word used is all-
mapac. The whole of this chapter is
omitted in B.

² *Dunnall.* This must be intended
for Dunlang, son of Tuathal, king of

Leinster, who died the same year (but
not in the battle), according to the
Ann. of Ulster and Four Masters. He
is called Dunlang lower down in this
chapter.

they fell by each other, and the way that they fell was, with the sword of each through the heart of the other; and the hair of each in the clinched hand of the other. And the combat of that pair was the first [of the battle].

CI. The person who was on the flank of the battalion of the pirates,¹ was Dunnall,² son of Tuathal, king of Liphe, with ten hundred men armed for battle. There met him on the flank of Brian's forces, against these, their equal in numbers and in might, namely, Ferghail Ua Ruairc, and Domhnall, son of Raghallach; and Gilla-na-Noemh, son of Domhnall O'Ferghail, and the nobles of the Ui Briuin and Conmaicni also. But now these attacked each other, and they detached themselves from the great body of the army, until there was the distance of a bow shot between them, on the north side of the great body; and they began to stab and hew each other. But these parties were equally matched in arms, in vesture, and in appearance. And none of them paid any attention to any evil that was done at Cluain-Tarbh on that day, excepting the evil and contention which they mutually occasioned against each other. But they very nearly killed each other altogether; and historians do not relate that there survived of the Ui Briuin and Conmaicni, more than one hundred, with Ferghal Ua Ruairc; and the entire of the Ui Cendse-laigh were routed there; and they were afterwards pursued to the battalion of the mail-clad men; for there was a wood of shelter near them, and they were in order of battle with their backs towards them; and it was then that nine of the household of Ferghal overtook Dunlang, the son of Tuathal, and killed him; and Mac an Trin, who was the captain of Ferghal's household, beheaded him, and he brought the head to Ferghal to congratulate him on it. And they went then, the few of them that were left, into Brian's battalion, and behind Murchadh's standard; and they had Ferghal's standard floating there, after the fall of all their other standards, and the killing of their chiefs, namely, ten standards and three score.

The combat of Dunlang of the Lif-fey with the Ui-Briuin and Conmaicni.

Dunlang beheaded.

The assault
of the
Dal Cais
upon the
Danes.

CII. Ro compaicefet iarrin cač dolig, dibergač, dup-
craideach, duabreč, dian, denmnetach, daračtač, na
nĀnmargač, ocur in dampraid dian, diulaind, dipecca,
ocur gamanraidh glan, garba, gerata, garbeoda, galač,
gnimač, rigda, račmar, pobladač, Dalcair, ocur macnĀ
Āillella Ulaim in oen inad. Ocur po perad cač
ričda, rupleach, rputir, porberg, porpuamanda, peočair,
perda, peramail, anmin, agarb, anniarčta, epcardemail,
etuppo diblinaib; ocur po gab cač ar leod ocur letpad
ocur ar tpegrad, ocur ar tpeca, ar aipleač, ocur ar
acumma a čele dib, ocur po currebit, ocur po gerrait
cuirp coema, cuanna, cumdačta poepcland ruairc,
regaind, počomand, poepberač, andren etuppo. Da
compac da comepuaid, ocur comaculim da con-
trapda in oen inad fein. Ocur ni ruail in ni pur ba
ramalta, ocur nup bec in ni dar ba comčarmail tor-
andclep tailc, talčar, tinnenrač, ocur tpečan tend,
tren, tairbteč, na muintiri rin leč ar leč. Da com-
čarmail lium em amail bad hi in nupmamint ilbpec,
illačtač, ingantač, no leicpead prair truium tairdenais
da peatlanannib pučnecais dar tonnd gnuirib in talman.
No amail bad é ppenngemneč pcemda paigheoda na
nell nard naepda, ica cumarc ocur ica combrud do
na goečais ilib, ecpamla, cent 1 cent. No amail ba
hi in nim ind, no in muir meap, moradbul, ocur
gredan garb gliriteč na cetru ngoeč ngluair, nglainid,
comepuaid, coir, contrapda, ac taitmech a mimopclund

¹ Then. Ro compaiceattar ann-
rin, B.

² Danmarkians. B. reads, nĀl-
thurač, ocur dathraid, dian, diſu-
laind, diſpecca.

³ Champions. "Gamhanraidh."—
(See above, p. 166, note 2.) B. reads,
gamhanraidh glanſorba, gniothač,
garpebeoda, rigda.

⁴ And. Om., B.

⁵ Furious, bloody. B. reads, Ro
peapad cač rputir, pičda, rupleač,

porberg, peočair, porpuamanda,
peapda, peapamail, anmin.

⁶ And. Om., B.

⁷ Cleave. Ač leod ocur ač leopad
apailc, ač tpegrad, ocur ač tpe-
cač, acc aipleač, ocur acc acumma
a čele dib. Ro currebit cuirp
paepclann poiberač pocumann
etopra, B.

⁸ Moring. B. reads, ocur ba corh-
potal.

CII. Then¹ the fearful, murderous, hard-hearted, terrific, vehement, impetuous, battalion of the Danmarkians,² and the vehement, irresistible, unanswerable phalanx; and the fine, intelligent, acute, fierce, valorous, mighty, royal, gifted, renowned, champions³ of the Dal Cais, and all the descendants of Oilioll Olum met in one place; and⁴ there was fought between them a battle, furious, bloody,⁵ repulsive, crimson, gory, boisterous, manly, rough, fierce, unmerciful, hostile, on both sides; and⁶ they began to hew and cleave,⁷ and stab, and cut, to slaughter, to mutilate each other; and they maimed, and they cut comely, graceful, mailed bodies of noble, pleasant, courteous, affable, accomplished men on both sides there. That was the clashing of two bodies of equal hardness, and of two bodies moving⁸ in contrary directions, in one place.⁹ And it is not easy to imagine what to liken it to; but to nothing small¹⁰ could be likened the firm, stern, sudden, thunder-motion; and the stout, valiant, haughty billow-roll of these people on both sides. I could compare it only to the variegated, boundless, wonderful firmament,¹¹ that had cast a heavy sparkling shower of flaming stars over the surface¹² of the earth; or to the startling¹³ fire-darting roar of the clouds and the heavenly orbs, confounded and crashed by all the winds, in contention, against each other. Or to the summit of heaven,¹⁴ or to the rapid, awfully great sea, and the fierce, contentious roaring of the four transparent, pure, harsh, directly opposing winds, in the act of breaking loose¹⁵ from the order of their respective positions.

The assault
of the
Dal Cais
upon the
Danea.

¹ Place. B. omits *pein*, and adds *ocur nír bo fuaill*.

¹⁰ Small. Lit., "Small is not the thing to which could be likened." B. reads, *ocur nír becc an ní fír ba comcórmaíl copannéler tailc, talcar, tinnernaé, ocur tpeatan teno cairpceá, 7c.*

¹¹ Firmament. *Úa cormaíl lem aihail buó í an fírmament ilípeac ingantaé, ilóataé, no léicpeaó fírar tnom taíólaé, B.*

¹² Surface. *Tonnghuir, B.*

¹³ Startling. *Spenngeimneac fairs-nenra na néll naepóa, aza ocumuc ocur aza ccombuairépeaó, ocur aza ccombrúgáó dona gao-taíb ilíó examlaíb cenó i ccenó, B.*

¹⁴ Summit of heaven. Lit., "heaven's head." B. omits these words, and reads, *no aihail buó í muirín men móp aóbaí, "or to the noise of the awfully great sea."*

¹⁵ Breaking loose. *Óg tantmeac*

ic fcailiud. No amail bas he in bpat bailc boppr-
fudač tīpat dāp cumfcucud īf do vīfcailiud comoenta,
na cetar dula cumdaigti, do bpuo, ocur do bič bpečtad
in domain duind īf dācpa ap a cent. Da famalta
lem pē cač nī vīb pīn, bloobaim bailc, bāoba, bap-
bapda pēiač pēiamda, pēlbocodoch, pučneč, puao
pētlannač, clainni ludoač, pō tuagaib talci tarole-
čaib na nanar nup nōibepač, ica comač, ocur ica
combruo, ocur gleoen gluair glainioi claidium cpuaio,
colgōiriuuch Dalcair, ac coccetul cpuaio, comnept, ppi
lupēčaib lučmarā, laindēpda, tpeodualačā, tailči, tpen
tpebpaio na nanmargač allmarā iccnam comač corp,
ocur centmullač ppiu, corabi a nuaim ocur a pōgop
ocur a macalla pēn i nuamaib, ocur in nalltaib,
ocur i cailltib comaiēpib doib. Cop ba pēioim aobul-
mor dona cačaib cečtarā imganā a pōp pīno glar,
ocur a nspuao nglan garta pōp na cpitpib troma
tenoioi pō tapnoitp pīgmilō Clainni Lugdoach a
hinnoib aithi aicbeli na claidium lupneč laindēpda,
ac ppaigleo, ocur ic pletgaipi na lupēč, tponopulineč
vīb. Ocur pō pōpgleptar na Gaill ocur na Gaill-
pēāčā batap uačib ac pēitium ap pēemleao Ačā Cliač
eo padairc, co paittip paigneana tentioi pōn aep
epaobul ap cač leč uačib.

The battle
seen from
the towers
of Dublin.

Account
given by
Maelsech-
lainn, king
of Tara.

CIII. Ip nī dā opgeall pīn in tuapapēbail tuc Mael-
pēclaind mac Domnaill, pī Tempač, pōppin nepapēain
pīn, in tan batap Clanna Colmain ic iarpaičēti tuap-

ocur aš tpenpēaleō im nī, nō
aithaib biō ē an bpat bailc boppr-
pāōach tīpat do cumfcucchaō
ocur do vīanpēaleō, ocur do
bripeō comāentāō, B.

¹ *Crush.* Do bripeō ocur do bič
bpečtāō an domain, B., omitting
the remainder of the sentence.

² *Strong.* B. omits bāoba.

³ *Target-bossed.* Scēllbolgač pui-
tenpuao, B.

⁴ *Ludech.* B. reads more correctly,
ClainneLugdoach; "the Clann Luigh-

dech," or descendants of Lugaid; as
in line 18 of this page. See General
Table III., *Append.* B.

⁵ *Glassy.* Tarōleāčā na nDanar,
B.

⁶ *Powerful.* Co cpuaio, B.

⁷ *Free.* Ppi lupēachāib lučma-
pāib lainnepōāib na nDanmapoc
nAllmarā, B.

⁸ *With them:* i.e., with their swords.
B. omits ppiu.

⁹ *So that.* Co pāibe a ppuam,
ocur a nepopēain, ocur a macalla

Or to the stern terrific judgment-day that had come, to confound, and break down the unity of the four surrounding elements, to crush¹ and finally shiver the compact world, and to take vengeance on it. To all these could I compare the smashing, powerful, strong,² barbarous, shield-shining, target-bossed,³ red, sparkling, starry onset of the Clann Ludech,⁴ under the stout bright axes of the stern, murderous Danars, mutilating, and crushing them; and the gleaming, bright, glassy,⁵ hard, straight swords of the Dal Cais, in hard, powerful⁶ clashing against the free,⁷ sparkling, thrice-riveted, stout, powerful, protective armour of the piratical Danmarkians, smashing with them⁸ the bones of their bodies and their skulls, so that⁹ the sound of them, and the uproar of them, and the echo of them were reverberated from the caverns, and from the cliffs, and from the woods in the neighbourhood; and it became a work of great difficulty to the battalions¹⁰ on both sides to defend their clear sparkling eyes, and their flushed bright cheeks from the heavy showers of fiery sparks which were sent forth by the royal champions of the Clann Lughdech from the sharp fearful points of their bright gleaming swords, in hacking and cutting¹¹ the firmly hooked mail-coats off them; and it was attested by the foreigners and foreign women¹² who were watching from the battlements of Ath Cliath, as they beheld, that they used to see flashes of fire from them in the expanse of air on all sides.

The battle seen from the towers of Dublin.

CIII. Another attestation¹³ of this is the description which Maelsechlainn, son of Domhnall, king of Temhair, gave of that crush,¹⁴ when the Clann Colmain asked

Account given by Maelsechlainn, king of Tara.

1 nuamanb, ocur anailanb, ocur 1 cooilteib coimpoicib, B.

¹⁰ Battalions. Do porcanb pinto-glara na ceat ceettarba inglanab na rú, ocur na nguaob ngarta ar na citrib epoma teinntiob po tairnoib, 7c., B.

¹¹ Cutting. As rraingleab ocur as eporccain na luireac npon, nponilneac, B. omitting oib.

¹² Foreign women. D. reads na ngall

ocur na ngallreac, which is ungrammatical. The reading of B. has, therefore, been followed, where the whole passage is as follows:—Ocur po foircleab na gail ocur na gailreca battar ar pceimleabab Ota Cliat co raicob ear raobairc uatib na raighena teinntiob fon aer ar gac let.

¹³ Attestation. Foingell, B.

¹⁴ Crush. An imeporccain, B.

arcbala in caṡa dó. Ír anto arbert, nuṡu nacara caṡ
mar e riam, ocur noṡo cuala a ṡormail, ocur cío
angel de do bepaṡo a tuararcbaíl ír diṡreictmí lem da
peṡaṡo. Alṡt oen ní forr a tarlla mairírea anto, in
tan ro compaircet a cetoir ro gab caṡ ic tpeṡaṡo
a celi dúb. Dái goṡt ocur clao eṡrainni ocur íat,
ocur in cṡuaṡo goeṡ eṡrṡaíṡi tarṡtib eucainṡ, ocur ní
raṡi na peṡaṡo ríṡ a mbliṡrea bó, no da bai, bamar anto,
in tan naṡ tibreṡo duni don da caṡ aṡní ar celi, cío
a mac no a bráṡair baṡo compaṡur do, miní ṡugao
aíṡní ar a ṡuṡ, no a ríṡ rēmí accí in tinaṡo a mbiaṡo,
ar nar linaṡo eṡer cenṡo, ocur aṡíṡo, ocur eṡuṡ, do
broengail na šola šorruamaṡa la šogṡan na goeṡi
ṡlanṡuair, bai tarṡtib ṡucainṡ. Ocur ṡíṡo deṡengnum
baṡo aíl duiṡ do denum, ní šeṡamaíṡ; daíṡ ro cenṡlaíṡ,
ocur ro cuibṡiṡiṡ a nṡae of a cennaib da šoltaib
ṡaíṡo ro ṡarainṡ in goeṡ cugainṡ, ar na teṡcaṡo do
claiṡmíṡ colṡoíṡiṡ, ocur do ṡuaṡaib tairleṡaib, cor
ba let monur duiṡ beíṡ ic šeṡiugao ocur íca ṡaíṡneáṡ.
Ocur ba do beccaib Eṡienṡ ar ar mo denṡnum don
luṡṡ ro oṡaím in meṡarṡain rín innaṡ duiṡ šoṡmaṡṡain
a šeṡṡa can toṡṡ še ṡaíṡ no ar šeanṡuṡ.

The combat
of Dunlang
O'Hartigan
with Cor-
nabliteoc.

CIV. Dala Dunlaing, imorpo, taniṡ ma caṡ na
nallmaṡaṡ ocur ní ṡuc caeíll ar neṡ dúb, uair ní
raṡi cara do ṡallaib accí eṡer. Ocur ro inṡaíṡ
Cornabbliṡeoc ocur tuc caṡ aṡuṡan anmín aṡarṡ
aníarṡmaṡaṡ da ṡeli dúb. Ír anto rín tancataṡ ṡriur
do muíṡṡir Cornablíṡeoc ar a beláib, ocur tucṡat
ṡrí ṡaíṡi in oenṡeṡṡ ar Dunlaing. Alṡt maṡo ení ṡena

¹ *Asked him.* Al cainṡ míṡ na
ṡeṡhaíṡ rín aṡ ṡiaṡṡaíṡe šeṡṡ de,
B.: "At the end of a month after-
wards, asking him for an account of it."

² *He said.* From this place the dif-
ferences between the two MSS. are
so frequent and considerable that, in-
stead of loading the pages with various
readings the Editor has given the text
of B. at full in the Appendix C. Keat-
ing, from another source, has inserted

this narrative in his history. Dr.
O'Donovan gives Lynch's Latin trans-
lation of it, *Four Mast.*, p. 776.

³ *And it is.* These words, to the end
of the chapter, are omitted in B.
Keating reads, ba dóíṡ linn nar mó
ṡuṡc don ṡroíṡṡ baíṡ ṡan ṡoaṡ
íona dúiṡne šulong a bṡaíṡṡone
ṡan ar nṡol ar šaoinneal, ocur
ar šoluamain. "And it is doubtful
to us whether those engaged in the

him¹ for an account of the battle. It was then he said,² "I never saw a battle like it, nor have I heard of its equal; and even if an angel of God attempted its description, I doubt if he could give it. But there was one circumstance that attracted my notice there, when the forces first came into contact, each began to pierce the other. There was a field, and a ditch, between us and them, and the sharp wind of the spring coming over them towards us; and it was not longer than the time that a cow could be milked, or two cows, that we continued there, when not one person of the two hosts could recognise another, though it might be his son or his brother that was nearest him, unless he should know his voice, and that he previously knew the spot in which he was; we were so covered, as well our heads as our faces, and our clothes, with the drops of gory blood, carried by the force of the sharp cold wind which passed over them to us. And even if we attempted to perform any deed of valour we were unable to do it, because our spears over our heads had become clogged and bound with long locks of hair, which the wind forced upon us, when cut away by well-aimed swords, and gleaming axes; so that it was half occupation to us to endeavour to disentangle, and cast them off. And it is³ one of the problems of Erinn, whether the valour of those who sustained that crushing assault was greater than ours who bore the sight of it without running distracted before the winds or fainting."

CIV. We must now speak of Dunlang.⁴ He rushed on the host of the pirates, and spared not one of them, because he had no friendship at all for the foreigners. And he approached Cornabliteoc, and each of them made a rough, fierce, unmerciful assault on the other. Then came three of the people of Cornabliteoc in front of him, and they made three simultaneous thrusts at Dunlang. But, it was

The combat
of Dunlang
O'Hartigan
with Cor-
nabliteoc.

battle sustained more evil than the men who endured the sight of it without going mad or distracted."

⁴ *Dunlang*. This evidently means

Dunlang O'Hartigan (see chap. xcvi.)
The whole of this chapter is omitted in B., as is also ch. xcvi, in which Dunlang was first mentioned.

ni hintib rin eter po bi dil acobair Dunlaing, aēt i Cornabliteoc, uair tuc aēcuran anmin, agarb, oengora, fair du gae, noē da ēogaib a faino, ocur noē da metais a menma, ocur noē do lin a luataghet, gor gab arpinno anmin tremit etir corp ir cnegetiud. Ga farcin reis do muintir Cornabliteoc da fignitar epō dangen, dibraicēaē, dupcraoēē, ina timcell, ocur tucratar na tpi coecait da batar annagaid in oen abull ar Dunlaing. Aēt oenni cena, nīr catour, ocur nīr cōmarci da tigeria in tanacul rin; dais da ēoit pē Dunlaing caē oen poan pē himguin, ocur pē himbualad dib, conaē paba eterna etorpo co tucratar pati pantaēa, ocur builleda bratā da cele. Aēt maō oenni cena, ipe rin in tpep compae ir dolgi bai i Cluain Tarb in nīngnair i nōerna Murēad do enam comaē cenō ocur colano. Dois ba trenpuatār tairb acci fein, ocur ba puēen pīs mileō. Aēt enī cena, ipuail nab comēuitim dun dana caēmilio rin, aēt ipe Dunlaing do diēno epium.

Combat of
Conaing
and Mael-
mordha,
king of
Leinster.

CV. Dala Conaing; po inraig reis pī Lagen .i. Maelmorda mac Murēada, ocur do marbad .ui. pīr dec do muintir caē pīr dib ar belair a tigeriaō, cor compaictet fein, cor comēoitret pē cele .i. Conaing, pī Dermuman, ocur Maelmorda, pī Lagen.

The battle
between
the army of
Connaught
and the
Danes of
Dublin.

CVI. Dala Conaēt, imorpo, po inraigirar fein Gaill Aēa Cliaē, ocur do gabadar ar cele, ocur ipe rin in bualad dedenaē bai ar in muig rin, uair da marbad uli leē ar leē ano iat, uair nī tamic beo ar do Conaētairb aēt oen cet, ocur nuēu deāio du Gallairb Aēa Cliaē aēt oen pīcī, ocur ic dpoēut Dubgaill po marbad in pēp madopead dib .i. Arnaill Scot .i. ipiat po marb ē luēt taigi Tairg Uī Cellais. Dala imorpo comlaino in caēa rin ocur a eēta nī mo inā ic Dia ita a pīr, uair caē oen ip mo ica mīad a pīr dpoē-

¹ *Combats*: meaning single combats, the other two being recorded, chapa. c. and ci.

² *Conaing*. He is afterwards called "King of Des-mhumha," or Desmond; but B., in both places, calls him "Co-

nang, son of Donnucan;" showing that Conaing, Brian's nephew, was intended. See *Genealogical Table* III., Append. B.

³ *Twenty*. B. says, "but nine." See Appendix C.

not on them Dunlang's desire and attention were fixed, but on Cornabliteoc; for he gave him a rough, fierce, rapid blow of a spear, by which his ardour was excited, and his spirit roused, and his active mind occupied; for its rough point passed through him, both body, and body-armour. When this was perceived by Cornabliteoc's people, they formed a firm, compact, hard-hearted circle around him; and the thrice fifty of them that were there, turned themselves at the same time against Dunlang. However, it is certain, that their defence procured neither respect nor mercy for their chief, for by Dunlang fell every one of them who waited to be wounded and beaten, until there remained no interposition between them; and they dealt ardent thrusts and fearful blows at each other. And this was one of the three hardest combats¹ that took place at Cluain Tarbh, besides what Murchadh performed, of bone-breaking of heads and bodies. For his was the fierce rushing of a bull, and the scorching path of a royal champion. But to return, these brave champions nearly fell by each other; Dunlang, however, beheaded him.

CV. We must next speak of Conaing.² He faced Maelmordha, son of Murchadh, king of Laghin, and sixteen men of the people were killed, each man of them, in front of his lord, before they themselves met, and fell by each other, viz., Conaing, king of Des-mhumha, and Maelmordha, king of Laghin.

Combat of
Conaing
and Mael-
mordha,
king of
Leinster.

CVI. We speak next of the men of Conacht. They advanced to the foreigners of Ath Cliath, and they attacked each other. And that was the decisive defeat that took place on the plain; for they were [almost] all killed, on both sides, there, for there escaped alive from it of the men of Conacht, one hundred only; and there escaped of the foreigners of Ath Cliath, but twenty,³ and it was at Dubhgall's Bridge the last man of these was killed, viz., Arnail Scot, and those who killed him were the household troops of Tadhg Ua Cellaigh. The full events of that battle, however, and its deeds, God alone knows; because every one besides who could have had knowledge of it fell there on either side; and every man had sufficient

The battle
between
the army of
Connaught
and the
Danes of
Dublin.

Panegyric
on Mur-
chadh, son
of Brian.

patar ant leť ar leť, ocur bai obair cač oen dib a
fir a tuirpúcta fen ar met a echni.

CVII. Imtura, imorro, Murčaid mic Driain, in rug-
mílú. Ro gabrúe a da claidium cpođa comnerpa .i.
claidium ina deir, ocur claidium ina cle, uair ir fe
rin duni dedenač ri ba comdeir imbualta da deir
ocur da cli bai in nEirind. Ise duni dedenač irpabi
in firgairced in Eirind é. Ise tuc a brečir firpauz
nač bepađ oen trauz teigčú pēirín cinuú doenna uli,
ar coma ra biť, ačt minbad cinnu leir can ec tpe
bithu. Ise duni dedenač irpabi comlonđ cet in
Eirind e. Ise duni dedenač po marb cet in oen lo e.
Ise corceim dedenač puc in firgairced in Eirind e.
Dauz ised innuirt penčaidi na nGoedel, morpēriur
amail Murčad comlonđ Mac Shamain, ocur .uii. amail
Mac Shamain comlonđ Luga Laga, ocur .uii. amail
Lug Laga comlonđ Conaill Cernaiz, ocur .uii. amail
Conaill Cernač comlonđ Loga Lamařata mic Etlenh,
ocur .uii. amail Log Lamařata comlonđ Hečtoir
mac Driain. Ocur conu iat rin uirēda ocur imtečta
in pūmgarceú o tur in domain, ocur gūnač beif
in pūmgarced pēim Hečtor, uair nairin e comci
rin, ocur nūp inengnuma e po hocci, ocur cona beif
iar Murčad; uair penoir cpičā cūndiblú e o
hin amāč. Ocur cormailluř airi duneta tomten-
aizit amlaid rin don garced ocur don domun ar
nintamlugud intliučta. Ro be rin intēctoiri intam-
laiztech na Epenđ, ilbuadaizi, ar cpeđium, ocur ar
gail, ocur ar garced, ar eneač, ocur ar engnum.
Robe rin in Samron ruairc, pocomainđ, řegđainđ,
řoerberač na nEbruidi, im řočar ocur im řairi a
atarđa ocur a ceneoil ře řé řen, ocur ře amřir. Ro
berin intErcuil totačtač tanari po řerir, ocur po

¹ *Because it*: meaning apparently the world. "Before Hector the world was in its infancy; after Murchadh it shall be in its old age and dotage."

² *Religion*. Ar cpeđium, "in faith." The three lines, from Ro

berin to ar engnum, are omitted in B.

³ *Race*. B. has improved the sense by omitting the words "for the prosperity and freedom of his fatherland and of his race."

to do to know his own adventures, from the greatness of his distress.

CVIL To return to Murchadh, son of Brian, the royal champion. He grasped his two valiant strong swords, viz., a sword in his right, and a sword in his left hand, for he was the last man in Erinn who had equal dexterity in striking with his right and with his left hand. He was the last man that had true valour in Erinn. It was he that pledged the word of a true champion, that he would not retreat one foot before the whole of the human race, for any reason whatsoever but this alone, that he might die of his wounds. He was the last man in Erinn who was a match for a hundred. He was the last man who killed a hundred in one day. His was the last step that true valour ever took in Erinn. For this is what the historians of the Gaedhil say, that seven like Murchadh, would be a match for Mac Samhain; and seven like Mac Samhain, a match for Lugh Lagha; and seven like Lugh Lagha, a match for Conall Cernach; and seven like Conall Cernach, a match for Lugh Lamha-fada, the son of Eithlenn; and seven like Lugh Lamha-fada, a match for Hector, the son of Priam. Such are the degrees and variations of illustrious championship from the beginning of the world; and there was no illustrious championship previous to Hector, because it¹ was only an infant till his time, and was not fit for action, nor shall there be after Murchadh, because it shall be a palsied drivelling dotard ever after. And thus championship and the world are compared with human life, according to intellectual metaphor. He was the metaphorical Hector of all-victorious Erinn, in religion,² and in valour, and in championship, in generosity, and in munificence. He was the pleasant, affable, intelligent, accomplished Samson of the Hebrews, for promoting the prosperity and freedom of his fatherland and of his race³, during his own career and time. He was the second powerful Hercules,⁴ who de-

Panegyric
on Mur-
chadh, son
of Brian.

¹ *Hercules*. D. reads, $\mu\tau$ $\epsilon\sigma\iota\lambda$: but B. gives the true reading, $\mu\tau$ $\epsilon\pi\sigma\iota\lambda$, which has, therefore, been introduced into the text.

delair piarta ocur toraēru a hEirinn, ro rir laēa, ocur linti, ocur uamanna, na foela pondaardi, ar naē rabi dunn no digenn ir in domun. Robe in lug lamata comcormail, ro ling caē vocair, ocur po lomair caē trincenō, ocur po reri, ocur po marb gullu ocur allmarāu a hEirinn. Robe in comla caēa, ocur in eliaē ugra, ocur in dor diten, ocur in tor bruti biōbaō, a aēarōa ocur a ceneoil re pé, ocur re remir.

His assault
upon the
enemy.

CVIII. Ot connaic in ruzmilio romor poēalma rin ocur in cur cpoāa comnart in meargāin, ocur in-ppuēolum tucrat Danair ocur Anmargāig allmarōa rri Dalcair, ir amail bair no biē anim do poinnerair dorom sein, comarōuō Gall rriu, ocur po gab ferg dicra dimor ē, ocur brue boppaōaē, aōbulmor, po gab met menman ocur aienō. Aēraēt en gaili ocur gairciō inō, comba ar luamain of hinib ocur of anail. Ocur ruc taiēim tren, tricc, tairbteē, tinnernaē, po caē na nAnmargā, amail dam dian, denmnetā, araētaē ar na oēōgabail, no amail leomon lonō, letartach, luēmar, lanēalma, toōurciēir, ocur cpatir ima culenāib, no mar borbpuātur dian bunnō dilenō, brippear ocur brecar caē nī cor a ricc, ocur ruc beirno curāō, ocur latair mileō, dar caē na nAnmarcaē. Porglit a epcarut da heir .i. renēairi Gall ocur laēen, cor ēuit .l. da deir, ocur .l. da cli, don puātur rin; ocur nīr aēepaig beim riam do neoē aēt oen beim, ocur nīr gab rēiaē na luraē rri beim dib rin riam, can leoō cuirp, ocur centomullāig, ocur enam maroen dib. Cio tra aēt, po rāēt trefin caē riar co ba tri mar rin. Ro lenait ē, imorpo, dampraō dian, dīulāing, dīrepra, dermair, Clainnō Luigōeāē ocur

¹ *Danmarkians.* Anmargāig for Danmargāig. B. reads, Danair ocur allmarāig, "Danars and pirates."

² *Testified.* Over the word porglit in D. is the gloss no inniūt, "or it is told."

³ *Historians.* From this it appears

that there were Irish historians of the side opposed to Brian, and favourable to those Norsemen who were allies of the king of Leinster. But their works are now unfortunately lost. They are here appealed to as admitting the great prowess of Murchadh.

stroyed and exterminated serpents and monsters out of Erinn; who searched the lakes, and pools, and caverns, of noble-landed Fodhla, whom no fortress or fastness in the world could resist. He was the Lugh Lamha-fada, who, like him, sprang over every obstacle, laid bare every brave head, and exterminated and expelled the foreigners and pirates out of Erinn. He was the gate of battle, and the hurdle of conflict, and the sheltering tree, and the impregnable tower, against the enemies of his fatherland and of his race during his time and during his career.

CVIII. When this very great, very valiant, royal champion, and brave powerful hero saw the crushing and the repulse which the Danars and the piratical Danmarkians¹ gave to the Dal Cais, it operated on him like death, or a permanent blemish, to see the conflict of the foreigners with them; and he was seized with a boiling, terrible anger, and an excessive elevation, and greatness of spirit and mind. A bird of valour and championship arose in him, and fluttered over his head, and on his breath. And he made an active, brave, vigorous, sudden rush at the battalion of the Danmarkians, like a violent, impetuous, furious ox, that is difficult to catch; or like a fierce, tearing, swift, all-powerful lioness, that has been roused and robbed of her whelps; or like the fierce roll of an impetuous, deluging torrent, which shatters and smashes every thing that opposes it; and he made a hero's breach, and a soldier's field, through the battalion of the Danmarkians. It is testified² by his enemies after him, viz., the historians³ of the foreigners, and of the Laighin, that there fell fifty by his right hand, and fifty by his left, in that onset; and he never repeated a blow to any one, but only the one blow, and neither shield nor mail-coat was proof to resist any of those blows, or prevent its cutting the body, the skull, or the bone of every one of them. Thrice, now, passed he through the battalion in that manner. He was followed, too, by the great, impetuous, irresistible, matchless, phalanx of the Clann Luighdech, and the fine, lively,

His assault
upon the
enemy.

gamandraidh glanḡarta, ḡerata, ḡalac, ḡnimač, ḡar-
beoda, a čeglač badein .i. uin. pičit meic riḡ batap ina
čeglač, ocur tričā ced in fer ba lugu dučur dib rin.
Ro lenait e co hait, ačlum, imetrum, co mbenad bono
fri bono, ocur cento fri cento, ocur cner fri cner, da
eir cač conair ma pancatar. Ocur riur do ramailpet
rin daini Ačā Chiač, batap forr na pcemlib, icca
peḡad, conar ba lia leo perrčlaiḡi etrunnar o mor
mečil ic buain ḡoirte corci, cid da cač no tri do
ḡreirtea pai, oldar polt or ḡait uatib, ar na letpad
do čuagairb troma tairlečairb, ocur do claidibib lain-
nerda lapanna; conid airi rin arbert mac Amlairb,
bai ar pcemlēd a ḡrianan fein aca peḡad. Ir maič
benait na ḡaill in ḡort, arpe, ir imda perrčlaiḡi lec-
cait uatib. Ar depeo lai ir tēcarta, ar ingen ōriain,
.i. ben [meic] Amlairb.

Duration of
the battle,
from high
water at
sunrise to
high water
at sunset.

CIX. Cid tra ačt, batap ar in linipen, ocur ar in
nimbualad iat, o tpath epḡi co iarnoin. Ir inundo, on,
ocur in cen bir in muir ic tiačt ocur ic tuli ocur ic
linad. Dair ir a lan mapa tancatar amāč na ḡaill
do cur in cačā ir in matin, ocur do počt in muir ina
hinad cetna doriri im depeo lae, in tan¹ po muir apna
ḡallaib, ocur puc in lan mapa a longā uatib, ḡo nač
pabi accu potoio leač no teičritir, ačt ir in fairḡi,
ar marbad ḡaill na lupeač uli do Dalcair arčena.
Ro maid poen po maoma ar ḡallaib ocur lairib, co
dḡair in oenpečt, ocur po ḡairpetar a commairc
cintī, ocur a cairmerpa comtinenair, cum tečid ocur
cum tpein ḡabala; ocur ipēd po čēčretar ir in fairḡi,
dair ni pabi accu let no tečpetir cēna, uair po bar
etupru ocur cento dpočait Dubḡaill, ocur po bar

Total de-
feat of the
Danish and
Leinster
troops.

¹ *Champions.* Lit., "Gamanraidh." See above, p. 166, note 2.

² *Townland.* The phrase *triocā ced*, was used to signify a barony or townland. So that the meaning is: not one of these followers of Murchadh

that was not the owner of at least a townland.

³ *Working.* D. reads, *ḡoirtea*, which is a mistake of the scribe. *ḡreirtea*, the reading of B., has been substituted.

valiant, brave, fierce champions,¹ of his own household, namely, seven score sons of kings that were in his household; and the man of smallest patrimony amongst them was lord of a townland.² These followed him sharply, quickly, and lightly, so that they touched each other foot to foot, and head to head, and body to body, behind him in every place that they came to. And it appeared to the people of Ath Cliath, who were watching them from their battlements, that not more numerous would be the sheaves floating over a great company reaping a field of oats; even though two or three battalions were working³ at it, than the hair flying with the wind from them, cut away by heavy gleaming axes, and by bright flaming swords. Whereupon the son of Amhlaibh, who was on the battlements of his watch tower, watching them, said, "Well do the foreigners reap the field," said he, "many is the sheaf they let go from them." "It will be at the end of the day that will be seen," said Brian's daughter, namely, the wife of [the son of⁴] Amhlaibh.

CIX. However, now, they continued in battle array, and fighting from sunrise to evening. This is the same length of time as that which the tide takes to go, and to flood, and to fill. For it was at the full tide the foreigners came out to fight the battle in the morning, and the tide had come to the same place again at the close of the day, when the foreigners were defeated; and the tide had carried away their ships from them, so that they had not at the last any place to fly to, but into the sea; after the mail-coated foreigners had been all killed by the Dál Cais. An awful rout was made of the foreigners, and of the Laighin, so that they fled simultaneously; and they shouted their cries for mercy, and whoops of rout, and retreat, and running; but they could only fly to the sea, because they had no other place to retreat to, seeing they were cut off between it and the head of Dubhgall's Bridge; and they

Duration of the battle, from high water at sunrise to high water at sunset.

Total defeat of the Danish and Leinster troops.

¹ Son of. D. reads, ben Cmlaib, "Amlaff's wife;" but this is an evident mistake; and therefore the reading of

B., ben meic Cmlaib, has been adopted. Sitric, son of Amlabh, or Amlaff, was married to Brian's daughter.

eturpo ocur caill don leið ele. Cio tra aét, po
 éeçretar ipin farzi, amail elta bo ar aibell, pe po
 éerbač, ocur pe cpeib, ocur pe culib ocur po lenait co
 hait, aélum, imetrum, ocur po baéit co dimor inti na
 Gall, co mbitir na carnaib ocur na cetair comco-
 marcēi ar na rcarēain pe ciallaib ocur pe cetraib
 corparib, perin tuarcan teinō tairimic, ocur perin
 coēucuo comlan, cruatcraidech, da ponatar Dalcair
 ruu, ocur Conačta, ocur i rabi ant arēena do maib
 per Epenō.

Tordelbach,
 Brian's
 grandson,
 drowned at
 the weir of
 Clontarf.

CX. Ir andrein da cuair Tairdelbač, mac Mur-
 čair, mic Ġriain, i ndegair na nGall ir in farzi, co tue
 in bunni robarra bulli fair im carpu Cluana Tarb,
 ocur ir amlair po baéō e, ocur Gall pae, ocur Gall
 ina deir, ocur Gall inacle, ocur cuall na carao tuit.
 Ni rabi ina air pen duni baō ferr eneač no engnam
 in Ġrino, ocur ni rabi aobur ruz baō ferr. Dais
 engnum a atar ant, ocur ridačt a renatar, ocur nir
 plan aet .u. bliatona dēc do andrin. Ipe for in tper
 duni ir mo po marb inla pen e.

Altercation
 between
 the son of
 Amlaff and
 his wife.

Ir ant rin po rair ingen Ġriain ben [meic] Amlair,
 Ir doig lemra, arri, po benrat na Gall pe nduēur.
 Cio pen, a ingen, ar mac Amlair. Na Gall ic točt
 ir in farzi, ait ir dual daib, arri, nuēu netar in
 aibell rail opēō, ačt ni anait pe mblegun mareō. Ro
 pergačēō mac Amlair riu, ocur tue dorpo ti.

Exploits of
 Murchadh,
 son of
 Brian.

CXI. Imtur, imorro, Murčair mic Ġriain. Ar
 počtain do tri caē na nGall ocur do garraio Dalcair
 ar oen rruir, amail po remraiorem, uair da batar Ġrem
 do caēmleōaib na nGall riam, can teičēō ipin farzi,
 eter noč ca rabi ciall ir cumni ōib, ačt po bora leo

¹ *In the sea.* Lit., "in it;" but B. reads, ipin rrairge, "in the sea."

² *Under him.* B. omits the "foreigner under him;" making two foreigners only to have perished with him.

³ *Amhlaibh's son.* Here again the reading of B. has been followed. See note, p. 191. He is called Amhlaibh's

son in the next line, which proves that the omission of the word mac, in D. is a mere clerical error, although it occurs in two different places.

⁴ *Blow.* B. adds, ōi gur ben rra-
 canl ara ceann, "which knocked a
 tooth out of her head."

were cut off between it and the wood on the other side. They retreated therefore to the sea, like a herd of cows in heat, from sun, and from gadflies, and from insects; and they were pursued closely, rapidly, and lightly; and the foreigners were drowned in great numbers in the sea,¹ and they lay in heaps and in hundreds, confounded, after parting with their bodily senses and understandings, under the powerful, stout, belabouring; and under the tremendous, hard-hearted pressure, with which the Dal Cais, and the men of Conacht, and as many as were also there of the nobles of Erin, pursued them.

CX. It was then that Tordhelbhach, the son of Murchadh, son of Brian, went after the foreigners into the sea, when the rushing tide wave struck him a blow against the weir of Cluain-Tarbh, and so was he drowned, with a foreigner under him,² and a foreigner in his right hand, and a foreigner in his left, and a stake of the weir through him. There was not of his age a person of greater generosity or munificence than he in Erin; and there was not a more promising heir of the kingdom. For he inherited the munificence of his father, and the royal dignity of his grandfather; and he had not completed more than fifteen years at that time. He was also one of the three men who had killed most on that day.

Tordelbach, Brian's grandson, drowned at the weir of Clontarf.

Then it was that Brian's daughter, namely, the wife of Amhlaibh's son³ said, "It appears to me," said she, "that the foreigners have gained their inheritance." "What meanest thou, O woman?" said Amhlaibh's son. "The foreigners are going into the sea, their natural inheritance," said she; "I wonder is it heat that is upon them; but they tarry not to be milked, if it is." The son of Amhlaibh became angered, and he gave her a blow.⁴

Altercation between the son of Amhlaff and his wife.

CXI. To return, however, to Murchadh, son of Brian. When he had passed through the battalions of the foreigners, accompanied by the champions of the Dál Cais, as we have said before, there was a party of soldiers of the foreigners still before him, who had not rushed into the sea as yet, who retained their senses and their memories, and who preferred enduring any amount of suffering rather

Exploits of Murchadh, son of Brian.

He attacks
Siucrad,
Earl of
Orkney,

and slays
him.

Ebric, son
of the king
of Loch-
lann, at-
tacks the
Dal Caia.

Murchadh
rushes to
meet him.

cañ etualang ar domon dulang inar a mbañad. I r and
ren ic conaire Murcāo Siucraio, mac Lotair, iarla
Inri Ore, ar lar cañ Dal Cair, ica nairleač ocu
ica načuma, ocu bā lunni latraino dar maiz leir
etupru, ocu ni geibtir penna no ilfaihair é, ocu ni
bið teno nač traigneð, ocu ni bið tiug nač tananceno.
I r and rin pucartair Murcāo ruatā po tren dain-
raigio, ocu po tinlaic bulli borð, tren, bruc bryceč,
na lama leitmič luatēčaič deiri deš čapaið, din-
raigio coel in cuip, ocu cengal in cačhairr galla
granemal bai po čeno, cor gerrartair na enair, ocu
cengal, ocu iata, ocu na coraičti batar ic congbal
in cačhairr, ocu tucartair claidium na lama ailli
aindeiri da aipleč, ocu da atēuma, ar toirim a cač-
hairr ar a cul de, cor gerrartar coel in cuip cor
trartair in tren milid rin do da beim comtena
comdeppa mar ren.

CXII. I r andrin tanc in cačmilid cupata, anghair,
allata, Anraio mac Ebric, mac riš Ločlano i criplač,
ocu i ceptmedon Dal Cair, ocu ba lačir mileð, ocu
ba berno cupat no leicēa do cač conair ma tegeð,
ocu do rinu rinnumaiz do let cino in cača imacuairt
do bemennaib borba barbarda, ocu do bulleðair
agmara aniamartačā. Rodrecir Murcāo in ni rin,
ocu ba gal crairi leir, ocu po impo riartairna po
cač na lueač cor marb .u. gallu dec da deir, ocu i
cuic dec da cli donneoč ima rabi lueač co riact [mac]
Elbric mac ri Ločlano. Uair robeirin ceno gaili, ocu
gairio pluaiš Ločlano, ocu gall uli arcena, ocu po
cuipertair comlono feiž feočair fuleač fordeps, ocu
gleicgarb gliðdeoč co hanmin agarb epcardemal. I r

¹ *Siucraid*. "Sitruic," B.

² *Neck*. Lit., "the narrow part of the body." This bombastical description is omitted in B.

³ *Warrior*. It is possible that an-
raro, the word here rendered "warrior,"
may be intended as the proper name
of this champion, and that we should

read "Anrad, son of Ebric," &c. The
romantic tale called *the Battle of Clon-
tarf* so understands it. But there is
evidently some confusion; for the hero
here called "son of Ebric," is a little
lower down called "Elbric," which
ought to be "[son of] Elbric." B.
calls him here, when he is first men-

than be drowned. It was then that Murchadh perceived Siucraid,¹ son of Lotar, Earl of Insi Orc, in the midst of the battalion of the Dál Cais, slaughtering and mutilating them; and his fury among them was that of a robber upon a plain; and neither pointed nor any kind of edged weapon could harm him; and there was no strength that yielded not, nor thickness that became not thin. Then Murchadh made a violent rush at him, and dealt him a fierce, powerful, crushing blow from the valiant, death-dealing, active right hand, in the direction of his neck,² and the fastenings of the foreign hateful helmet that was on his head, so that he cut the buttons, and the fastenings, and the clasps, and the buckles that were fastening the helmet; and he brought the sword of the graceful left hand to hew and maim him after the helmet had fallen backwards from him; and he cut his neck, and felled that brave hero with two tremendous, well-aimed blows, in that manner.

He attacks
Siucrad,
Earl of
Orkney,

and slays
him.

CXII. Then came the heroic, valiant, noble, renowned warrior,³ the son of Ebric, son of the king of Lochlann, into the bosom and centre of the Dál Cais, and it was the clear stage of a warrior, and the breach of a hero was opened for him wherever he went; and he trampled to a litter one end of the battalion, dealing in all directions fierce, barbarous strokes, and victorious irresistible blows. Murchadh perceived this, and it was a heart-ache to him, and he turned obliquely upon the battalions of the mailed-men, and killed fifteen foreigners on his right, and fifteen on his left, who were mail-clad, until he reached [the son of] Elbric, the son of the king of Lochlainn, for he was the head of valour and bravery of the army of Lochlainn, and of all the foreigners also. And they fought a stout, furious, bloody, crimson combat, and a fierce, vehement, rough, boisterous, implacable battle. And the sword

Ebric, son
of the king
of Loch-
lann, at-
tacks the
Dal Cais.

Murchadh
rushes to
meet him.

tioned, "Elbric, son of the king of Lochlann," and in the second place "Ebric, son of the king of Lochlann," transposing the names given him in D., but in neither place speaking of

"the son of Ebric" or Elbric. The same person is evidently meant in both places, and the name intended was probably *Eohric* or *Eric*; or perhaps *Elfric*.

amlaid baid claidium Murchaid anorin ar na inrma,
 ocur elta det batan aicci ro legrat re ro terbae
 imualta, ocur do dluis in claidium te alaim illadair
 a mugairno correll. Sellair in ni rin, ocur po lae in
 claidium uad, ocur po gab centomullae in gail, ocur
 po huir a lupie dar a cent rair, ocur po cuipret
 gleic impracala iarrin. Ro cuir Murchad rai in gall
 a nire lampigi, ocur po gab claidium in gail fein
 iarrin, ocur po rait i cleit oeta in gail e co riae
 talmain tuit potri. Tapaid dan, in gall a fein fein,
 ocur tuc tatall do Murchad co po tall a inni uli ar,
 ocur cor tuitret ar lap ina riadair. Ro tuitret
 creta, ocur tama iarrin for Murchad, ocur ni po fet
 imteet, ocur po comtuirit aroen anorin, in gall ocur
 Murchad, aet oen ni ceia po ben Murchad a cent dun
 gall, ocur ni po marb Murchad in adach rin itir, co
 traet eirgi arnabarae co tapaid cretra, ocur comna,
 ocur atrigi, ocur cor caet corp Cuir, ocur co nberna
 airt, ocur a timna.

Both mortally wounded.

Elric be-headed.
 Murchadh lives to the following day.

The adventures of Brian, king of Ireland.
 He kneels in prayer, desiring his servant to watch the battle.

He inquires of the servant the progress of the fight.

CXIII. Imtur imorro Brian mic Cennetig, fpuir re
 rin, ar compiaetain dona caetib po scailed a pell pae,
 ocur po oflaic a ialtar, ocur po gab i clarecul allam,
 ocur ic airnagi dar eir na cae, ocur ni rabi nee na
 aruo aet a gilla fein .i. latean a ainm, [o tait O latean
 for ir in Mumain.] Arbert Brian fpuir in gilla, peg na
 caea, ocur na comlonna, co ngabura na palmu. Ro gab
 .l. palm, ocur .l. optan, ocur .l. pater, ocur po imcomape
 don gilla iarrin cinnar batan na caea. Ro pecair in
 gilla, ocur arbert atcumacri, ocur atcumreta comoluti
 na caea, ocur po riae cae im glocan a cele dib. Ocur
 ni po lia lempa troptbeim i caill Tomair, ocur .iii.
 caea ica tercad inna troptbeim i centair, ocur i

¹ *Cushion.* Pell, lit. a skin, i.e. a carpet, rug, or cushion made of fur, or skin.

² *From whom.* The clause within brackets occurs in both MSS., but is inconsistent with the early date of this

work; it is evidently the interpolation of some transcriber.

³ *Prayers.* Lit., *Orate's*: meaning probably litanies, or prayers consisting of the words *ora*, or, *orate pro nobis*.

of Murchadh at that time was inlaid with ornament, and the inlaying that was in it melted with the excessive heat of the striking, and the burning sword cleft his hand, tearing the fork of his fist. He perceived that, and cast the sword from him, and he laid hold of the top of the foreigner's head, and pulled his coat of mail over his head forward, and they then fought a wrestling combat. Then Murchadh put the foreigner down under him, by the force of wrestling, and then he caught the foreigner's own sword and thrust it into the ribs of the foreigner's breast, until it reached the ground through him, three times. The foreigner then drew his knife, and with it gave Murchadh such a cut, that the whole of his entrails were cut out, and they fell to the ground before him. Then did shiverings and faintings descend on Murchadh, and he had not power to move, so that they fell by each other there, the foreigner and Murchadh. But at the same time Murchadh cut off the foreigner's head. And Murchadh did not die that night, nor until sunrise the next day; until he had received absolution, and communion, and penance, and until he had taken the Body of Christ, and until he had made his confession and his will.

Both mortally wounded.

Elric beheaded.

Murchadh lives to the following day.

CXIII. Let us speak now of the adventures of Brian, son of Cenneidigh, during this time. When the forces met in combat, his cushion¹ was spread under him, and he opened his psalter; and he began to clasp his hands and to pray after the battle had commenced; and there was no one with him but his own attendant, whose name was Latean [from whom² are the O'Lateans, still in Mumhain]. Brian said to the attendant, watch thou the battles and the combats, whilst I sing the psalms. He sang fifty psalms, and fifty prayers,³ and fifty paternosters, and he asked the attendant after that what the condition of the battalions was. The attendant answered and said, "Mixed and closely confounded are the battalions, and each of them has come within the grasp of the other; and not louder in my ears would be the echoes of blows from Tomar's Wood, if seven battalions were cutting it down, than are the re-

The adventures of Brian, king of Ireland.

He kneels in prayer, desiring his servant to watch the battle.

He inquires of the servant the progress of the fight.

cnamaib, ocur i cenomullaigib etorro. Ocur po iarrais cinnar bi merzi Murčair, ocur arbert in gilla, ita na ferrum, ocur moran do mergetaib Dal Cair umi, ocur imda cenō ca dibrugud cuci, ocur ilač corcair, ocur comairmi leir do cennaib na ngall. Ir maiē in rcel rin, am, ar ūrian.

Ro hatairge a pell paei, ocur po gab na railm, ocur na horēan, ocur na patri fon cor cetna, ocur po iarrais don gilla cinnar batan na caēa, ocur po pecair in gilla, ocur atbert:—Ni fuil beo ar talum nec do bepaō aiēni ar neč peč a čele dib. Daiē itrocair forgla in caēa cečtarōa, ocur innoc ir beo po linait do braengail na pola foruamnaidi eter cenō, ocur corp, ocur etiud innar nač tiberō a atair aiēni ar a mac uar neč dib, ocur batan mere ar mere. Bi ica iarrais cinnar bai merzi Murčair. Arbert in gilla ri bata uāā e; ocur po ročt tper na caēaib riar, ocur bai ina heppum for. Arbert ūrian ir maiē betit rir Epenō, arpe, cen biar in merzi rin na heppum, daiē biarō a merneč fein, ocur a nengnum in gač duni dib i cen iticepat in merzi rin.

Ro hatirgeō a pell po ūrian, ocur po gab .L. palm, ocur .L. orēan, ocur .L. pater, ocur po bar icun imualao for ririn. Ro iarrais iarrin, don gilla cinnar batan na caēa. Arbert in gilla. Ir amail rin amail po bi caill Tomair ar lorao a minbaig, ocur a hoc epuno, ocur na pečt caēa coecair ar mir ica gerrao, [ocur a railge po mōpa, ocur a dairge dōimōpa ina ferram. Ir amlaiō rin atāō na caēa cečtarōa ar ttuitim a rporōa uile, ačt uāāō ōa tpreinfeiraiō, ocur ōa tpreinmleāōaiō na ferram. Ir amlaiō atao na caēa cečtarōa fōr ar na ttollāō, ocur ar na tpreaōōāō, ocur ar na rccaoileō, ocur atao go hanorōaigē imaccuairt, ocur bleith muilinn tuaitril orpa, ocur

¹ From him, i.e. from Murchadh.

² Underwood. Here the MS. D. ends imperfectly. The conclusion has been supplied from B.

³ A month. B. reads, ocur na

pečt caēa caictōir ar mir aga caictēn, ocur a railge po mōpa, 7c., as in the text.

⁴ Wrong way. Lit., "turning northwards," or to the left-hand.

sounding blows upon heads, and bones, and skulls, on both sides." Then he asked what was the condition of Murchadh's standard ; and the attendant said—" It is standing, and many of the banners of the Dal Cais are around it ; and many heads are falling around it, and a multitude of trophies, and spoils, with heads of the foreigners are along with it." That is good news, indeed, said Brian.

His cushion was readjusted under him, and he sang the psalms, and the prayers, and the paters, in the same manner as before. And he asked of the attendant, again, what the condition of the battalions was ; and the attendant answered and said—" There is not living on earth one who could distinguish one of them from the other. For, the greater part of the hosts at either side are fallen, and those who are alive are so covered with spatterings of the crimson blood, head, body, and vesture, that a father could not know his son from any other of them, so confounded are they." He then asked what was the condition of Murchadh's standard. The attendant said that it was far from him,¹ and that it passed through the battalions, westwards, and was still standing. Brian said, " The men of Erin shall be well while that standard remains standing, because their courage and valour shall remain in them all, as long as they can see that standard."

His cushion was readjusted under Brian, and he sang fifty psalms, and fifty prayers, and fifty paters ; and the fighting continued all that time. He asked then of the attendant, in what state were the forces ? The attendant answered—" They appear to me the same as if Tomar's Wood was on fire, and the seven battalions had been cutting away its underwood² [and its young shoots, for a month,³ leaving its stately trees and its immense oaks standing. In such manner are the armies on either side, after the greater part of them have fallen, leaving a few brave men and gallant heroes only standing. Their further condition is, they are wounded, and pierced through, and dismembered ; and they are disorganized all round like the grindings of a mill turning the wrong way,⁴ and the foreigners are now defeated, and Murchadh's

Brian's
lamenta-
tion on the
fall of
Murchadh.

romuibh anora ar na gallaibh, ocur do tuit meirge Murchadh. Triuag an rcel rín, ar úrian; dar mo bpreir arpe, do tuit eineac, ocur engnam Epenn an tan do tuit an meirge rín, ocur do tuit Epe de go rín, ocur noða tiepa tapaeir co bráit aon Laoč a ionn-
raihail na cormailoir an laoič rín. Ocur ca buđ peirde dañra ciđ ar ro do deačainn, ocur gemađ é picche an domain do gēbainn tap eir Murchadh, ocur Conaing, ocur maiťe Dal cCair ar čena. Aleb ar an golla, da nbeirnta ormpa do rađta ar čeach, ocur do pachmaoir don longport, ocur do beimoir itir na gillib, ocur gač aon tiepar ar ro ar čuccainn čiučpar. Ocur ar umainn iatpait uile, doigh atáit na cačta merce ar merce ar na mbuaiđreacđ, ocur dona do éimgepar dpeam do na gallaib teicheđ irin fpaiprge, ocur ní peidamar cia tiepa cuccainn aihail atám. Al Dia a čoiđ, ar úrian, ní maiř an teicheđ, ocur ro peitparra pein nač pač ar ro beó, ocur ga tapda tam ge do deachainn, uair táinnce Aibell Craice Leite čuccam aráir, ar pe, ocur ro innir dañ go muirpeide mé aniu, ocur adubairt muom an céo mac dom čloinn do chipinn aniu gomađ é do gēbađ piđe tap méir, ocur bíđ é Donnchađ eirein; ocur imčig a laideain, ar pé, ocur beir na heich rín leat, ocur beir mo beinnacđ, ocur dona mo čiomna tap mēir .i. mo čopp, ocur manmain do Dia, ocur do naoñ Patraice, ocur mo bpreit co hArđmača, ocur mo beannačđ do Donnchađ ar mo čeinnaiti dic tap méir .i. da pičit decc bo, ocur rín do čabairt do čomarba Patraice, ocur do muintir Arđmača, ocur a buťracđ pein do Chill da lua, ocur do čellaiđ Muman, ocur ro pēoirpein gan ionnmar accamra dōr, no dairceit acđ eirium dá ic tap ceinn mo beinnacđtan, ocur mo čomarbair. Imčig anočđ co dōr, ocur abair riu točđ amarač moč tráit in acchait mo ccuipri, ocur a

Brian's
will.

¹ *Aibhell*. More correctly *Aibhinn*, as in the annals of Loch Ce, or Kilronan. This was the family spirit, or guardian *banshee*, of the royal house of Munster, according to a well-known

superstition of the Celtic tribes of Ireland and Scotland.

² *Succeeding me*. Mo čomarbar. Lit., "my comharbus," or heirship. The word *comarba*, which usually

standard has fallen." "That is sad news," said Brian; ^{Brian's} "on my word," said he, "the honour and valour of ^{lamentation on the} Erinn fell when that standard fell; and Erinn has fallen ^{fall of} now, indeed; and never shall there appear henceforth a ^{Murchadh.} champion comparable to or like to that champion. And what avails it me to survive this, or that I should obtain the sovereignty of the world, after the fall of Murchadh, and Conaing, and the other nobles of the Dál Cais, in like manner." "Woe is me," said the attendant, "if thou wouldst take my advice, thou wouldst mount thy horse, and we would go to the camp, and remain there amongst the servants; and every one who escapes this battle will come unto us, and around us will they all rally. Besides, the battalions are now mixed together in confusion; and a party of the foreigners have rejected the idea of retreating to the sea; and we know not who may approach us where we now are." "Oh God! thou boy," said Brian, "retreat becomes us not, and I myself know that I shall not leave this place alive; and what would it profit me if I did. For, Aibhell,¹ of Craig Liath, came to me last night," said he, "and she told me that I should be killed this day; and she said to me that the first of my sons I should see this day would be he who should succeed me in the sovereignty; and that is Donnchadh; and go thou, Laidean," said he, "and take these steeds with thee, and receive my blessing; and carry out my will after me, viz., ^{Brian's} my body and my soul to God and to Saint Patrick, and ^{will.} that I am to be carried to Ard-macha; and my blessing to Donnchadh, for discharging my last bequests after me, viz., twelve score cows to be given to the Comharba of Patrick, and the Society of Ard-macha; and its own proper dues to Cill da Lua, and the churches of Mumhain; and he knows that I have not wealth of gold or silver, but he is to pay them in return for my blessing, and for his succeeding me.² Go this night to Sord, and desire them

means an ecclesiastical successor, had | signified an heir or inheritor of land or
never that meaning exclusively, but | office, whether civil or ecclesiastical.

ionlacadh uachtairsin co Dáimhliacc Cianain, ocur tiond-
laiceit rin me go Luighnás, ocur ticceib Maolmhuire
mac Eochada coḡarba Pátraic, ocur muinntir Árd-
mača im aigib go Luighnás.

CXIV. An tan batтар porran ccoḡrádh rin atconairc
an giolla buidheir dona gallaib éuca. Ise do bí ann
rin ḡroḡar iarla, ocur diaḡ ócclač amaille ppiḡ.
ḡaoine éuccainn annro ḡar an giolla. Cionar ḡaoine
iad ale, ar ḡrian. ḡaeine glara lomnočta, ar in
giolla. Tḡuaš rin, ar ḡrian, goill na luireadh rin, ocur
ni do denaib do leirraḡa tḡeizait. Ar cuma ro bai
aḡa paḡa, ocur ro eirig, ocur pucc coirceim don pḡell
amač, ocur do nočt a čloibḡ. Tḡeitt ḡroḡar pḡača, ocur
ni tuc ḡa uirh é. Arberc an tḡear pḡar bai ina pḡaradh,
ocur roḡ ócclač do ḡrian pḡin e, Cing, cing, ar pḡé, ar
é ro an pḡí. Nó, nó, ačt pḡíḡt, pḡíḡt, ar ḡroḡar, ni
heaḡ, ar pḡé, ačt paḡarḡ uaraḡ. Ac iḡir, ar ant ógladh, an
pḡí móḡ ḡrian, ata and. Ro imo ḡroḡar ar rin, ocur
ir aiblaib ro bai, ocur tḡuaš tairḡleach taitneibḡač tḡor-
tánač ina laim, ocur ionnḡma na pḡamtaizte ina meḡon.
Ot connairc ḡrian é, ro bai aḡa pḡeḡaḡ, ocur tucc beim
cloibḡib do ḡur tḡeic an cor člé ḡé aḡa glún, ocur
an čor tḡeic aḡa tḡraizib. Do berc an gall buille do
ḡrian ḡur ḡluigh an cenḡ co léir, ocur ro marḡ ḡrian
an tḡara pḡer bai ipḡairadh ḡroḡair, ocur ro tuitettar
an diaḡ rin comḡuitim.

Panegyric
on Brian.

CXV. Nocha tḡeḡaḡ iar cḡpḡeibḡib in Eḡinn ačt
oirpḡeč chinn Cḡrbmaic mic Cuilennain, aongḡuibḡ buḡ mó
ina rin. Rob é rin, iarlaib, an tḡear ḡein ar pḡerḡ pḡuaḡ
an Eḡinn pḡaib, ocur an tḡear pḡer ročair Eḡenn .i.
Luḡ Lampada, ocur Pionḡ mac Cuḡaill, ocur ḡrian
mac Ceinnéitḡiḡ. ḡóig iré ro pḡarḡaic pḡir Eḡenn,
ocur a mná ó ḡaire, ocur ó ḡočar gall ocur allḡarač.

¹ *Three.* This seems to include Bro-
dar, who, with his two followers, made
three. One of them had been in
Brian's service, and called out in the
language of the Norsemen, "Cing,

Cing"—i.e., king; for the Irish C is
always pronounced as the hard K.
Brodar's answer, "No, no,—prist, prist,"
i.e. priest, is also an attempt to repre-
sent the language of the "foreigners."

to come to-morrow, early, for my body, and to convey it from thence to Damhliag, of Cianan ; and then let them carry it to Lughmhagh ; and let Maelmuire Mac Eochadha, the Comharba of Patrick, and the Society of Ard-macha come to meet me at Lughmhagh."

CXIV. While they were engaged in this conversation the attendant perceived a party of the foreigners approaching them. The Earl Brodar was there, and two warriors along with him. "There are people coming towards us here," said the attendant. "Woe is me, what manner of people are they?" said Brian. "A blue stark naked people," said the attendant. "Alas!" said Brian, "they are the foreigners of the armour, and it is not to do good to thee they come." While he was saying this, he arose and stepped off the cushion, and unsheathed his sword. Brodar passed him by and noticed him not. One of the three¹ who were there, and who had been in Brian's service, said—"Cing, Cing," said he, "this is the king." "No, no, but Priest, Priest," said Brodar, "it is not he," says he, "but a noble priest." "By no means," said the soldier, "that is the great king, Brian." Brodar then turned round, and appeared with a bright, gleaming, trusty battle-axe in his hand, with the handle set in the middle² of it. When Brian saw him he gazed at him, and gave him a stroke with his sword, and cut off his left leg at the knee, and his right leg at the foot. The foreigner dealt Brian a stroke which cleft his head utterly ; and Brian killed the second man that was with Brodar, and they fell both mutually by each other.

CXV. There was not done in Erinn, since Christianity, Panegyric on Brian. excepting the beheading of Cormac Mac Cuilennain, any greater deed than this. In fact he was one of the three best that ever were born in Erinn ; and one of the three men who most caused Erinn to prosper, namely, Lugh Lamha-fada, and Finn Mac Cumhaill, and Brian Mac Ceinneidigh. For it was he that released the men of Erinn, and its women, from the bondage and

¹ *The middle.* The meaning seems | the handle being fixed in the middle
to be that the axe was a double one, | between the blades.

iniquity of the foreigners, and the pirates. It was he that gained five-and-twenty battles over the foreigners, and who killed and banished them as we have already said. He was the beautiful, ever-victorious Octavin,¹ for the prosperity and freedom of his country and his race. He was the strong, irresistible, second Alexander, for energy, and for dignity, and for attacks, and for battles, and for triumphs. And he was the happy, wealthy, peaceable Solomon of the Gaedhil. He was the faithful, fervent, honourable, gallant David of Erinn, for truthfulness, and for worthiness, and for the maintainance of sovereignty. He was the magnificent, brilliant Moses, for chastity, and unostentatious devotion.

CXVI. However, that illustrious, all-victorious king, fell by the foreigners, in the eighty-eighth² year of his age, and in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, in Mumhain; and in his twelfth year in the chief sovereignty of Erinn. In short, Erinn fell by the death of Brian; and the predictions came to pass, and the prophecies were fulfilled to Erinn, according to the saints and the righteous ones, as Berchan said—

The noble and the plebeian fell
Foot to foot.
The Gaill and the Gaedhil will be the worse of it;
Blood-red shall be their conflicts.
Evil shall be to Erinn from it.
Blood-red shall be their conflicts;
Thence to the judgment day;
Worse shall they be every day.
There shall not be a pure church or city;
There shall not be a fortress or royal Rath;
A green wood, nor plain, nor good,
But all shall degenerate into lawlessness.

Two-thirds of the dignity and valour of the champions of Erinn fled on hearing this news. Two-thirds of the

Compared
to Augustus
Cæsar;

to Alexander;

to Solomon;
to David;

to Moses.

Brian's age
and length
of his reign.

Prophecies
of the fall
of Ireland.

Effects of
Brian's
death.

tell us that he was born A.D. 941, which would make him 73 when he was slain. This is a very much more probable date.

ττρίαν κολλη, οκυρ εραβηαδ ο κλειρδιδ Ερηνν τον
ρελ ριν. Το εuaiδ α ναιρε, οκυρ α ησεινμναιγετ
ο μναιδ Ερηνν τον ρελ σενα, αμαιλ αρβετ δεγ mac
δε:—

Διαδ buar an domhain gan dair.

Ναιρε δεαρβαιδ αρ οσμναιδ,

Διαδ γαε τιν γαν τρεαβhaiδ τρελλ.

Hi fuige ri enecclann.

The chief-
tains killed
on the side
of the
enemy.

Το εuaiδ θα ττρίαν λατα ο κετραιδ ρορ τον ρελ ριν.

CXVII. Αετ ατα νι σενα τορεπαταρ ιριν σεατ ριν
ροργλα λατγαιλε γαλλ, οκυρ γαιοδελ ιαρταιρ Εορρα uile
αρ αον λαταιρ. Τορεταιρ ανη οροδαρ mac Οιρλι, ιαρλα
Cairi hEbroc, οκυρ τορεταιρ .x.c. Δαναρ διβειργαε δα-
ραναε οκυρ λοχλανναε αρ αον ριυριν. Τορεταιρ ανη
σιτριuc mac λαδαρ ιαρλα ιηορι hOpc. Τορεταιρ ανη
.xx.c. το γαλλαδ Ατα Cλιαε, im Dubgall mac Αmlaid,
οκυρ im Gilla Ciapain mac Gluiniarann, οκυρ im Don-
chaδ Ua nEruilδ, οκυρ im Αmlaid mac Lagmain, οκυρ
im Epnail Scot.

Τορεπατταρ ανη ονα Οιτιρ ουδ, οκυρ Γριριν, οκυρ
Luiminn, οκυρ διογπαδ, κετρε hurpaδa γαλλ, οκυρ
κετρε ταιριγ λοινγρι; Τορεταιρ ανη ονα Caplur, οκυρ
Ciaplur θα mac ριγ λοελανν, οκυρ Γοιρτιλιν γαλλ, οκυρ
Amoond mac Duibginn, θα ριγ Ριυρτ Λαιρce, οκυρ Simonδ
mac Tuirgeir, οκυρ Σεppaid mac Suinn, οκυρ Δερναρδ
mac Suainn, οκυρ Eon Δαρυν, οκυρ Ricard, θα mac
na hIngene Ruaidε, οκυρ Οιρill, οκυρ Ραγνall, θα
mheic Imair ua Imair. Robad duthad το Δριαν α
ττυιτιμ ριν leiρ, οιρ ιρ le Maεganhain, οκυρ le Δριαν
το μαρβαδ uile α ναιρεα αγ κορναη αππειραινην δυταιγ
ρριυ.

Νι εαινιc mac Αmlaid ρειν .i. ρι Ατα Cλιαε ιριν σεατ
αν λα ριν, οκυρ ιρε ριν ρο δερα γαν α ηιαρβαδ, uair m

¹ *Tribute.* Eneclann, "honor-
price," the tax paid to a chieftain for
his protection.

² *Grisin.* We ought, perhaps, to
read *Grisin*.

purity and devotion of the clerics of Erinn vanished at that news. Their modesty and chastity departed from the women of Erinn at the same news, as Bec Mac De said :

The cows of the world shall be without the bull,
Modesty shall be wanting to young women ;
Every territory shall be without mansions, for a time.
No king shall receive his tribute.¹

Two-thirds of their milk also departed from quadrupeds at that news.

CXVII. Moreover, there were killed in that battle together the greater part of the men of valour of the Gaill and the Gaedhil, of all the west of Europe. There was killed there, Brodar, son of Osli, Earl of Caer Ebroc, and along with him were killed a thousand plundering Danars, both Saxons and Lochlanns. There was killed there Sitriuc, the son of Ladar, Earl of Innsi Orc. There were killed there two thousand of the foreigners of Ath Cliath, with Dubhghall, son of Amhlaibh, and with Gilla Ciarain, son of Gluniarann, and with Donnchadh O' hEruilbh, and with Amhlaibh, son of Laghman, and with Ernal Scot.

The chief-
tains killed
on the side
of the
enemy.

There were killed there, too, Oitir the black, and Grisin,² and Luiminin, and Siogradh, the four leaders of the foreigners, and the four commanders of fleets. There fell there, too, Carlus, and Ciarlus, the two sons of the king of Lochlainn, and Goistilin Gall, and Amond, son of Duibhghin, the two kings of Port Lairge, and Simond, son of Turgeis, and Sefraid, son of Suinin, and Bernard, son of Suainin ; and Eoin, the Baron, and Rickard, the two sons of the Inghen Ruaidh ; and Oisill, and Ragnall, the two sons of Imhar, grandson of Imhar.³ It was the natural right of Brian that these should fall with him, for it was by Mathgamhain, and by Brian, in defence of their country and inheritance, that all the fathers of these were slain.

The son of Amhlaibh himself, king of Ath Cliath, went not into the battle on that day, and that was the reason

³ Grandson of Imhar. Perhaps we should read here *na meic Imhar* ui | *Imhar*, "two sons of Imhar, grandsons of Imhar."

The Irish
chieftains
slain on
the Danish
side.

Total loss
of the
enemy.

The chief-
tains killed
on Brian's
side.

deachaidh gall maínech ar beó da ttainic ann ; ocur po
raghái ar Aeth Cliaé rór an la rin muna beite mac
Aihlaib, ocur an luét bai maille rru. Torcair ann
ona Maolmorða mac Murchaí, ri Laißen, ocur Bro-
garban mac Conchoí, ri Ua Fáilge, ocur Doínnall mac
Feirgail ri Portuaé Laißen ; ocur po loiteib Dunlaing
mac Tuathail ri Lipe, comidh de robaí marb, ocur .xxc.
do Laißneacaidh amaille rru, ocur én .c. decc díb Ceinn-
relaig. Aét aon ní, re .c. ocur tri ríct .c. earbaí
an dapa leite don cat marri.

CXVIII. Torcair ann don leit ele don cat Brian
Doroihe, mac Cinneitig, meic Lorcaín, airtir Erenn
ocur Alban, ocur Saran ocur Bretan, ocur iartair
Eorpa, aihail arbert an ríli :—

Da ri ar Saxaib na réo,
Mac Ceinneitig na troimcéo,
Da hoirdepc irin domain toir,
Imairéor Brian hi rruangcoib.

Torcair ann Murchaí mac Brian, ocur Toirpdel-
bach a íac. Torcair ann Conaing, mac Duinncean,
meic Ceinneitig, mac derbbrathar Brian, ríig éanairte
toíacáta na hErenn. Torcair ann Eocha mac Duna-
dhaidh, ocur Cuíuilig mac Ceinneitig, ocur Niall O
Cuinn, tri cúlcoimeitige Brian, ocur forcla Dal cCair
araon ru. Torcair ann Doínnall mac Diarmata,
rí Corcobaircín, ocur Moíla mac Faolain, ri na nDeiri,
ocur mac Anmchaí, ri Ua Liathain, ocur Gebennaí
mac Dubaí, ri Feirmuige, ocur Dubdaborpenn mac
Doínnall, ocur Loingreí mac Dunlaing, ocur Scannlan
mac Caí, ri Eoíanaíta loí Léin, ocur Baedan mac
Muiréptai, ri Ciarráide Luáí, ocur Maolruanaí
Ua hEidín, ri Aídhne, ocur Taídh Ua Ceallai, ri Ua

¹ Niall O'Cuinn, or O'Quin. See
Geneal. Table in O'Donovan's *Battle
of Magh Rath*, p. 341.

² Rear-guards. Coimte, *Ann. Ul.* ;
coimíctig, *Four Mast.*, "companions."

³ Ua Liathain. The MS. reads Ua-

thain, and a later hand has written
over the word "vel Uaithne." But
both are wrong. The true reading
is "king of Ua Liathain," which
has accordingly been adopted in the
text.

why he was not killed, for no foreigner of any rank appeared in it who left it alive; and Ath Cliath would have been attacked on that day also, were it not for the son of Amhlaibh and the party he had with him. There fell there also Maelmordha, son of Murchadh, king of Laighin, and Brogarban, son of Conchobhar, king of Ui-Failghe and Domhnall, son of Ferghal, king of Fortuaith Laighen; and Dunlaing, son of Tuathal, king of Lifé, received a wound of which he died, and two thousand of the Lagenians along with them, and eleven hundred of the Ui-Ceinnselaigh. In a word, six hundred and three score hundreds was the total loss of the enemy's side in this battle.

The Irish chieftains slain on the Danish side.

Total loss of the enemy.

CXVIII. On the other side of the battle there fell Brian Boroimhe, son of Cenneidigh, son of Lorcan, high sovereign of Erin, and Albain, and of the Saxons, and Britons, and of the west of Europe, as the poet said:—

The chieftains killed on Brian's side

He was king over the Saxons, the wealthy,
The son of Cenneidigh of the heavy hundreds.
Illustrious in the eastern world
Was the conduct of Brian among the Francs.

There fell there Murchadh, son of Brian, and Toirrdhelbhach, his son. There fell there Conaing, son of Donnchuan, son of Cenneidigh, the son of Brian's brother, the wealthiest royal heir of Erin. There fell there Eochaidh, son of Dunadhach, and Cuduiligh, son of Cenneidigh, and Niall O'Cuinn,¹ the three rear-guards² of Brian, and the greater part of the Dal Cais along with them. There fell there Domhnall, son of Diarmaid, king of Corco-Bhaiscinn; and Mothla, son of Faelan, king of the Desii; and the son of Anmchaidh, king of Ua Liathain³; and Gebennach, son of Dubhagan, king of Fera-Muighe; and Dubhdabhorrenn, son of Domhnall, and Loingsech, son of Dunlaing, and Scannlan, son of Cathal, king of the Eoghanacht of Loch Lein; and Baedan, son of Muirchertach, king of Ciarraighe Luachra; and Maelruanaidh Ua hEidhin, king of Aidhne; and Tadhg Ua Cellaigh,

P

The army
of Munster
encamps on
the Green
of Dublin.

Maine, ocur Doínnall mac Eimín, ocur ré cét décc do mhaídh Éirenn ar aon ríu. Ar marbhad na maíde rin uile ar gach leth, ocur ar maídm for gallaibh ro éiomraígeodar rir Muíhan uile go haoin ionad; ocur ro gabadh foradh, ocur longport leo ar faidche Áta Cliait, ocur ro bai caí díobh acc iarradh a charat, ocur a choibneirta, ocur ro bádar dá lá co na noídhíbh acc rurnaidhe Donnchaibh mic Úriain; ocur do ríadtríde cona creich moir leir im earrartain oídhche domnaigh carce, dóig ar dia haoine cáreca ro cuiradh an caí, .i. a naoi calaind Maí, ocur mincáirec hí rathraibh an bliadain rin.

Funeral of
Brian and
Murchadh.

Tangar a naídh Úriain mar do ordaiḡ, ocur ruzadh go hArdmaíca é, ocur Murchadh amaille rir, ocur do íc Donnchaibh go maíde a ccendaithe, ocur ro éomail a éiomna da éir mar do ordaiḡ Úriain féin.

Slaughter
of the
enemy's
cattle on
the Green
of Dublin.

CXIX. Oíet ngabala rídet tucc Donnchaibh leir, ocur ro marb ar faidche Áta Cliait uile iad, ocur ro íobradar na goill do bí in Át Cliait teit amach do éabairt caída do Donnchaibh, ocur da ríde beó ann do Dál cCair, uair ba ní mór leó a mbuar do marbhad ina ríadnairí; ocur tangar amach o mac Ámhlaidh da ríada riu mart gáca rídet do bpeit leó, ocur na ba uile d'accháil aít rin. Arbert Donnchaibh, ní ar tuarar-tal mheic lmair gur aniu atamairne, ocur ní mo bemio o runn amach, oir dar linn ar troma a caí ar ríolta re chele, ocur an éir do bí beo dona buaib do marbhad annrin iad hí ríadnairí gall Áta Cliait, ocur ro eimgeodar na goill an caí ar eccla Donnchaibh ocur Dál cCair.

Burial of
the slain on
the field of
battle.

Do roctadar ar na maraí gur in aríhaí, ocur ro adlaidríot gáí aon ro aítirígeodar da muinntir ann, ocur do rírat ríad, ocur cíoíair don luíet ro bai

¹ *Little Easter*: i.e., Low Sunday. The chronological data here mentioned prove that the battle was fought A.D. 1014, not 1013, as in the Four M.

² *Oxen*. The word is *gabala*, which signifies, literally, spoil or booty; the context shows that oxen are meant, and the word is therefore inserted.

king of Ui Maine; and Domhnall, son of Eimhin, and sixteen hundred of the nobles of Erinn along with them.

When all these nobles were killed on both sides, and after the foreigners were defeated, all the men of Mumhain collected to one place; and they stationed themselves and encamped on the Green of Ath Cliath. And each sought for his friends and his acquaintances; and they remained two days and nights awaiting the return of Donnchadh, son of Brian; and he arrived with a great prey at the hour of vespers on the night of Easter Sunday; for it was on the Friday before Easter the battle was fought, viz., the ninth of the kalends of May; and little Easter¹ was in the summer of that year.

The army of Munster encamps on the Green of Dublin.

Brian was met, as he had directed; and he was taken to Ard-Macha, and Murchadh along with him; and Donnchadh paid in full their bequests, and fulfilled Brian's will after him as he had himself directed.

Funeral of Brian and Murchadh.

CXIX. Donnchadh brought with him a spoil of eight-and-twenty oxen,² and they were all slaughtered on the Green of Ath Cliath; and the foreigners who were in Ath Cliath threatened to come out to give battle to Donnchadh and to such of the Dal Cais as were alive there, because it was great pain to them to have their cows killed in their presence. And a message came out from the son of Amhlaibh telling them to take an ox for every twenty, and to leave all the oxen behind except that number. Donnchadh said, "We have not been hitherto in the pay of the son of Imar, nor shall we be so in future; for it appears to us that our hostility to each other is now greater than ever;" and such of the oxen as were yet alive were then slaughtered in the sight of the foreigners of Ath Cliath; but the foreigners declined the battle from fear of Donnchadh and the Dal Cais.

Slaughter of the enemy's cattle on the Green of Dublin.

On the next day they went to the field of battle and buried every one of their people that they were able to recognise, there; and they made sledges and biers for those of them who were alive although wounded; and they carried thirty of the nobles who were killed there

Burial of the slain on the field of battle.

beógonṭa dóib, ocur puccaḁ deichenḁar ar píḁit dona maiṁib ro marḁaḁ ann da cceallaib dúṁḁura féin gach dú hī paḁatar ar fuḁ Eṛenn.

Revolt of
the troops
of Des-
mond, or
South
Munster.

CXX. Alcṫ ir longḁort ar leiṫ ro bai aḁ Dermuiḁneachaib in oibḁe rin, ocur longḁort ar leiṫ aḁ Donnchaḁ, ocur acc Dál cCair. Ocur ir iad do roine an ḁoḁairle rin in aghaib Dál cCair .i. Cian mac Maolmuaiḁ, ocur Doḁnall mac Duibḁaḁoirenn. Tanḁatar pompa ar rin co Maḁ Mairten, ocur ro rcarpat re ḁeile, ocur ro ceir menma Dermuiḁneḁ ar Dál cCair ara nuaitḁ ocur ar iomaṫ a naera gonta, ocur do bí caḁ aḁa ráḁa re ḁeile dóib. Diaib menma meic ḁriain oraiḁ acc iarraiḁ tiḁernair, ocur neirṫ aḁail ro gaḁ a aṫair, ocur da ría a teaḁ, baḁ doilḁe a rreccra ina anora. Ari coḁairle do ponpat Derḁuiḁniḁ teḁṫa do ḁur go Donnchaḁ mac ḁriain, ocur braiḁḁe diairraiḁ rair, ocur a duḁraḁar do baḁarpan aḁa aṫairrím, ocur aḁ braiṫair a aṫar, ocur níṫ bo ruraril leóran a beiríum acaroḁ gac re rreḁṫ, uair ba comdúṫaiḁ dóib an ríḁe. Arberṫ Donnchaḁ mac ḁriain naḁ da ndeóin ro baṫarpoḁ aḁ a aṫair ina aḁ braiṫair a aṫar aḁ Muḁa uile do breiṫ do ḁriain o ḁallaib mar nar ḁualainḁ Dermuiḁniḁ a corpaḁ, ocur atberṫ naḁ tiuḁraḁ féin geill no eiríreḁa dóib co bpaṫ, ocur ḁamaḁ cóiḁlín éféin ríúran leiṫ ar leiṫ nach raḁḁair uaḁ gomaḁ ríapaḁ dó iat, ocur an uair do diaḁ lín ba lía go ccuiḁneoḁaib dóib an tupaḁall rin.

The Des-
mond
troops
advance
against the
Dal Caia.

Rainic an rir rin go Dermuiḁneachaiḁ. Ro eirḁeḁar, ocur do ḁaḁaḁar a naṫma do ḁur caṫa re Dál cCair, ocur tanḁaḁar da mionnraiḁib. Ocur arberṫ mac ḁriain, Cuiríḁ ar re na ríora gonta, ocur oṫair uile hī Ráiṫ Mairten annrúḁ, ocur bíḁḁ bar tṫrian

¹ *Father.* The MS. reads braiṫairrím, "his brother:" but the Editor has taken the liberty of substituting aṫairrím, "his father," which the sense absolutely requires. They had

been subject to Brian, Donnchad's father, and to Mathgamhain, Brian's brother, but now they thought it was Donnchad's turn to be subject to them. Cian, lord of Desmond, who headed

to their territorial churches, wherever they were situated all over Erinn.

CXX. But on that night the men of Deas-Mumhain, and Donchadh with the Dal Cais, had separate camps. And there came together to take counsel against the Dal Cais, Cian, son of Maelmuaidh, and Domhnall, son of Dubhdabhoirenn. They marched forward from that to Magh Maisten, and they separated there; and the attention of the men of Deas-Mumhain was fixed on the Dal Cais—their small number and the great number of their wounded; and they said one to the other—"The attention of Brian's son will be on you to seek for lordship and power such as his father had, and should he reach his home it will be more difficult to meet him than now." The advice that the men of Deas-Mumhain then adopted was, to send a message to Donnchadh, son of Brian, and to demand hostages from him. And they said that they themselves had been subject to his father,¹ and to his father's brother, and that they insisted on his being subject to them in turn; for that the alternate sovereignty was their natural right. Donnchadh, son of Brian, said, that it was not voluntarily they had been subject to his father, nor to his father's brother; for the whole of Mumhain had been wrested by Brian from the foreigners, when the men of Deas-Mumhain were unable to contest it with them; and he said that he himself would never give pledge or hostage to them; and that if he had had equal numbers with them on his side, they should never have left him until they had submitted to him; and that when his troops became more numerous he would remember to them this insolence.

This intelligence reached the men of Deas-Mumhain. They arose and took their arms to give battle to the Dal Cais, and they advanced towards them. And the son of Brian said—"Put the wounded and sick men,"

Revolt of the troops of Desmond, or South Munster.

The Desmond troops advance against the Dal Cais.

this movement, was the son of Maol-gamhain was murdered. See above, muadh, or Molloy, by whom Math-chap. I., sq.

The Dal-
cassian
sick and
wounded
insist on
fighting.

Dissension
among the
Desmond
chieftains.

The Dal
Cais re-
move their
wounded
to Athy, on
the river
Barrow.

ga ccoimhead, ocur ppreiccepmasoidne an dá ttrian ele an luēt úo, ocur do ronaō rañlaib. Ot cualadar na fiosa gonta, ocur an luēt oērai an rccél rin, ro eirēadar, ocur ro ēuireadar caonnaē ina ccepētaiō ocur do gabadar a ccloiōñe, ocur a narpmu arēena, ocur ro bí a ccoimairle an caē do chur a cceōoir. Ot connadar Derrmūñniū an menmanraō do ronaat ioir iplán ocur earlán, ro oplac orra an caē do ēabairt; ocur ro riarraiō mac Duibdaōirpenn do mac Maolmhuaiō, cionnar do bēram an caē ro no ca ročar ata duinne de. Ga ročar iarras ēe, ar mac Maolmhuaiō, aēt neirt Dal cCair do ēur oit. An ttiūdriairri coñroinn leite Muñan dañra doneoch gēdmaird arson oi. Ní ēiber iuir ón, ar mac Maolmhuaiō. Muna tuccas añ ar Donnall mac Duibdaōirpenn, ar briatā dañra nach rach letra hi cēenn caēa in aghaiō Dal cCair, oóig ni perr lem beit accatā inar beit acc mac Driain Doroñne, munbaō tar cenn ročair epiche, ocur perrainn dañ buō ēein. Driō eiccen duir teēt so ēis lemra, ar mac Maolmhuaiō, gion go tucca caē anorra lem. Anadri pur an eiccen rin do gēnam ar mac Duibdaōirpenn. Do rala etorra mar rin, ocur nri coñraicētar aen longporc co rangadar da ttiūib.

CXXI. Imēura Dal cCair, do cenglaō do riōiri a luēt gonta ocur oērai, ocur ro ēuit cpeēa, ocur tāñra orra iar nool a ppeirge oib, accar ar ppeimbeaō an ēaēa. Ro ēógadar a luēt gonta pompa co hAth-í por Derrda, ocur ro turrat annrin a naer uēai, ocur ro iōriot uirce an áēa, ocur ro glanaō a ccepēta. Ir annrin do bi Donnēaō Mac Giollaṽatrac rí Orraigē, ocur laiūri ina ccumanē caēa a Muig Cloinne Ceallaiē ara ccinn, ocur porcoimēet uāōa orra, dur cia héolur no gēōai ar daig co tuccaō taēar oóib uair por earcarait bunaiō da ēeile iao, óir ar la Driain do

said he "all into Rath Maisten yonder, and let a third of you guard them, and we, the other two-thirds, will meet these people." And it was done so. When the wounded men and the sick heard this, they arose and stuffed their wounds with moss, and they took their swords and other arms, and they advised that the battle be immediately fought. When the men of Deas-Mumhain saw the spirit shown both by the unwounded and the maimed, they hesitated to give battle; and the son of Dubhdabhoirenn asked the son of Maelmuadh—"Why should we fight this battle, or what profit have we of it?" "What profit dost thou seek from it," said the son of Maelmuadh, "but to cast off the power of the Dal Cais?" "Wilt thou then give me an equal division of half Mumhain, as much of it as we may both conquer?" "That will I not give, indeed," said the son of Maelmuadh. "If thou give it not, then," said Domhnall, son of Dubhdabhoirenn, "on my word I shall not go with thee against the Dal Cais, because I am not better pleased to be under thee than under the son of Brian Boroimhe, unless for the profit of land and territory for myself." "Thou shalt be compelled to come from thy home with me," said the son of Maelmuadh, "though thou join me not now in battle." "We shall wait for that compulsion," said the son of Dubhdabhoirenn. Thus did the contention between them remain, and they met not in the one camp till they reached their homes.

The Dal-
cassian
sick and
wounded
insist on
fighting.

Disension
among the
Desmond
chieftains.

CXXI. To return to the Dal Cais; their wounded and sick men were again bound, but tremour and faintness fell upon them when their excitement passed away, and the battle was not fought. They took their wounded with them to Ath-I, on the Berbha; and their sick were laid down there, and they drank of the water of the ford, and their wounds were cleansed. At that time Donnchadh Mac Gillapatraic, king of Osraighe, and the Laighsi were in battle array in Magh Chloinne Ceallaigh in wait for them, and they had scouts out to inform them of the path they should take that they might give them battle, for they were natural enemies to each other: for it was by

The Dal
Cais re-
move their
wounded
to Athy, on
the river
Barrow.

The men
of Ossory
and Leix
demand
hostages
from Donn-
chadh.

The
wounded
insist on
being led
to battle.

The men of
Ossory in-
timidated
decline the
contest.

cuidriúeð a aṭair, ocur bai bliadain aice hillaímh. Ocur tainic mac úriain, ocur Dal cCair ina ndírúim deisrluaidh rompa co hAṭh-í for Dearḁa, aṁaíl ro raiḁemair roṁainn, ocur do connacḁar Oirraiḁe rin, ocur ro cuirte teḁta diarraiḁ braiḁeḁ ar mac úriain, no diarraiḁ caḁa muna ffaḁḁair braiḁeḁ. Ocur rangatar na teḁta go mac úriain, ocur ro foḁtaḁ rḁéla diḁh, ocur ro inniretar na torḁa mo rangatar. Ir annrin atberc mac úriain conár diongnadh mac Maoilṁuaidh, ocur Derṁuiḁa diarraiḁ braiḁeḁ, ocur a realaiḁeḁta ar Dal cCair, óir ba hionann fuil dóib ocur do Dal cCair, ocur rob iongnadh Leo Mac Giollapatraice diarraiḁ na realaiḁeḁta nar ḁuthḁar dó ḁrágbáil. Ocur aṁaíl ro ḁualadar an taor gonta rin ro fár a mbriḁ, ocur a mborrfadh gur diongḁaiḁeḁ gac goin fear diḁ. Ocur do raiḁeḁar re mac úriain, ocur re Dal cCair dol fon ccoill fa nera dóib, ocur indlaiḁe do ḁaḁairc leo combeir a ndromanna ru ina reraíh an reḁ do beir an caḁ aga ḁur. Aṁaíl ro ḁuala Mac Giollapatraice ocur Oirraiḁe an ṁeirneḁ ṁóir rin ag Dal cCair etir ílán, ocur eirlán, do locadar tabairc an caḁa, ocur ro ionḁaibrioc Dal cCair. Ocur ar locadh an caḁa doirraiḁib do ḁuatar tri caecait don luḁt gonta décc, ar maolao a ffeirḁe ó naḁ fpuaratar caḁ. Gur haḁlaiceḁ ann rin iao, an méio naḁ puccadh da nuairliḁ da nduicḁib da naḁ-nacal ina cceallaiḁ dáiḁair go honóraḁ, ocur rangatar rompá go Cend Copadh. Coniḁ coccaḁ Gall re Gaḁealaiḁ, ocur cath Cluana Tarḁ conuice rin.]

FINIS

Brian his father had been put in fetters and kept a year in custody. And now Brian's son and the Dal Cais came in close martial array to Ath-I, on the Berbha, as we have said before ; and when the Osraighe saw that, they sent messengers to demand hostages from Brian's son, or to demand battle should they not receive hostages. And the messengers reached the son of Brian ; and they were questioned as to their errand ; and they related the business on which they came. And then the son of Brian said that it was no wonder that the son of Maelmuidh and the Deas-Mumhain should ask for hostages and alternate sovereignty from the Dal Cais, because their blood was the same as that of the Dal Cais ; but they did wonder that Mac Gillapatraic should seek for a sovereignty to which he had no natural right. And when the wounded men heard this their strength and fury grew so, that every man of them was able for battle. And they said to the son of Brian and to the Dal Cais to go into the nearest wood to them, and to bring out with them stakes to which they could put their backs, standing during the battle. When Mac Gillapatraic and the Osraighe heard of that great courage in the Dal Cais, both whole and wounded, they declined the battle, and avoided the Dal Cais. And when the Osraighe failed to give battle, thrice fifty of the wounded men died when their excitement ceased as they did not receive battle ; and they were buried there, except such of their nobles as were brought to their native places to be buried in their hereditary churches with honour ; and they thus arrived at Cenn Coradh. And that is the war of the Gaill with the Gaedhil and the battle of Cluain-Tarbh so far.]

The men of Ossory and Leix demand hostages from Donnchadh.

The wounded insist on being led to battle.

The men of Ossory intimidated decline the contest.

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

A.

The Fragment of this Work preserved in the Book of Leinster.

The fragment of this work contained in the remains of the Book of Leinster,¹ a MS. of the 12th century, in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, is evidently a much older text, and in a more ancient orthography than that which is found in the Brussels MS. It has, therefore, been given here with a translation, in parallel columns. This, it will be remembered, is the MS. which is for shortness referred to by the letter L. in the notes, pp. 1–31. There are unfortunately several illegible words and passages in this MS. which has suffered greatly from age and damp; these defects are marked by dots, thus in the following transcript:—

buí doéraití móir for fe-
raib hÉirenn co forletan, o
Lochlanncaib ocus o Dan-
araib dulzib duréirdecaib
friu fe cian ocus friu aimfir
rota .i. friu deic imbliaona
ocus oét ficit. No da cet
imbliaon iar fairsin, .i.
ó Airtri co Brian mac Cen-
nedig i Carrul; ó reimef
Aeda mic Neill fíorrait; i
Temrait, .i. fe nuz de; nuz
in fe rain i Carrul, da nuz
de; imorpo i Temrait nuz
in fe cetna.

There was great oppression² Chap. I.
on the men of Erin, through-
out its breadth, from Lochlanns,
and from fierce, hardhearted
Danars, during a lengthened
period and a long time, viz., for
eight score and ten years. Or,
two hundred years, according to
some, i.e. from Airtri to Brian
son of Kennedy, in Cashel; [and]
from the time of Aedh, son of
Niall Frossach, in Tara, that is, Chap. II.
sixteen kings during that time
in Cashel, but twelve kings in
Tara during the same time.

¹ *Book of Leinster.* Class H., Tab. 2, No. 18, fol. 217. For an account of this MS. see Introduction.

² *Great oppression.* It will be observed that the text as given above (p. 2) from B., has "wonderful and

awfully great oppression," with other considerable interpolations, which prove it to have been much more modern than the Book of Leinster. For expletives of this kind are the most common of all interpolations.

The Frag-
ment in the
Book of
Leinster.

Chap. III.

Chap. IV.

Chap. V.

Mor deoðo ocuf ðimned
ðethar ocuf ðetharcarruð
no fúlñgetar fip [epenn] ni
remef na ríð gain o Loch-
lannaib ocuf o Ðanararib.

Ippemer Aeda mic Héil
ríð hÉrend, ocuf Artri
mic Cathal ríð Carril, na
thindreanrat gail inðriuð
hÉrend ar tur, a Cammuf
h. Pataio Tire .i. ríchi ar
éet long, ocuf na inðretar
in tir uili. Ra airgeð ocuf
na lorcao leo Inif Lab-
rainn, ocuf Darinif. Tucrat
Eoganaét loca Léin cath dóib,
ocuf no marbat fe fip dec
ar .cccc. oi na gallaib, .i.
in ðechmar bliadain penéc
Artri.

Tanic ðna lonfer aili ar-
rain co no inñretar Corcaig,
ocuf Inif Temli ocuf ðech-
epinn, ocuf Cluainúama, ocuf
Ror niallain, ocuf Scellig
Mícl, ocuf pucrat Etgal in

Great hardship and fatigue,
contempt and indignity, did the
men of Ireland sustain during
the time of these kings from
Lochlanns and from Danars.

It was in the time of Aedh,
son of Niall, king of Ireland,
and of Artri, son of Cathal, king
of Cashel, that foreigners first
began the devastation of Ire-
land, at Cammus Hui Fathaidh
Tire, i.e. 120 ships, and the
whole country was plundered.
Inis Labhrainn and Darinis
were plundered by them. The
Eoghanachts of Loch Lein
gave them battle, and 416 men
of the foreigners were killed, in
the tenth year before the death
of Artri.¹

There came another fleet
after that, and Cork was plun-
dered, and Inis Temhli,² and
Becherinn,³ and Cluain Uamha,
and Ros-niallain,⁴ and Skellig
Michael; and Etgal of the Skel-

¹ *Death of Artri.* The following
note referred to from this word occurs
in the margin of the MS. " . . .
bliadain rin ar marb ar ðiman
arar, ocuf in ðar[a] bliadain
rugi Feoilimic mic Crimthainn,"
which is no doubt the remark received
by the later MS. into the text, if in
bliadain rin ar marbat ðiman
Arar, "this was the year after that
in which Diman of Aradh was killed,"
with the addition of the words "and
the second year of the reign of Fed-
limidh Mac Crimthainn." It is doubt-
ful whether the date thus described is
not the date of the plundering of Cork,
mentioned in the next chapter.

² *Inis Temhli.* In the margin at
this word is the note, in ðara bli-
adain rugi Feoilimic mic Crim-
thainn, "the second year of the
reign of Fedhlim Mac Crimthann." This
note has also been transcribed
into the text in B.

³ *Becherinn.* Written ðechep in the
MS., with a line over r. B. reads ben-
carr, i.e. Bangor, which is so far suspi-
cious that all the other places mentioned
are in the south of Ireland, and the plun-
dering of Bangor is recorded in the next
section. Beg-eire or Begery Island, in
Wexford harbour, is evidently the place
intended.—See 4 *Mast.* A.D. 819.

⁴ *Ros-niallain.* B. reads *Ros-Maelain.*

Scelīg leo 1 mbrat, conro
tre mīrbail atpulla uáib,
ocur ba marb de zortai ocur
dittaroocco hé.

Tanic lon̄ger aili 1 tuar-
cupt h̄h̄enn, .i. in ceth-
ramad bliadain ar nec Aeda
rīg h̄h̄enn; ocur na ar̄get-
raide b̄enochuīr Ulad, ocur
na b̄ur̄retar r̄cun Chom-
gail. Ra mar̄brat epr̄cop
in bāli, ocur a echnāi, ocur
a f̄ruthi. Ra ar̄get Mag
in̄b̄ili.

Tanic d̄na lon̄ger aili in
huib Cen̄dalaig, ocur na
ar̄get Tech Munnu ocur
Tec̄ Mol̄ling, ocur In̄is Teoc.
Tangatar ar̄rain in Orr̄ain-
gib, ocur na hin̄roed in tir
leo; ocur tuc̄rat Orr̄ain̄ge
cat̄ d̄oib, ocur tor̄cain .clxx.
d̄na gallaib. Ra ar̄get
ocur na loir̄ret̄ l̄err̄mon,
ocur Cell Mol̄airi, ocur
Cluain Aird̄ Mobec̄oc. Ra
toḡlad leo d̄un̄ Der̄maiḡi
ocur In̄is Eugān̄am, ocur

lig was carried off by them into The Frag-
ment in the
captivity, so that it was by Book of
miracle he escaped from them, Leinster.
and he died of hunger and
thirst with them.¹

There came another fleet into Chap. VI.
the north of Ireland, i.e. in the
fourth year after the death of
Aedh, king of Ireland; and they
plundered Bangor of Uladh,
and they broke the shrine of
Comhgall. They killed the
bishop of the place,² and his
wise men, and his clergy. They
plundered Magh Bile.

There came another fleet into Chap. VII.
Hy Cennsalaigh, and plundered
Tech Munnu, and Tech Mol-
ling, and Inis Teoc. They
afterwards³ went into Ossory,
and the country was plundered
by them; and the men of Os-
sory⁴ gave them battle, and 170
of the foreigners were slain.
They plundered and burned
Lismore, and Cillmolash, and
Cluain-aird-Mobecog. By them
were demolished Dun-Derrow,
and Inishannon, and Disert Ti-

¹ *Whilst with them.* This seems to contradict the statement that he escaped by miracle. The meaning possibly is, that although he miraculously escaped, he nevertheless died from the effects of the hunger and thirst to which he was exposed whilst in their power. But it is more probable that two different accounts are here combined, and that "according to others," or words to that effect have dropped out in transcription, before the words "he died of hunger, &c." The annals of Ulster, A.D. 823, make no mention of the miraculous escape;

"Eitgail Sceiligg a gentilibus raptus est, et cito mortuus est fame et siti."

² *The place.* Literally "of the town" in bāli. But this word is often used to signify a monastery or religious house.

³ *Afterwards.* Orr̄ain for iar̄rain. We may observe several peculiarities of spelling in this fragment, as na for no; iar̄rain for iar̄rain; rain for rin; l̄err̄ for l̄er; also e for i in l̄err̄mon, Cell Mol̄airi, &c.

⁴ *The men of Ossory.* Orr̄ain̄ge, is in the other MSS. Orr̄ain̄ge, which is the more usual form.

The Fragment in the Book of Leinster.

Disiurp Tippaiti. Ra gab nempo ra thuaid iartain co snám Aigneé, co ro millret land Leri ocur Cellíleibí. Aduaid aríri doib co ro airíret Soró Columcille ocur Damliac Cianam, ocur Slani, ocur Cell aurailí, ocur Glenn da loá, ocur Cluain uama, ocur Mungarut, ocur urmóir cell hérend uile.

Chap. VIII.

Tanic loníger aile i cuan lumnis, ocur ra hinóirp Corco bairind uathuraid, ocur Tradraigí, ocur .h. Conaill gabhra. Aét tuépat .h. Conaill cath dóib, [la Donochadh rí .h. Conaill in tan ra, ocur Donnall mac Cindraíelaid rí .h. Cairppí], ocur ní fef ca lin do rochair and.

Chap. IX.

Tancatar airíain rígloníger adbul móir la Turgesir i tuarciurp íhÉrend. Ra gab in Turgesir ríglí gail hérend. Ra hinóirp tuarcept íhÉrend leo, ocur ra rcaílret ro leth Cuinn. Ra gab loníger doib fop loé Echac. Ra gab loníger aile illugmur. Loníger aile fop Loch Rí.

Ra hinóirp dona Aírdmaáa ro éirí rínnóen mór leo, ocur ro gab Turgesir féin abtaine Aírd Macha, ocur ra innarib airí Forannan abaid Aírd Maáa corproét Mumain, ocur

praiti. They afterwards went northwards to Snamh Aigneach, so that they spoiled Lann Leri and Killeavy. They returned again and plundered Swords of Columcille, and Duleek of Cianan, and Slane, and Killossy, and Glendaloch, and Cloyne, and Mungret, and the greater part of the monastic churches of all Ireland.

Another fleet came into Limerick harbour, and by them were plundered Corea Bhaiscin, and Tradraighe, and Hy Conaill Gabhra. But the Ui Conaill gave them battle [under Donchadh¹ king of the Ui Conaill, at that time, and Domhnal, son of Cennfaeladh, king of Ui Carbre], and it is not known what number fell there.

There came after that a great royal fleet into the north of Ireland with Turges. This Turges assumed the sovereignty of the foreigners of Ireland. The north of Ireland was plundered by them, and they dispersed themselves over Leth Cuinn. A fleet of them took possession of Loch Neagh. Another fleet took possession of Louth. Another fleet on Loch Ree.

Moreover, Armagh was plundered by them three times in the same month, and Turges himself took the Abbacy of Armagh; and Forannan, Abbot of Armagh, was driven away

¹ Under Donchadh. The clause within brackets is added by a contempo-

rary hand in the margin of the MS. See the Text, p. 8 supra, and note 4.

reirín Patraic leirí; ocus baí
forannan cethrí bliathna :
Mumain, ocus Turgeir in
Ardr Maíca, ocus neit tuar-
cirt hErinn aice.

Ir anoirín na comallao
fartíní Berchain in prím
fada .i.—

Ticraic Genti dar muir mall
Meicraic for fermano hErinn
Dro uatib abair for caé cill
Dro uatib neit for hErinn.

Seet mbliathna doib, ní peitín
fano

In anoirín na hErinn
Innaboinn caéa cillí,
Do gentib duin Dublíní.

Dair ab formcillíre do
Ní éacera diarméige
Can patir can creda
Can Latin, aet gall bepla.

Item Colum cille—

In loígeir fann loéa Rí
Maí do moíao gall Genti,
Dro uatib ab Ardr Maíca,
Dro ollamnaet anplatha.

Item Bec mac De—

Dar ben éloc : Talctín ce.
Ciaran fen fardóir faigne,
Ra gall dhErinn co fá trí
Dama Danar dublóigí.

.i. dam in inao innarba
Colum cillí dar muir, ocus
dam in inao faraisgí Ciarain

and went to Munster, and the
Shrine of Patrick with him ;
and Forannan was four years
in Munster, and Turges in Ard-
macha, and the power of the
north of Erinn was with him.

The Frag-
ment in the
Book of
Leinster.

It was then that the pro-
phesy of Berchan the chief pro-
phet¹ was fulfilled, viz. :—

Gentiles shall come over the noble sea,
They shall spread over the land of
Erinn.

Of them shall be an abbot over every
church,

Of them *shall be* power² over Erinn.

Seven years shall they be—not weak
their power,

In the sovereignty of Erinn,

In the abbacy of every church

The Gentiles of the fort³ of Dublin.

There shall be an abbot of them over
this my church,

He shall not attend to matins,

Without Pater, without Credo,

Without Latin,⁴ and only [knowing]
a foreign language.

Also Columcille—

This fleet of Loch Rí

Has well exalted the foreign Gentiles,

Of them shall be an abbot of Ardmacha,

It shall be the rule of an Usurper.

Also Bec mac De—

Chap. X.

When the bell was rung in warm Tailtín,

The aged wealthy Ciaran of Saighre,

Promised to Erinn, three times,

Parties of Danes of the black ships.

i.e. a party in consequence
of Columcille being banished
beyond the sea ; and a party in

¹ The chief prophet. This is am-
plified in B. and D. into "chief prophet
of heaven and earth."

² Power. A second hand has writ-
ten under the word neit power, no
rí "or rí" a king, which is the reading
of D. and B.

³ The fort. For duin "the fort of
Dublin," B. and D. read dub, "black
Gentiles of Dublin." See above, p. 10.

⁴ Latin. For Latin, B. and D.
read goetibg or goetibcc, "without
Irish ;" i.e. unable to speak Irish.

The Frag-
ment in the
Book of
Leinster.

rein 1 Taltin, ocur dam in
inad troircthi naem hErinn
1 Tempais an Diarmaid mac
Cerbhaill.

consequence of Ciaran himself
being sacrilegiously wronged
in Taltin; and a party in con-
sequence of the fasting of the
saints of Erin, in Tara, against
Diarmaid Mac Cerbhaill.

Chap. XI.

Tanic iarrain Turges for
Loch Ri, ocur na indero
Midi uadarr ocur Connaecta,
ocur na hinderu leir Cluain
mic noir ocur Cluain sepa
Drenaind, ocur Lotra, ocur
Tir da glas, ocur Inis Cel-
tra, ocur cella Derg deiric
arceua. Tuc Cluain mic noir
da mnai. Is and na bered
a ppeaptha daltoir in tem-
poil moir. Otta ainm mnaa
Turgeir. Tucpat Connaecta
cath do, 1 torcain Maelduin
macMurguira rigdomna Con-
naect.

After this came Turges upon
Loch Ri, and from thence were
plundered Meath and Connacht;
and Cluainmicnois and Clonsert
of Brennan, and Lothra, and
Tir-da-glas, and Inis Celtra,
were plundered by him, and the
churches of Loch Derg in like
manner. Cluainmicnois was
taken by his wife. It was on the
altar of the great church she used
to give her answers. Otta was
the name of the wife of Turges.
The Connaught-men gave him a
battle, in which was slain Mael-
duin, son of Murguius, heir ap-
parent of Connaught.

Chap. XII.

Tancatun iarrain coic
loingra ocur tri pice co Dub-
lind Atha Cliath, ocur na
hinderu lagin co marzi leo,
ocur Magh mBreg. Tucpat
Dalriada cath don loingir
rein; uair na euatar lam
ile ri hErind pathuad an
milliuo lagen ocur breg.
Ra marbad irin cat rin Eo-
ghanan mac Oengura ri Dal-
riada.

There came after that three
score and five ships to Dublin
of Ath Cliath, and Laigin was
plundered by them to the sea,¹
and Magh Breg. The Dal-
riadans gave battle to this fleet:
for they went, with the left
hand² to Erin, northwards,
after the plundering of Laigin
and Bregia. Eoghanan, son
of Oengus, king of Dalriadai,
was killed in that battle.

Chap. XIII.

Tanic tola mupbructa

There came great sea-belched

¹ To the sea. Mr. W. M. Hennessy suggests that marzi may here mean *Slievemargy*; but in the text (p. 12, above) the reading is co paigne, "to the sea;" and the reading here may, perhaps, be meant for co mpaizgi.

² Left hand. This passage has been wrongly translated, p. 13, n. 11, owing to a misreading of the text, which was pointed out to me by Mr. W. M. Hennessy.

moir do Galluib i Mumain, cona rabi air do inti can loingsir. Ra gab loingsir d'ib i Carraig Luachra, ocus na hinoretar co Cill Ita, ocus co Cill Eimni. Ra hinoretar d'ona loingsir Luimneach Martin Mumain, ocus rucrat Forannan comarba Patraic o Cluain Comharba leo co Luimnech, ocus na brisiret seirin Patraic.

Ir hi seo bliadain na gabad Turges la Maelseclainn. Ro baided arpin he illoc Uair .i. in bliadain penibad Heill Caille rain, ocus in dara bliadain penec Feidlimidh mic Crimthainn. Ar marbad Turges doillid Forannan arpin Mumain co Ard Macla, ocus na ler-raigeo seirin Patraic.

Tannatar d'ona gail co Roscrea rin bliadain seo, laa feil Poil ocus Petair, ocus intoenac innillti and, ocus tucad cat doib, ocus romaid for na galluib tpe rat Poil ocus Petair, ocus na marbad co diarmid, ocus na buaid Onphile iarla and de cloic, co ro marb e de. Da gremas d'fearaib Mumain in troscud da ronnat na Pol is na Petair innarchoe seime. Ir moir d'ulc ocus d'imned fuit uathu ocus fuaratarfum o cae doneoc nae scribthar suno.

shoals of foreigners into Mumhain, so that there was not a point thereof without a fleet. A fleet of them came to Ciarriaghi Luachra, and they plundered as far as Cill-Ita and Cill-Eimni. And the fleet of Luimneach plundered the Martini of Mumhain, and carried off with them Forannan, successor of Patrick from Cluain Comharda to Luimnech, and they broke the shrine of Patrick.

The Fragment in the Book of Leinster.

It was in this year Turges was taken prisoner by Maelsechlainn. He was drowned afterwards in Loch Uair, i.e. in the year before the drowning of Niall Caille, and the second year before the death of Feidhlimidh, son of Crimthainn. After Turges was killed, Forannan went from Mumhain to Ardmacha, and the shrine of Patrick was repaired.

Chap. XIV.

The foreigners came to Roscrea in this year, on the feast of Paul and Peter, and the fair had then begun, and they were given battle, and the foreigners were defeated through the grace of Paul and Peter, and immense numbers were slain; and Earl Onphile was struck with a stone there, so that he was killed thereby. Some of the men of Mumhain were fasting to propitiate Paul and Peter the night before. Much evil and distress was received from them and received by them all, which is not written here.

Chap. XV.

The Frag-
ment in the
Book of
Leinster.
Chap. XVI.

Tancatán iarrain lónger
adbul mór de Northmannais
for boind. Ra hínóreo
brega ocur Míde. Tainic
lónger aile corragais for
Loé nEthaé. Ra hínóreo
leoráde co Ardmaca, ocur
ra lórset Ardmaca fein,
ocur ra hairgeo. Tainic óna
lónger aile co Athcliath ocur
ra hínóreo leoráde Mag
Laighen ocur Mag mbreg, etir
thuata ocur cella.

Chap.
XVII.

Tainic óna lónger ba liu
andaraide co Athcliath béor.
Ra hínóreo leoráde urmor
Érend uili. Ra hínóreo leo
óna hÍ Columcille. Ra hín-
óreo leo Inis Muridais, ocur
Daiminis, ocur Glenn da loéa,
ocur Lagin uili co Ácádur,
ocur co hÁchadainbo, ocur co
Liath Moéaemoc, ocur co
Daire Mór, ocur co Cluain
[Fepta] Molua, ocur co Ross-
cre, ocur co Lothra, co ro
briurset seirín Ruadain, ocur
co Cluain mic nois, ocur co
Saisir, ocur co Dirmas.

Chap.
XVIII.

Tainic lónger o Luimnech
i ndecept inhÉrend, cor in-
riret Sceleg Michil, ocur Inis
Fathlind, ocur Disert Don-
nain, ocur Cluain mór; co
ro marbrat Rudgaile mac
Trebthaidi, ocur Cormac mac
Selbaig anchora. Is deppide
ra hoflaic angel fo di, ocur
porceinglaicir na Gaill caé

There came afterwards a very
great fleet of Northmen on the
Boind. Bregia and Midhe were
plundered. Then came another
fleet and settled on Loch nEoch-
ach. All was plundered by them
as far as Ardmaca, and Ard-
maca itself was burned and
plundered. There came then
another fleet to Ath-cliaith, and
by them were plundered Magh-
Laighen, and Magh mBreg, both
country and churches.

There came¹ also a fleet still
more numerous than those to
Ath Cliath. The greater part
of all Erin was plundered by
them. Moreover, Hí of Colum-
cille was plundered by them.
There were plundered by them
Inis-Muridhaigh, and Daimhi-
nis, and Glenn da loch, and all
Laghin to Achadhur, and to
Aghamhbo, and to Liath Mo-
chaemog, and to Daire Mór, and
to Clonfert Molua, and to Ross-
cre, and to Lothra, where they
broke the shrine of Ruadan, and
to Cluainmicnois, and to Sai-
ghir, and to Dirmhagh.

There came a fleet from
Luimnech in the south of Erin,
they plundered Scelig Michael,
and Inisfallen, and Disert Don-
nain, and Cluain Mór. And
they killed Rudgaile, son of
Trebhthaidhe, and Cormac son
of Selbach, the anchorite. It
was he whom the angel set loose
twice, and the foreigners bound

¹ There came. I am indebted also
to Mr. Hennessy for correcting the

erroneous version of this passage given
above, p. 16, n. 8.

nuairi. Ra hinnred leo dona	him each time. Moreover, Cor-	The Frag-
Corcaig ocur	caigh was plundered by them,	ment in the
. ocur Cinnmara	and and Cinn-	Book of
ocur Achar	mara and Achad	Leinster.

The remainder of this fragment is so much defaced that only a few words and sentences here and there can be read. All various readings of any consequence which have been detected in what is legible, have been mentioned in the notes under the text.

The following coincides with chapters xx and xxi of the text, p. 18–21, *supra*.

Tancatar iarrain Dub-
genti Danarda
rat po hErend, ocur rabatar
oc dicor na Fintgenti
. po marbrat coic
mili dona Fintgenti oc Snam
Aigne. Tanc dona lonser
aile cora gaib i Ciarraghi,
ocur na hinnred leo co Lum-
ne. Ra hinnred leo Cell
Ita Cappel
na rus, ocur ained Ceet-
raige, ocur Liath-mo-chaemoc.
Inaimfir Feidlimidh mic Crim-
thann da ponat na huile
rin.

. oc Essruaidh.
Ra bpiiretar dona Dalcair
cat forpo for Dergdeirc.
Ra bpiiretar dona hui Neill
cat aile forpo oc Ard brecc-
cain. Ra marbrat dona hi-
Cholgan Raalb iapla. Tuc
dona Cappel ar
forpo, ocur Lorcan ru Lagen
cat doib oc Sciath Nechtain,
du hi corcair tanairi

After that came Black Gen- Chap. XX.
tile Danars, [and spread them-
selves] over Erinn, and they
aimed at driving out the White
Gentiles they
killed five thousand of the White
Gentiles at Snamh Aighnech
Another fleet then came and
landed in Ciarraghe, and all
was plundered by them as far as
Luimneach. And there were
plundered by them Cill Ita . .
. . . and Cashel of the Kings,
and the eastern district of Cech-
traighe and Liath-mo-Chaemoc.
It was in the time of Feidh-
limidh, son of Crimhthann that
these evils were done.

. at Essruaidh.
The Dalcais gained a battle
over them at Dergdeirc. The
Ui Neill gained another battle
over them at Ard-breccain. The
Ui Colgan killed Earl Raulbh
. of Cashel, made a
slaughter of them; and Lorcan,
king of Laghin [defeated] them
in battle at Sciath Nechtain,
where was killed the Tanist . . .

Chap.
XXI.

Of chapter xxii only the following fragment remains:—

Ra bpuir dha gained a battle
 porpo, du i topcair pect cet. over them in which were slain
 Ra porpo oc seven hundred . . . over
 Daire Disirt da conna them at Daire-Disert-da-chon-
 Ra bpuir dha na. Olchobhar and the Eogha-
 Olchobhar ocuf Eoganaet cat nacht gained a battle over them
 porpo ac Dun Mael, du i at Dun-Mael, where were slain
 topcair coic cet, da poepatar five hundred, and three hundred
 dha .ccc.lxxviii. la hui Fio- and seventy-eight were slain
 ghinti. Da poepatar dha .cc. by the Hui Fidhgenti. More
 dib la Ciannaeta, oc Inis over, two hundred of them were
 Maic. Da poepatar dha slain by the Ciannachta at Inis
 .ccc. la Ciannaeta beof icind Finn-Maic. There were slain
 mif Fremond, also by the Ciannachta three
 oc Raic Aldain. Ra bpuir hundred, at the end of a month
 dha Maelpechlainn cat porpo . . . Fremond, at Rath Aldain.
 oc Raic Chommair. Ra bpuir And Maelsechlainn gained a
 retar Ciarraige Luachra cat battle over them at Rath Chom-
 porpo. mair. The Ciarraige Luachra
 gained a battle over them.

The following passage which gives an important correction of the text, in chapter xxiii (see note 3, p. 22, *supra*), is legible :—

Tainic arfainn Ainlaib mac
 rígh Lochlann ocus lóinger lan
 mor leif .i. rín deicmad bliá
 dain re nec Maelreclainn, co
 ro gairb ríghí gall hÉrend,
 ocus íf leifir na bádao Con-
 chobair mac Donndachada rígh-
 domna Tempaé. Íf lefirín
 lóinger rígh na memaid cath
 Cluana daim forfna Deirib,
 du i toréair mathi na nDeir
 uili. Íf leo na marbad mac
 Cinraelad rí Murrcaighí bpre-
 ghón, ocus na muádo Muéti-
 gheirín [mac] Reétabrad in

Afterwards came Amhlaibh, son of the king of Lochlann, and a great full fleet with him viz., in the tenth year before the death of Maelseachlainn, and he took the sovereignty of the foreigners of Erin, and it was by him was drowned Conchobhar, son of Donchadh, heir apparent of Tara. It was by this fleet that the battle of Cluan-daimh was gained over the Desii, in which were slain all the chiefs of the Desii. It was by them was slain [the son of] Cenfaeladh,

uaim. 1r leo no marbad Caur Finn lin a longport. 1r leo na marbad Maelguala mac Donnogaile ru Cairil .i. a druim do bhuirred imchloic. Torcraatar tra torcraatar na rocaide rin na firu hErinn, ocuf na toeris reo Scolph, ocuf Ona, ocuf Tomrair, ocuf Turgesir, 7c.

Tanic iarrain Oisli mac rus Lochlann .i. longer lan mor aili, ocuf na millret-raide urmor hErinn. Da torcraatar rain ona la firu hErinn. Da rochair em Oisli perais Mumain. 1r ri sein bliadain i torcair Colphin ocuf longer Duin Medoin a Cinn Curraic.

Here the MS. again becomes illegible, but after a few lines obliterated we can decipher what follows:—

na buirf Aed Finnliath mac Neill cat forpo [*Gloss.* .i. oc loc Febail] du i torcair da ricet ocuf nuc Aed anuli inomar ocuf mathur.

king of Muscraighe Bregoin, and that Muchtighern, son of Rechtabrad, was smothered in a cave. It was by them was killed Caur Finn with his garrison. It was by them was killed Maelguala, son of Dongaile, king of Cashel, viz., by breaking his back with a stone. But that army was wholly destroyed by the men of Erinn, and also their leaders, viz., Scolf, and Ona, and Tomrar, and Turges, &c.

The Fragment in the Book of Leinster.

Afterwards came Oisli, son of the king of Lochlann, viz., another great full fleet, and they plundered the greater part of Erinn. But they were destroyed by the men of Erinn. This Oisli fell men of Mumhain. It was in this year that Colphin was destroyed and the fleet of Dun Medoin at Cenn Curraigh.

Chap. XXIV.

Then follows what corresponds with chapters xxv and xxvi of the text.

Ra ona lagin ocuf rin Mumain la longer mic Amhlaib iartain, connochtatar Ciappaig con-

There Leinster and the men of Munster by the fleet of Mac Amhlaibh, afterwards, until they reached

Chap. XXV.

The Frag-
ment in the
Book of
Leinster.

na fagrat uaim
can telac, ocur ni fapcrat ni
. can inopeco,
ocur na lopeco Imlech Ibar,
ocur na inopecopec na Desi
descipit de muir. Ra inopeco-
tar in luét cetna Midí, ocur
Connaét copancatar. Cop-
comruad, ocur Leim Concu-
lainn. Da roéparar sain
uile beor la fepaib hEpeno.
Ra cuipéo anar óna oc Ath-
cliath la Aed Finnliath mac
Neill, ac in fleio da fingsneo
la Aed da mac Ragnall in
Athcliath. Ra cuipet fein
óna cat etuirru .i. Fingenti
ocur Dubgenti .i. Barith ocur
Mac Ragnall, du i topcair
Mac Ragnall ocur roéaíde
imme. Ra gonad Barith ano,
ocur ba bacac suam iasrain
he. Ra hindarbat óna Dub-
genti a hEpend iasrain ocur
do chuatar in Albain, ocur
ro bripipet cath for fepaib
Albain, du i topcair Con-
stantin mac Cinaeda aróir
Alban, ocur roéaíde mor
malle rurr. Is ano sain
na maid in talam fo fepaib
Alban.

Chap.
XXVI.

Dui immorro araile cum-
ramad opeaib hEpend rru
.xl. mbliadan can inopeco
Gall .i. o ne Maelpeclainn
mic Maelruanad co rin bli-
adain ne neg Flainn mic
Maelpeclainn ocur co gabail

Ciarraigh, so that they left not a
cave without
exploring it, and they left not a
thing without
plundering it, and they burned
Imlech of Ibar, and they ravaged
the southern Desii from the sea.
The same party plundered Midhi
and Connacht, until they reach-
ed Corcomruadh, and Leim-Con-
culainn. All these were like-
wise killed by the men of Erin.
And again they were slaughtered
by Aedh Finnliath, son of Niall,
at the banquet that was made by
Aedh for Ragnall's son at Ath-
Cliath. Then there was a battle
fought between themselves, viz.,
the white Gentiles and the black
Gentiles, i.e. Barith and Rag-
nall's son, in which fell Ragnall's
son, and a multitude with him.
Barith was wounded there, and
he was lame ever after. The
black Gentiles after this were
driven out of Erin and went
to Alba, where they gained a
battle over the men of Alba, in
which were slain Constantine,
son of Cinaeth, chief king of
Alba, and a great multitude
with him. It was then the
earth burst open under the men
of Alba.

There was, however, some rest
to the men of Erin, during forty
years, without ravage from the
foreigners, i.e. from the time of
Maelseachlainn, son of Maelrua-
naid, to the year before the
death of Flann, son of Mael-

riſi du Niall Glundub . . .
ocuf Eoganaēt, ocuf Corco-
uibni cath porpo, oc . . .
. . . du i torcain Arcaē
Putrall, ocuf .ccc. immi, ocuf
Smurull.

sechlainn, and until Niall
Glundubh became king . . .
and the Eoghanacht and Corco-
duibhni [gained] a battle over
them, and in
which fell Ascait Putrall, and
300 with him, and Smurull.

The Frag-
ment in the
Book of
Leinster.
—

We can then read very distinctly chapters xxvii and
xxviii.

Tanic iarpain loinger ad-
bull mor cloinni Imair in
Aēcliaē, ocuf na hindreo
aurmor hErend leo. Ra
milled em leo Arōmaēa, ocuf
na briſſetap cat por Flann
mac Maelſeclainn, du i tor-
cain Aed mac Conchobair
ocuf Lergur mac Crundmael
eprcop Cilli dara, ocuf Dono-
cāo Mael abao Delgga. In
bliadain na po marb Mael-
ſeclainn ſain, na hairged
ona ocuf na loirced leſſ mor
leo; ſin bliadain cetna na
hairged Cluain uama, ocuf
na marbad Fergal mac Fin-
naēta eprcob ocuf abao Clu-
ana uama, ocuf Uanan Cerin
in ſecnabb. Sin bliadain ſain
po marbad Donnchad mac
Duibdabairēn ſi Carril,
ocuf Siugrad mac Imair ſi
Gall. Mor tra d'ule da

There came after this a pro-
digious great fleet of the sons
of Imar to Ath-Cliath, and the
greater part of Erin was plun-
dered by them. Ard-macha
was spoiled by them, and they
gained a battle over Flann son
of Maelsechlainn, in which fell
Aedh son of Conchobhar and
Lergusson of Crundmael, bishop
of Cildara, and Donnchadh
Mael, abbot of Delgga. In this
year this Maelsechlainn¹ died,
Lismor was plundered and
burned by them; in that same
year Cluain-uamha [Cloyne]
was plundered, and Fergal Mac
Finnachta, bishop and abbot of
Cluain-uamha was slain, also
Uanan Cerin the sub-abbot. In
this year were killed Donnchadh
son of Dubhdaboirenn, king of
Cashel, and Siugrad, son of
Imar, king of the foreigners.

Chap.
XXVII.

¹ *Maelsechlainn*. The MS. contracts
this word *Maelſ*. The sentence here
seems evidently to want something;
the confusion appears to have arisen
from the contracted names *Maelſ*.
for *Maelfebhail* [the daughter of Mael-

sechlainn], and *Maelſ* for *Mael-
sechlainn*. There cannot be a doubt
that the original was *in bliadain
na po marb Maelſebail ingen
Maelſeclainn*. See note ², p. 29,
supra.

The Frag-
ment in the
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ronrat ʒaill im hErpenn ir
in bliadain rin.

Tanic mor coblaē la Rag-
nall mac Imair ocur la hOt-
tir iarla corragbairer for
Loch da Caec. Ra marbad
leo Domnall mac Dunchada
riḡdomna Cairl, ocur na
rainderet, ocur na hinderet
hua Cairri ocur Mureraig-
etarra. Ra rcaideret iarraim;
a trian i Corcaig, ocur a
trian in Inir na hEidhaig,
ocur a trian for Glaslinn.
Ra hinderet imorro, . . .
larrin lonḡer rin, cona naba
tene o Luí fodeff. Ir lerrin
lonḡir rin na marbad Geben-
nac mac Aeda ri ua Conaill
ḡabra, ocur rucrat a ceno
leo, unde

Mor De do nim
A beir oc Thomair.
Fe
Minto amra iarrair doman.

. Anle mac
Cathain ri Uathne
ocur Longreē mac 8[etna] .

Great evils did the foreigners
perpetrate in Erinn in this
year.

There came a great fleet with
Ragnall, son of Imar,¹ and with
Ottir the Earl, and they landed
at Loch da Caech [Waterford].
Domhnall, son of Dunchadh,
heir apparent of Cashel, was
killed by them, and they divided
and ravaged Carbre and Mus-
craighi between them. They se-
parated afterwards; one-third of
them in Corcach, and a third in
Inis na hEidhaighi, and a third
in Glaslinn. [All Munster]
was plundered by that fleet,
so that there was not a fire
from the Lee² southwards. It
was by this fleet that Geben-
nach, son of Aedh, king of Ua
Conaill ḡabra, was slain, and
they carried his head with them.
whence,

Great O God of heaven
That Tomar should have it
Behold
Illustrious gem of the west of the world.

. Anle, son
of Cathan, king of Uathne . .
. . . and Longsech, son of
Setna

The two MSS. B. and D. which have been followed in
the text, interpolate here (see chapter xxix, *supra*, p. 33)
a long passage containing several chronological criteria
which have caused great confusion, as they do not at all
square with the exploits of Ragnall and Otter. In L,

¹ Son of Imar. Called "grandson
of Imar," p. 31 *supra*.

² The Lee. See above, p. 31. The
word Luí signifies a river.

however, all this is omitted, and chapter xxix consists only of the following passage :—

The Fragment in the Book of Leinster.

Ra éuatar in Albain ian- They went after that into
rain, ocuf tucrat fir Alban Alba, and the men of Alba
cat doib, ocuf ra marbad gave them battle and they were
ano, .i. Ragnall ocuf Oittir. killed there, viz., Ragnall and
Otter.

Ragnall and Otter must have landed at Waterford about A.D. 916, and were slain in Scotland the year following. But the interpolated passage in the text speaks of events which must be dated about 866 to 869. This is a remarkable proof of the antiquity and value of the MS. L., and renders it matter of great regret that the fragment here published is all that now remains of it.

B.

Chronology and Genealogy of the Kings of Munster and of Ireland, during the period of the Scandinavian invasions.

The list of Kings of Munster, given in chap. ii. of the foregoing work, as also the list of the Kings of Ireland, given chap. iii., are no part of the original Chronicle, but were subsequently interpolated by some early transcriber. This is evident from the fact, that the older form of the text, in the fragment of the Book of Leinster (Append. A.) mentions only the first and last of the series of Munster Kings,¹ and the first only of the Sovereigns of Ireland, omitting all the intermediate names.

Kings of Munster during the Danish Wars.

Oilioll² Olum was the first of the family of Heber, son of Milesius, who found himself in undisputed possession of the throne of Munster (A.D. 237), and by his will he ordained that his kingdom should descend in alternate succession, to the posterity of his sons, Eoghan (or Owen) and Cormac Cas³; provided only

¹ Kings. See p. 221.

² Oilioll. His name is often written Ailell (as p. 59), or Ailill, and Ailiol.

³ Cormac Cas. O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*,

Part III., c. 65, p. 326. Vallancey's Collect. Vol. I, p. 426, "On the Law of Tanistry."

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that the elder and more capable of governing, should always be elected out of each race.

This rule was observed for some generations with tolerable regularity, and it is alluded to in the account given of the valour and privileges of the Dal Caís, chap. xli. of the foregoing work. The rule, however, it should be observed, did not impose an absolute law of hereditary succession; the chieftain was elected¹ in every case by the tribe or clansmen: but they could legally elect only from among those who were entitled to the throne by hereditary descent.

It is easy to see that such a law of succession contained within it abundant elements of dissension: and it was not long until the sons of Eoghan and the sons of Cormac Cas regarded each other as rivals, and separated into hostile parties.²

Hence it happens that the lists of Munster Kings that have come down to us differ considerably³; the Chronicler, according as he was of the Dalcassian or Eugenian race, necessarily regarded some of the opposite succession as usurpers, and therefore omitted them from his list. The chronology of their reigns was also, in like manner, handed down with much uncertainty,

¹ *Elected.* See *Ogygia*, p. 57, and Curry's preface to the *Battle of Magh Lena*, published by the Celtic Society (1855).

² *Parties.* The following Table may assist the reader to understand the politics of these rival clans:—

Oilioll Olum.		
Eoghan mór. Sl. A.D. 250; ancestor of the Eoghanachta.	Cormac Cas. Sl. A.D. 260; ancestor of the Dal-Caia.	Cian. Sl. A.D. 250; ancestor of the Cianachta.

See *Ogygia*, p. 328, and the Genealogical Tables in Mr. Curry's *Battle of Magh Lena*: but especially the valuable Genealogical Table of the Munster families descended from Oilioll Olum, p. 341, of Dr. O'Donovan's *Battle of Magh Rath*, published by the Irish Archaeological Society in 1842. Oilioll Olum is said to have had seven sons by his wife Sadbh, daughter of Con of the hundred fights, and twelve by other women.

³ *Considerably.* See some excellent remarks on this subject in the article already referred to, on the Law of Tanistry, in Vallancey's *Collect.*, Vol. I., p. 469 sq. This valuable paper was written by Dr. J. O'Brien, titular or R. C. Bishop of Cloyne, author of the well-known Irish Dictionary. But it is published by Vallancey as his own, without any mention of the real author.

from similar causes. The dates were usually ascertained by adding together the reigns of the kings who lived within a given epoch; but two such kings, each regarding the other as an usurper, frequently reigned over their respective partizans contemporaneously: and the lengths of their reigns were very differently computed according to the party to which the historian or bard who recorded their exploits belonged.

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And these sources of confusion are unfortunately of great antiquity. In the Book of Leinster, a MS. of the 12th century, there is a list of the Kings of Munster, the most antient (I believe) that is now known to exist, having been written probably at the close of the 11th century. Nevertheless we find that even in that age the succession and chronology of the Munster Kings was obscure. The compiler of this list frequently inserts names, with the note "*secundum quosdam*;" and often omits the lengths of the reigns, probably because he was unable to ascertain them with accuracy.

It may be instructive, as illustrating what has been said, if we compare the list of Munster Kings, given above (ch. ii.) with the corresponding portion of this antient list of them:—

<i>Book of Leinster.</i> ¹	<i>Danish Wars, c. ii.</i>
1. e. Airtiri, son of Cathal. xx.	1. Airtiri, son of Cathal, son of Fin- ghuine.
2. Tuathal, son of Airtiri. xiii. <i>Secundum quosdam.</i>	
3. e. Feidhlimidh, son of Criomthann. xxvii.	2. Feidhlimidh, ² son of Criomthann [acceptit regnum 819=820. Ult.]
4. e. Olcobhar, son of Cinaeth. iii.	3. Olcobhar, son of Cinaeth. [Ob. 849. 4 M.]
5. e. Algenain, son of Dongal. iii.	4. Ailgenain, son of Dungal. [Ob. 851=853. 4 M.]
6. m. Maelguala, son of Dongal. viii. A Northmannis occisus est Mael- guala.	5. Maelguala, son of Dungal. [Sl. A.D. 857=859. 4 M.]
7. e. Maelfathartaigh. x.	

¹ *Book of Leinster.* In this List the Roman numerals at the end of the names denote the number of years of each prince's reign. It is to be observed also that the letters e or m are prefixed to each name, according as the individual in question died a natural death (éc) or was killed (martyr); in some cases, when the manner of his

death was unknown, neither letter is prefixed; and there are some in which the letter seems to have been forgotten. The numbers prefixed to each name are added by the Editor for the convenience of reference.

² *Feidhlimidh.* He reigned 27 years, and died A.D. 847. See chap. xiv, p. 15, *supra*.

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8. e. Cennfaeladh, son of Mochtighern.
xiii. R₁ Muman, 7 abb Im-
leáca Ibarne—["King of Mun-
ster, and abbot of Imleach of Ibar"
(i.e. Emly)].
9. e. Dunchad. xvi.
10. Dubhlachtna, son of Maelguala.
11. Finguine, son of Dubhlachtna.²
i.e. Cendgegain. vi. *Occius³ per
dolum. Anno Dni Dcccvi.*
12. Cormac, son of Culennan. vii.
La Cerbair, mac Muiregein,
rug laigen do nochad Cormac
i cat Maige Alba. Fiach
Albe noo marbar. "Cormac
fell in the battle of Magh Alba,
under Cerbhair, son of Muiregein,
king of Leinster. Fiach Alba
killed him."
13. Flaithbhertach, son of Inmainen.
14. e. Lorcan. ix.
15. Ceallachan Caisil. x.
16. Maelfaethartaigh, son of Donn-
chadh. iii.
17. m. Dubhdabairend. ii.
18. m. Fergraidh, son of Ailgenan.⁴ v.
19. m. Mathgamhain, son of Cennei-
digh. xliii.
20. m. Maelmuadh, son of Bran. ii.
21. Brian, son of Cenneidigh. xxxiii.
O marbar i cat copar Cluan
tarb la laigen 7 Gallia:
"Killed in the battle of the weir
of Cluan-tarbh by the Leinster-
men, and the foreigners."

Danish Wars, c. ii.

6. Cennfaeladh, son of Murchadh.¹
[Ob. 870=872. 4 M.]
7. Donnchadh, son of Dubhdabhoirenn.
8. Dubhlachtna, son of Maelguala.
9. Finguine, son of Laeghaire, sur-
named Cenngegain, [or goose
head.]
10. Cormac, son of Cuilennan.
11. Flaithbhertach, son of Ionmhainen.
12. Lorcan, son of Connligan.
13. Ceallachan, son of Buadhachan.
14. Maelfaethartaigh, son of Bran.
15. Dubhdabhoireann, son of Domhnall.
16. Fergraidh, son of Clerech.
17. Donnchadh, son of Cellach. [*Read
Cellachan*].
18. Mathgamhain, son of Cenneidigh.
19. Brian, son of Cenneidigh.

¹ *Murchadh*. He is called son of Maelguala, son of Mochtighern, in the Dublin Ann. of Innisfallen, 872. The 4 M₁ call him Ua Muictighern, i.e. grandson of Mochtighern. Keating and the Book of Leinster make him son of Mochtighern.

² *Dubhlachtna*. In the margin, in a later hand, *Mc Laegairne*, "son of Laeghaire."

³ *Occius*. The words printed in

italics are added by a more recent hand in the MS.

⁴ *Ailgenan*. In the list given, chap. ii., above, he is called "son of Clerech." To discuss or explain differences of this kind would be inconsistent with the rules laid down for editors of this series of Chronicles. But the reader must not conclude that such discrepancies cannot be explained.

On comparing these lists it will be observed that the Book of Leinster gives three kings (Nos. 2, 7, and 20) who are not recognised in the list, chap. ii. *supra* : and this latter list on the other hand, has one king (No. 17) not found in the Book of Leinster. Of these Tuathal, son of Artri (B. of Leinster No. 2) is marked as doubtful, "secundum quosdam," and No. 20, Maelmuadh or Molloy, as having been the murderer of Mathgamhain, or Mahon, is not recognised by the Dalcassian author. Nevertheless there is no doubt that Maelmuadh was the legal successor to Mathgamhain's throne, notwithstanding his complicity in the crime which rendered that throne vacant¹: and accordingly our author himself in one place (ch. lxvi. p. 107) gives him the title of King of Munster—although the compiler of the list of kings, in ch. ii., has omitted his name. He was of the Eugenian line, as Mathgamhain was of the Dalcais, and therefore according to the law of succession established by the will of Oilíoll Olum, had a claim to the throne of his victim. He enjoyed it but two years,² having been slain by Brian in the battle of Belach Lachta, A.D. 978. Accordingly a reign of two years is rightly assigned to him in the antient list of the Book of Leinster.

Maelfathartaigh (No. 7 in the same list) is not mentioned in chap. ii: he is also omitted by O'Dugan,³ in his poetical list of the Kings of Munster. The chronology of the Four Masters gives A.D. 857 as the year in which his predecessor Maelguala was stoned to death by the Northmen: and 870 as the year of his successor Cennfaoladh's death. This, if we give Cennfaoladh a reign of 13 years, as the Book of Leinster itself allows, leaves no room for the ten years assigned to Maelfathartaigh. This king's name is therefore most probably an interpolation.

The only remaining difference between the two lists is the insertion of the name of Donnchadh, son of Cellach, (which ought to be Donnchadh, son of Cellachan,) in chap. ii. He was the son of Cellachan of Cashel, and is set down as the immediate predecessor of the murdered Mahon. But he never was King of Munster, and is rightly omitted in the older MS. His name has evidently found its way into the list, by a misinterpretation

¹ *Vacant.* See above, ch. lix. sq.

² *Two years.* Mathgamhain or Mahon was slain, 976. See Tighernach, and pp. 91 and 107 *supra*.

³ *O'Dugan.* John O'Dubhagain, or O'Dugan, was chief bard to the O'Kellys, of Hy Many, and died A.D. 1372.

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of an entry in the Annals of Ulster. His death is there recorded at A.D. 962 (=963), in these words:—

Mac Cellachain ri Caisil moritur.

The son of Cellachan king of Cashel,
dies.

where the words "King of Cashel" evidently apply to Cellachan, and not to his son; and we may make the same observation in reference to the record of the same event by the Four Masters. Their words at their year 961, are,

Donncharb mac Cellachain ri
Caisil, do gair ó na bráthair
féirrin.

Donnchad, son of Cellachan king of
Cashel, was mortally wounded by his
own brethren.

It is therefore clear that this name is a mistake¹ of the interpolator; and it is moreover inconsistent with the text, for the list of kings is prefaced by the statement that there were "eighteen kings in Cashel" during the period referred to: and yet nineteen are enumerated; the omission of this spurious name is therefore necessary to correct the discrepancy.²

But we are mainly concerned with the date of Airtri, son of Cathal, which fixes, according to our author's testimony, the era of the Scandinavian invasions.

He was tenth in descent³ from Aongus, son of Nathfriach, the first Christian King of Munster. His father, Cathal, son of Finguine, who was also King of Munster, died,⁴ according to Keating, during the reign of Aodh Ollan, King of Ireland, and therefore before the year 743. Two kings are said to have

¹ *Mistake.* The Bodleian Annals of Inisfallen, published by Dr. O'Connor. *Rer. Hib. Scriptt.* tom. ii., give the same record at A.D. 948. "Mors Dunchada mac Cellachain ri Caisil." But the year ought to be 950, in consequence of a typographical error in all Dr. O'Connor's dates to these annals from A.D. 908 (p. 37 sq.); and by a further error in the chronology of the author of the annals, (pointed out by Dr. O'Connor himself, *note*, p. 43), the year 950 of this annalist corresponds to A.D. 963 or 964, which is no doubt the true date. The Dublin Annals of Inisfallen (compiled by Dr. O'Brien and John Conry) escape the ambiguity

by calling this chieftain "Donnchadh, son of Ceallachan of Cashel," and record his death A.D. 961 or 962.

² *Discrepancy.* The copy of this work in the Book of Leinster, says "sixteen kings." See p. 221. This is, perhaps, some accidental error of transcription, unless it may mean 16, between Airtri and Brian, exclusive.

³ *Descent.* See his genealogy in the Geneal. Table already referred to in Dr. O'Donovan's Battle of Magh Rath.

⁴ *Died.* The 4 M. record his death A.D. 737. The Bodleian Annals of Inisfallen, at 730, which is really 743, and the Dublin Annals of Inisfallen, at 742.

intervened between Cathal and his son Airtri, to the sum of Kings of
 whose reigns O'Dugan assigns a period of 29 years. If this be Munster
 so, and if Airtri reigned 20 years, as all the authorities assert, during the
 assuming that his father, Cathal, died in 743, the year 792 is the Danish
 latest that we can possibly assign to Airtri's death. Wars.

But this calculation is far from satisfactory. The history of these petty sovereigns at this period is full of confusion, and the number of years assigned to their reigns cannot be depended upon. O'Dugan gives the series, thus:—

Cathal, son of Finguine, 31 years.
 Cathasach, son of Edirsceoil [Driscoll], 16 years.
 Maolduin, son of Aodh Bennain, 13 years.
 Airtri, son of Cathal, 20 years.
 Tnuathal, son of Dungal, 14 years.
 Feidhlimidh, son of Criomhthann, 7 years.

But the antient list in the Book of Leinster, already so often referred to, puts Cathasach *before* Cathal, son of Finguine, and gives the series, thus:—

Cathasach, son of Edirsceoil, 27 years.
 Cathal, son of Finguine, 29 years [adding this note, "Some say that Maolduin, son of Aodh Bennain, was king of Munster."]
 Airtri, son of Cathal, 20 years.
 Tuathal, son of Airtri [sec^m. quosdam] 14 years.
 Feidhlimidh, son of Criomhthann, 27 years.

It is evident that from authorities exhibiting such discrepancies as these, both in the order of succession of the kings and in their regnal years, no safe conclusions can be drawn. But it fortunately happens that there is a date preserved in our authentic annals, which leads to a surer result. At the year 819, which is A.D. 820, the Annals of Ulster¹ record the accession of Feidhlimidh, the last of the above-named chieftains, in these words:—

Feidhlimidh, mac Cremhthainn accepit regnum Caisil.

¹ *Ulster*. The same event in the same words is recorded in the Bodleian Annals of Inisfallen, at their year 807, which, in consequence of the error of 13 years in these annals, already noticed, is equivalent to A.D. 820. But it is curious that at the very next year 808=821, we have a record of the death of Airtri. This, of course, is misplaced; perhaps the entry really belongs to the preceding year: in

which case it would signify that there was no intervening reign between the death of Airtri and the accession of Feidhlimidh. Dr. O'Connor's edition of these annals is so full of careless blunders that it is dangerous, without reference to the original, to quote it as authority, and no inference in any disputed case can be drawn from its readings.

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This year A.D. 820 may therefore be taken as the year of Airtri's death, and 800 as the date of his accession to the throne, unless it be true that a reign of 14 years intervened; in which case his death must be placed in 806, and his accession to the throne of Munster in 786. It should be remembered, however, that the older list of kings marks this intervening reign as doubtful. The truth may be that the reign of Tuathal was an usurpation during the lifetime of his father, Airtri. If so, Airtri began his reign in 786 and died 820.

These latter dates agree very well with the express statement of our author, that the first devastation of Ireland by the Norsemen took place in Airtri's reign; and in this result we must acquiesce, as the nearest approach to accuracy which can be expected in the present neglected state of our Irish records.

Kings of
Ireland.

It will not be necessary to make any lengthened remarks on the list of Kings of Ireland given by our author,¹ or rather by his interpolator, in chap. iii. Their genealogy and the chronology of their reigns, have been treated of by Keating, and corrected with great learning by O'Flaherty. But it may be convenient to the reader, to have here a list of these kings, with the dates (according to O'Flaherty's Chronology) at which they began to reign. And we shall commence the list somewhat earlier than the first king mentioned by our author, for a reason that will hereafter be apparent:—

- A.D. 763. *Niall Frassach*.²
- 770. Donnchad mac Domhnall.
- 797. *Aodh Oirnidhe*.
- 819. Conchobhar.
- 833. *Niall Cailne*.
- 846. *Maelseachlainn mac Maelruanaidh*.
- 863. *Aodh Finnliath*.
- 879. Flann Sionna.
- 916. *Niall Glundubh*.
- 919. Donnchadh, son of Flann Sionna.
- 944. Congalach, son of Maoilmithigh.
- 956. *Domhnall O'Neill*.³

¹ Our author. See ch. iii. p. 5, *supra*.

² *Niall Frassach*. This king was 9th in descent from the celebrated Niall of the Nine Hostages, who was king of Ireland A.D. 379-405. See Table I, p. 245.

³ *Domhnall O'Neill*. It was this Domhnall who first assumed, as a surname, the title of O'Neill [i.e. grandson of Niall,] from his grandfather Niall Glundubh, or Niall of the black knee, (not from his remote ancestor Niall of

A.D. 980. *Maelseachlainn*, son of Domhnall.

1002. *BRIAN*.

1014. *Maelseachlainn*, (restored to the throne:) died 1022.

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The names printed in italics in this list are of the Northern Hy Neill, descended from Eoghan, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages. The others are of the Southern¹ Hy Neill, descended from Conall Crimhthann, also one of the sons of Niall of the Nine Hostages. One king only, whose name is printed in capitals, the celebrated Brian Borumha, was of the race of Heber, son of Milesius, and of the Munster family of the Dal Cais. His descent is given in the genealogical Table III.

It will be seen, from the foregoing list, that the rule of alternate succession between the two royal families of the Hy Neill was observed with tolerable regularity during the period of the Danish wars. The only exception occurs in the case of Congalach, son of Maoilmithigh, who with his predecessor Donnchadh, son of Flann Sionna, was of the Southern Hy Neill.

It is not improbable that this interruption in the order of alternate succession may have been owing to the ambitious intrigues of Muircheartach² of the leather cloaks, who, in 942, made a circuit of Ireland for the purpose of taking hostages from the provincial chieftains, in order to secure his right to the throne. As the then reigning sovereign, Donnchadh, son of Flann Sionna, was of the Southern Hy Neill, Muircheartach, according to the law of alternate succession, was the natural heir apparent. But when he was slain by the Danes, in 943, the hostages he had taken by violence were liberated, and the alternate right seems to have been set aside.

the Nine Hostages). In the next century the family of Brian Borumha assumed the name of O'Brien; and patronymics of the same kind became usual as surnames from that time to the present day.

¹ *Southern*. The descendants of Niall of the Nine Hostages were divided into the Southern Hy Neill, who settled in the county of Meath, and the Northern Hy Neill, who settled in Derry and Tyrone. The kings of the Southern Hy Neill were Laogaire (son of Niall) and his son Lugaid, with 17

kings of the race of Conall Crimhthann. The kings of the Northern Hy Neill were ten of the *Cinel Conaill*, descendants of Conall Gulban, son of Niall, and sixteen of the *Cinel Eoghain*, descended from Eoghan, son of Niall, with one king descended from Cairbre, son of Niall. See *Geneal. Tables* I. & II.

² *Muircheartach*. See the "Circuit of Ireland," edited for the Irish Archaeological Society by Dr. O'Donovan. *Tracts relating to Ireland*, Vol. I., Dublin, 1841. Comp. chap. xxxvii, p. 43, *supra*.

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Wars.

The following genealogical tables may be useful, in enabling the reader to understand the foregoing narrative. They are intended to exhibit the descent of the different clans, and the relationship of the chieftains whose jealousies and dissensions are chronicled in the present work.

In Table I. is shown the genealogical descent of the Kings belonging to the Northern Hy Neill, of the Cinel Eoghain race. The other dynasty, the Cinel Conaill, having become extinct before the period to which this work relates, are not given.

Table II. exhibits the descent of the Kings of the Southern Hy Neill, and their relationship with the Northern Hy Neill, as the offspring of a common ancestor, Niall of the Nine Hostages. The names of the *Kings* in Table I. and II. are printed in small capitals; the dates annexed are the years in which each King *began* his reign, according to O'Flaherty's Chronology.

It will be seen from these tables (compared with Table III.), that the revolution which placed Brian on the throne, was a violation of the hereditary rights of the Hy Neill, confirmed to them by a long prescription; and that the annalist Tighernach¹ was fully justified in calling it a *rebellion*, although perhaps he did not mean to express, by that word, the guilt which the modern use of it implies.

Brian's descent from the great Munster chieftain Oilioll Olum, King of Munster in the third century, has been traced by Dr. O'Donovan in the valuable genealogical table of the Munster families, which has been already referred to.² But for the convenience of the reader, we have here extracted in Tables III., IV., and V., the principal lines of descent, showing the relationship of the chieftains whose names are mentioned in the foregoing history.

¹ *Tighernach*. Annal. A.D. 1002.
Rer. Hib. Scriptt., tom. ii., p. 269.

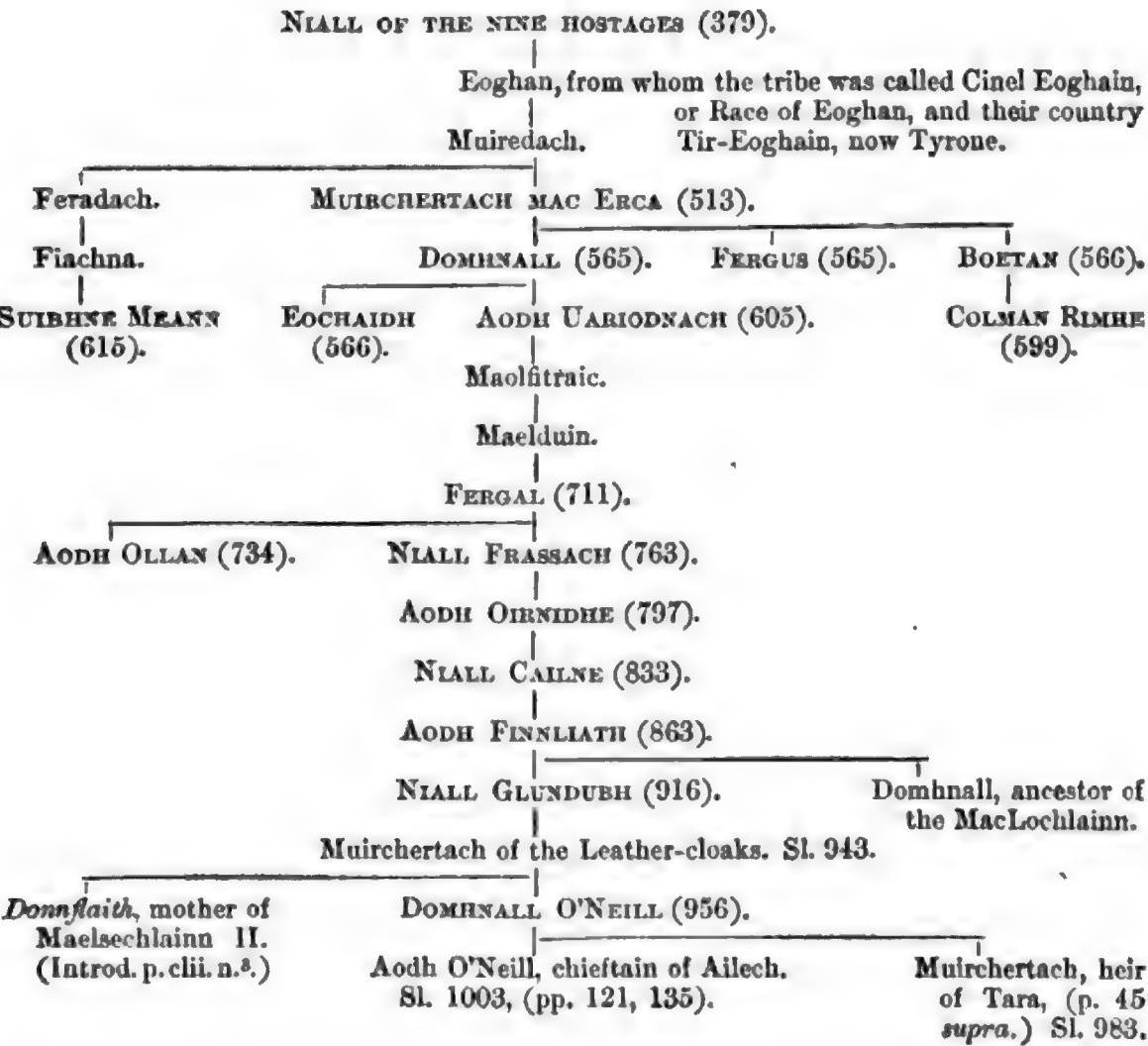
see also Curry's *Battle of Magh Lena*,
p. 174.

² *Referred to*. See p. 236, note; and

TABLE I¹.

Genealogical Tables.

KINGS OF IRELAND DESCENDED FROM THE NORTHERN HY NEILL
(CINEL EOGHAIN BRANCH).

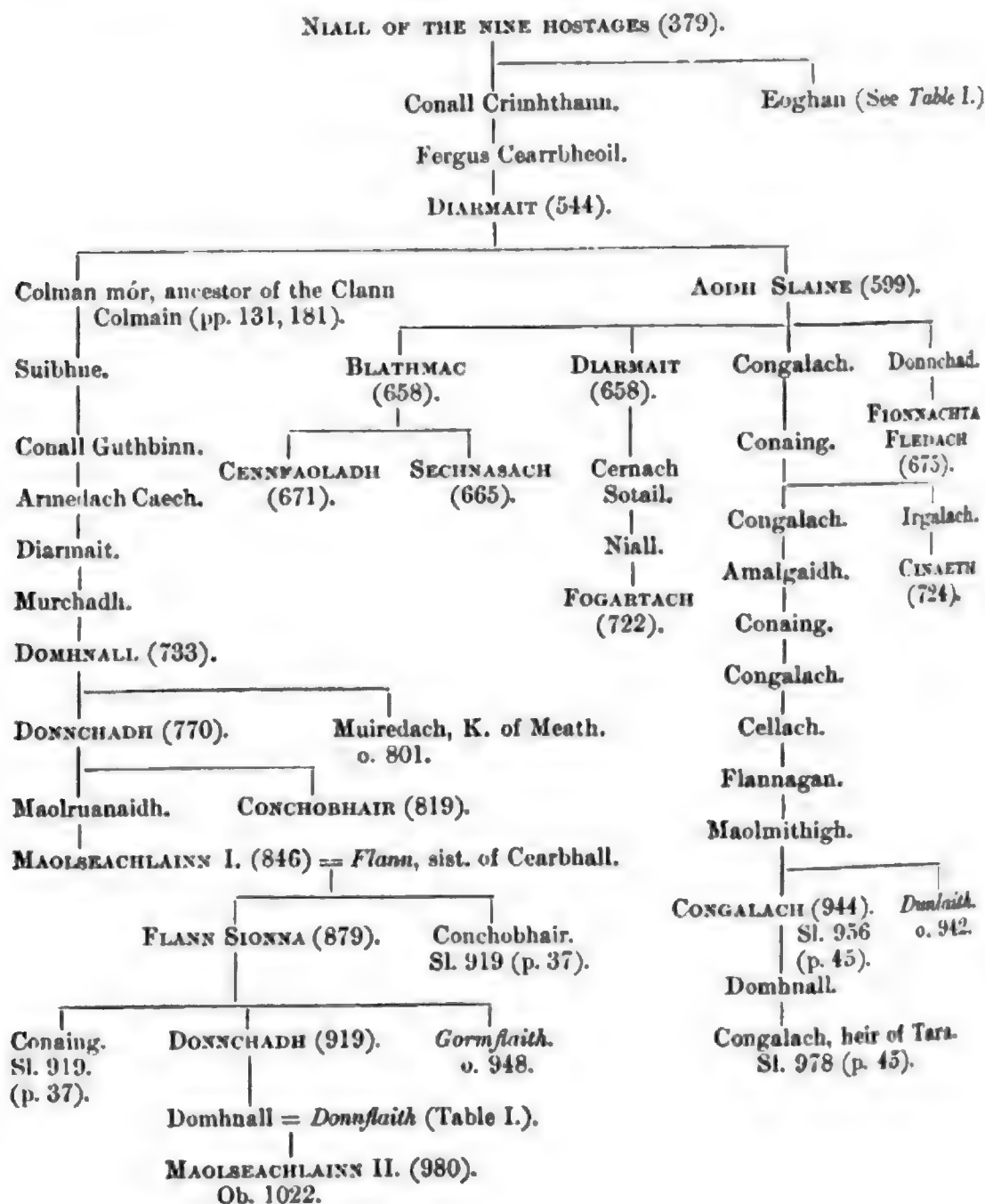


¹ Table I. This and the following Table exhibit the descent of the kings and chieftains who flourished during the period of the Danish wars, as enumerated in the foregoing list. The names of the kings of Ireland are printed in capitals, and the years on which each reign began, within brackets. "Sl." signifies slain; "ob." or "o." obiit. The names of females are in Italics.

Genealog-
ical Tables.

TABLE II.

KINGS OF IRELAND DESCENDED FROM THE SOUTHERN HY NEILL
(THE CLANN COLMAIN OF MEATH, AND THE CLANN AODHA
SLÁINE).



Genealogical Tables.

- ¹ *Genealogy.* See p. 59 *supra*. The letters K.M. denote King of Munster; K.T. King of Thomond. The numbers prefixed to the names show the generations from Oilíoll Olum.

Genealog-
ical Tables.

TABLE IV.

— SHOWING THE DESCENT OF MAELMUADH, OR MOLLOY, LORD OF
DESMOND, AND HIS RELATIONSHIP TO BRIAN AND MATHGAMHAIN.

	1. Oilioll Olum, K.M.	
	2. Eoghan mór, from whom the Eoghan- acht of Cashel (pp. 53 n. 71).	2. Cormac Cas, a quo Dal Caia. See Table III.
	3. Fiacha Muilleathan, K.M. 260.	
	4. Oilioll Flannbeg, K.M.	
	5. Lugaid.	
	6. Conall Corc, K.M., ancestor of the Eoghanacht of Loch Lein (Killarney), and of Moghagerrgin, in Mar (Scotland).	
7. Natfraich, K.M.	7. Cas.	
8. Aongus, K.M.	8. Eochaidh, from whom the Ui nEochadh of Munster (p. 137).	
9. Fedhlimidh.	9. Criomhthann.	
10. Criomhthann.	10. Aodh Uargarbh.	10. Laoghaire.
11. Aodh Dubh.	11. Tighernach.	11. Aodh Clerech.
12. Fingin, K.M., a quo Cinel Fin- gine, or Eoghan- acht of Cashel.	12. Fedhlimidh, K.M., 577.	12. Cairbre Riastrim.
13. Sechnasach.	13. Fergus.	13. Clairenach.
14. Colman.	14. Bece, a quo Cinel mBece.	14. Seibach.
15. Dubhdacrioch.	15. Ferdaleithe.	15. Ealaithe.
16. Criomhthann.	16. Conaicee.	16. Dunlang.
17. Fedhlimidh, K.M. o. 846. (p. 15).	17. Oilioll.	17. Anbleithe.
	18. Cucongeilt.	18. Flaithnia.
	19. Concobhar.	19. Aongus.
	20. Cathladh.	20. Dubhdaboirenn, K.M. Sl. 957.
	21. Spellán.	21. Donnchadh, ancestor of O'Donoghue.
	22. Oilioll.	21. Domhnall. Commanded the forces of Desmond at Clon- tarf. Sl. 1015. (p. 213).
	23. Bran.	
	24. Maelmuadh, Sl. 978 (pp. 65, sq. 103, sq.)	
	25. Cian. (See p. 213).	
	26. Mathgamhain, ancestor of Ui Mathgamhna, or O'Mahony.	

TABLE V.

Genealogical Tables.

SHOWING THE DESCENT¹ OF THE FAMILY OF O'DONNABHAINN, OR O'DONOVAN.

¹ *Descent.* The letters C.H.F. denote Chief of Hy Fidhgente. C.H.C.G. Chief of Hy Conaill Gabhra. C.H.C. Chief of Hy Cairbre: see p. 87. K.D. King of Desmond.

C.

Maelseach-
lainn's des-
cription of
the battle.

*Maelseachlainn's description of the Battle of Clontarf,
from the Brussels MS.*

The following is the passage from the Brussels MS. alluded to, page 182, note ², *supra*, which is given here for the reason there assigned. The corresponding portion of the text extends from p. 182, line 1, to p. 198, line 28 :

Íreath arbeart Maelseach-
lainn ;—Nocha nřacara cat
mar é, ocur nocha cuada a
macaramla, ocur cio aingel
de do nuh do beparó a tuar-
nřebáil ar dířerouh lem má
do beparó ; aet aon ní ara
ttarla mairiri ann ; an tan
ro comraicettar na cat a
ceothoir ro gab cat ag třeas-
dath a céile ro ceothoir tīb,
ocur do bí ġorit dearg třeēta
ettarainn ocur riath, ocur an
ēřuathāoth eirchide tairiri
cuccainn, ocur ni řorde na řeath
riř a mbleōġta bó nó dá ba
bamar an tan naē ttuibriath
duine don dá cat aine řor
a céile ġiō é a mac no a břá-
tar buō comřoccur dō, aet
muna ttuccath ar a ġuē, nó a
řior aise an tiorath i nibiath,
ar na līonath uile etiri aġiath
ocur cent ocur édath, do břaon-
ġáil na řola řorřuamantha
la řoġluaract na ġaite ġlan-
řuairē bái tairiri cugainn.
Ocur ġiō enġnam buō áil
dūinn do dēnamh ní řeōřa-
mar, dōiġ ro cenglar, ocur
ro cuibřiġit ar nġae óř ar

CIII. Thus said Maelseach-
lainn, "Never did I see a battle
like it, nor have I heard of its
equal; and even if an angel of
God from heaven attempted its
description, it seems doubtful to
me that he could give it. But
there was one thing attracted
my notice there; when the bat-
talions first met in conflict, each
began to pierce the other, and
there was a red ploughed field
between us and them, and the
sharp wind of the spring from
them towards us; and we were
not longer there than it would
take to milk a cow or two
cows, when no man in either
host could recognise another,
even though it were his son
or his brother who was next
him, unless he heard his voice,
or knew the place where he was,
so covered were all, both faces,
heads, and garments, with drops
of gory blood, borne by the clear
cold wind that came from them
to us. And even if we wished
to perform any valorous deed,
we could not do it, for our
spears over our heads had be-

ccentaisib, n̄poltaisib na h̄p̄ear, no f̄eird ocuf no tapain̄ in gaōt cugaim̄ ar na p̄erccaō do claid̄im̄ib coilḡoir̄isib, ocuf do tuas̄aisib tair̄leac̄aisib, gur bō lēt monair̄ d̄áinn̄ f̄einn̄ bēit̄ aḡ n̄eird̄úḡaib ocuf aḡ tair̄mēc̄ ar c̄craōt̄gailē ó̄ é̄ile.

Im̄t̄úra Conainḡ mac̄ Duinn̄cuan; do ion̄rāis̄ Maol̄mord̄a mac̄ Murchad̄a r̄í Laigh̄en, ocuf do mar̄bāō mōr̄am̄ da naef̄ ḡr̄ádā lēt ar lēt ar a mb̄elaisib, ocuf do ḡonāō i ccāt na l̄úipeac̄ Conainḡ an tan̄ bó̄ aḡ an c̄craōt̄. Ocuf ḡér̄ bēō, tucc̄ cum̄ar̄c̄ ocuf r̄í Laigh̄en gur̄ tuit̄etar̄ com̄tuit̄im̄ n̄ē é̄ile do claōcl̄ō a c̄ep̄t̄ buillē .i. Conainḡ mac̄ Duinn̄cuan, ocuf Maol̄mord̄a mac̄ Murchad̄a r̄í Laigh̄en.

Im̄t̄úra Connāict; do ḡabātar̄ f̄einn̄, ocuf gōill̄ Ū̄ta Cliat̄ ar com̄mar̄bāō a é̄ile, ocuf bā r̄uaill̄ nār̄ bó̄ com̄tuit̄im̄ dōib̄ uilē lēt ar lēat̄, ocuf īf̄ é̄ r̄in̄ im̄buālāō d̄eird̄enāc̄ bó̄ ar Cluain̄ Tar̄bh. Ocuf n̄ī d̄eac̄hāō don̄ d̄anā cat̄ do cuatar̄ gōill̄ Ū̄ta Cliat̄ ann ar aen̄ r̄uan̄ āc̄t̄ non̄bar̄ am̄áin̄, ocuf nō len̄rat̄ lūc̄t̄ t̄iḡe Tar̄ōḡ ī Ceall̄āis̄ iad̄ gur̄ mar̄b̄rat̄ a c̄cinn̄ d̄roic̄hit̄ Ū̄ta Cliat̄ iad̄ .i. d̄roic̄ett̄ Dub̄gaill̄.

came clogged and bound with the human hair, which the wind blew and forced against us, being cut away by well-aimed swords and gleaming axes, so that it was half occupation to ourselves to be disentangling and extricating our spear shafts from one another."

Maelseachlainn's description of the battle, from the Brussels MS.

CV. The feats of Conaing, son of Dunncuan.—He attacked Maolmordha, son of Murchadh, King of Laighin, and a great number of the men of rank on both sides were slain in the front of them; and Conaing was wounded in the battle of the men in armour, while fighting them. In a short time he encountered the King of Laighin, so that they fell together, annihilated by the vehemence of each other's blows, i.e., Conaing, son of Dunncuan, and Maolmordha, son of Murchadh, King of Laighin.

CVI. The feats of the men of Connaught;—They and the foreigners of Ath Cliath took to mutually killing each other, and there were few of them all that did not fall on either side. And this was the decisive defeat inflicted at Cluain Tarbh; for of all the foreigners of Ath Cliath, who went to that bold battle, there escaped not by any route but nine persons only; and the followers of Tadhg O'Cellaigh pursued them until they slew them at the head of the bridge of Ath Cliath, i.e., the bridge of Dubhgall.

Maelseachlainn's description of the battle, from the Brussels MS.

Dála imorpra comlainn
ocur eēta an cāta rin, ní mó
na as Dia atá a rin, óir gac
aon ir mó as a mbiaó a rin
torcraatar pe céile.

Imēura imorpro Murchad
mic Briain; ro gab in riu
inleat da claidim cúicce .i.
claidim gacá lama dó, uair
iré rin duine déigenac ro ba
comder dá deir ocur da cli
in Erin, ocur iré duine déig-
enac ac irraibe an rin gair-
ceat in Erin é. Ir é tucc a
bréitir rin laich nac bérat
aen trois teichit pe ran
cineó ndaenna uile ar comā
ar bit aet ar aen comā .i.
gomat cinnte leir gan éz tré
bite. Ir é duine deigenac ir-
raibe comlainn céo in Erin
é. Ir é duine deigenac ro
marb céo in én ló in Erin
é. Ir é coircém deigenac
pucc an rin gairceat a coir-
cém. Dóis innit rencharde
na nGairde gupab móirre-
irer amail Murchad com-
lainn mic Samhain, ocur moir-
reirer mar mac Samhain com-
lainn Lóga Lága, ocur moir-
reirer mar Lúg Lága com-
lainn Conall Cernais, ocur
móirreirer mar Conall Cer-
nac comlainn Lúga Lámpada,
ocur móirreirer mar Lúg
Lámpada comlainn Ectair
mic Briain, ocur go marb
iadrin uideat an gairceat ó
túr domain, ocur cona beir
an pringairceat roim Ectair.
Rob é rin an tEctair in tiam-

But the full events and ex-
ploits of that battle are known
to God alone; for every one
else who was acquainted with
them fell there together.

CVI. The feats of Murchadh,
son of Brian;—The royal war-
rior had with him two swords,
i.e., a sword in each hand; for
he was the last man in Erin
who was equally expert in the
use of the right hand and of the
left, and he was the last man in
Erinn that had true valour.
He pledged the word of a true
hero, that he would not retreat
one foot before the race of all
mankind, for any reason in
the world, except this reason
alone, that he could not help
dying of his wounds. He was
the last man in Erin who was
a match for a hundred. He
was the last man who killed a
hundred in one day in Erin.
His step was the last step which
true valour took. For the his-
torians of the Gaedhil relate
that seven like Murchadh were
equal to Mac Samhain, and seven
like Mac Samhain were equal
to Lugh Lagha; and seven like
Lugh Lagha were equal to
Conall Cearnach; and seven
like Conall Cearnach were
equal to Lugh Lamhfada; and
seven like Lugh Lamhfada
were equal to Hector, the son
of Priam; and that these were
the degrees of championship
since the beginning of the
world, and that before Hector

λαίστες na hEppenn ar gail, ar gairced, ar emec, ar engnain. Rob é an Samhron ruairc, reḡainn, roḡumainn, raerbéac na nEbrarḡe ne a ré féin, ocur ne a amhr. Rob é rin an tErcorl toḡac-tac tanairte no rerioc ocur no oiláitruḡ piarta ocur to-ratair na hEppenn, no íir loḡa ocur linnte ocur uaina na fḡola fḡonairḡe ar na rairḡe dín no dḡenn írin do-man. Rob é an Láḡ Lámpada comicorriail no ling ḡac do-cair, ocur no lomairḡeḡe trén eirum le lomrad ocur le rerioc ḡall ocur allmarac a hEppenn. Rob é an comla cata ocur an dor dḡoin, ocur an tḡro bḡuite bḡoḡar a atarḡa, ocur a éneoir eir-ium ne a ré.

O do connairc ḡna, an ruḡ-mirḡe no éalma roinḡr rin, ocur an cur creḡac cḡoḡa comnerḡmar in mnerḡcam, ocur an rriḡolain tucrat ḡanair ocur allmarair fḡor ḡál cCair. Ar mar bḡr, no mar bḡrainn do rḡonairḡar doḡoin rin .i. comarḡar ḡall rruu. Ocur no ḡab percc dḡoḡra dḡimḡr é, ocur no ḡab méo menman ocur aḡenta, ocur atḡac a én ḡaile ocur ḡaircḡ, ocur tuc rḡatair tḡic tairḡeḡe tḡmnerac ro

there was no illustrious cham-pionship. He [Murchadh] was the metaphorical Hector of Erin in valour, in champion-ship, in generosity, in munifi-cence. He was the pleasant, intelligent, affable, accomplished Samson of the Hebrews, in his own career and in his time. He was the second powerful Her-cules who destroyed and exter-minated the serpents and mon-sters of Erin, which infested the lakes, and pools, and caverns of Fodhla, whom no forts or fast-nesses in the world could resist. He was the Lugh Lamhfada, who like him sprang over every obstacle, and by his prowess cut away and exterminated the foreigners and pirates out of Erin. He was the gate of bat-tle and the sheltering tree, the crushing sledge-hammer of the enemies of his fatherland, and of his race during his career.

CVIL. When this very va-liant, very great, royal cham-pion, and plundering, brave, powerful hero, saw the crushing and the repulse that the Danars and pirates gave to the Dal Cais, it operated upon him like death or a permanent blemish, namely, the conflict of the fo-reigners with them, and he was seized with boiling terrible anger; and greatness of spirit and mind seized him; and his bird of valour and championship arose; and he made a brave,

Maelseach-lainn's des-cription of the battle, from the Brussels MS.

Maelseach-
lainn's des-
cription of
the battle,
from the
Brussels
MS.

cat na nallmarac, ainail dani-
dian deinnmedac taractac ap-
na gabail, no ainail leoniam
lonn leasaprac lúctimar lán
calma craitet má éulénnaib,
no mar borbruaatar bunne
oilenn bripet ocur bripet
zac ní sura sic. Ocur rus
beru cupac ocur lútar mílir
tré cat na nallmarac, ocur
piorglit a earcapaitt dá éirí
.i. pencharde na ngall ocur
laighen, sur tuit caoca dá
deir ocur caoca dá éirí don
ruatar rin, ocur ní tús bein
do neoc aet aen bein, ocur
nir gab pait no lúpet no
caebarr pui bein sib gan
leod corp, ocur cendmulla
mariaen sib. Cio tra aet do
éuac tréir an ceat mar po
trí ainlaib rin.

Ro lenrat é annir dani-
par do dian dífulaing clonne
lúgac Menn, ocur gaman-
paró glan garta gérrata,
galac, gnóinaic gaircbeoda
.i. a téglaic buó dein .i. peit
peit meic rus bátar ma
téglaic, ocur fear tpuoca céo
an per pa lúga duthaig sib.
Ro lenratar é go har, aelam,
mettrum, go mbenac bonn
pui merde ocur merdi pui bonn,

vigorous, sudden rush at a bat-
talion of the pirates, like a vio-
lent, impetuous, furious ox that
is about being caught; or like a
fierce, tearing, swift, all power-
ful lioness deprived of her cubs;
or like the roll of a deluging tor-
rent that shatters and smashes
every thing that resists it; and
he made a hero's breach and a
soldier's field through the bat-
talion of the pirates; and his
enemies testified after him,
namely, the historians of the
foreigners and Laighin, that
there fell fifty by his right hand
and fifty by his left in that onset.
Nor did he administer more
than one blow to any of them;
and neither shield, nor corslet,
nor helmet resisted any of these
blows, which clave bodies and
skulls alike. Thus, three times,
he forced his way backwards
through the battalion in that
manner.

There followed him then the
great impetuous phalanx of the
Clann Lugdach Menn,¹ and the
purely brave, lively, valiant,
active, fierce champions,² viz.,
of his own household; that is,
seven score sons of kings who
were in his own household, and
the man of smallest patrimony
among them was a man of a
barony.³ They followed him
sharply, quickly, lightly, so

¹ *Clan Lugdach Menn.* See Geneal.
Table III, No. 6.

² *Champions.* Lit., "Gamandraid."
See note, p. 166, *supra*.

³ *Barony.* See note, p. 190.

ocuf centō fhu centō, ocuf cnef
fhu cnef da néir gac conair
ma ttéig oir, ocuf ar fhu
no famlattan fein, ocuf ren-
daime Álla Cliath bádar ar
na fceimilí ag a ffégar, conár
bo lia leó fepiréas ó meitil
mór adair eadarbuar ag
buam gairt críon abair, cío
dá céo no trí céo no gnei-
rtea fad diabhuam, ma folc of
gairt eadarbuar uatáib, ar na
leó ocuf ar na leórad do
tuagáib tróma tarbleaá,
ocuf do claidíní lannairda
laramla.

Conró aine arberc mac Ám-
laibh ba ar fceimilí a grian-
am fein ocuf é, gá ffégar,
ar maré benair na goill an
gort, ar fé, ag ffégar ar
ingim Óruam .i. ben meic Ám-
laibh, oir ar iomáda fepiréalaé
eadarbuar uairtib.

Cío tría aét bádar ar in
imeoragam rin, ocuf ar in
iombualad ó trát eirge co
harrnóin .i. an ccéin bíor muir
acc tuile ocuf acc trága.

¹ *Ath Cliath*. This sentence is very much involved and the text probably corrupt. The word aguf is perhaps a mistake of transcription, and fein is for rin, as in p. 190, above: famlattan fein is in the passive instead of the active, as p. 190. "This was

that they touched foot to neck, and neck to foot, and head to head, and body to body, every step they went; and hence it is that this was compared by the old men of Ath Cliath,¹ who were watching from their battlements, *to a field of reapers, in which* not more numerous would be the sheaves whirled aloft over a great company reaping a dry ripe field, even though two hundred or three hundred were working at the reaping of it, than their hair whirled aloft from them by the wind, after having been hacked and cut away by heavy gleaming battle-axes and by bright flaming swords.

Whereupon the son of Amhlaibh said, when he was on the battlements of his watch tower, and was watching them, "Well do the foreigners reap the field," said he, looking at Brian's daughter, who was the wife of the son of Amhlaibh, "for many is the sheaf whirled aloft over them."

CVIII. However now, the armies continued in that strife and fighting from sunrise to evening, *i.e.*, while the tide was flowing and ebbing. It was at

resembled by the old men of Dublin," *i.e.* it seemed to them to be represented by the similitude which follows; to make this intelligible, the liberty has been taken of inserting in the translation the words in Italics.

Maelseach-
lainn's des-
cription of
the battle,
from the
Brussels
MS.

Maelseach-
lainn's des-
cription of
the battle,
from the
Brussels
MS.

‘Dóig is ar lán mapa tan-
satar na goill amac do cup
an éata isin maidin, ocur do
roct an muir ina hionad fein
do ruidir a ndeiread laí an
tan no múir ar na gallaib,
ocur pucc an lán mapa a
longa uataib, cona raibe aca
ra deoid conair no teicéirí
aít isin rrairrege. Ar mar-
bad imorro, gall na luiread
uile ocur na ngall mar ele,
no muir ar gallaib ocur ar
laighib, co díogair a náin-
peact, ocur no gairadar a
ccoinairc cinnre, ocur a cair-
merca tinnenair ocur teicir,
ocur isreó no teicéirí isin
rrairrege, dóig ní raibe aca
leé ele no teichpettar éna,
uair no bar etorra ocur cenn
driochit Dubhgall, ocur no
bar etorra ocur coill don
leé ele. Cíó tra aít no
teicéirí co díogair isin
rrairrege, amail buaile bó ar
aibell re terbac, no re cuilí,
no re cneabraib; ocur no
lenaó co haclam imeotrom
iad co no báidit go díogair
dimór iad isin rrairrege, co
mbíoir na ccapnaib ocur na
ccéarab, ocur na cceítear-
naib co cumartha ar na rcca-
raó re a cceill, ocur re a
ccéarabair nír in tuarccain
ocur nír an ccoíuccaó, ocur

full tide that the foreigners
came out to fight the battle in
the morning, and the tide had
come to the same place again
at the close of the day when the
foreigners were defeated; and
the full tide had carried off their
ships from them, so that in fact
they had not at the last any
place whither they could go,
but into the sea. Therefore
after all the foreigners of the
coats of mail and other chiefs
of the foreigners had been slain,
a rout took place of the foreign-
ers and Laighin, so that they
fled with one accord, and they
shouted their peculiar cries for
mercy, and their battle whoops,
and fled; and they could only
flee into the sea, for there was
no other place where they could
fly to, because *our forces* were
between them and the head of
Dubhgall's-bridge, and were
also between them and the wood
on the other side. Therefore
they fled violently into the sea,
like a herd of cows in heat from
sultry weather, or from gnats,
or from flies,¹ and they were
pursued quickly and lightly
into the sea, where they were
with great violence drowned,
so that they lay in heaps and
in hundreds, and in battalions
confounded, after parting with

¹ *Flies*. The word *cneib*, p. 192,
line 3, was translated *gadflies*, on Mr.
Curry's authority. It is here in the
plural, *re cneabraib*. But it does

not occur in any dictionary or glos-
sary. *cneim* is a *scab*; and might
perhaps have been written *cneib*.

riur in ccombualad do roupat
Dal cCair porra, ocuſ maite
Erinn maille rrua.

Iſ annſin do éuarð Toirre-
dealbaé mac Murchaíð i nde-
aíarð na nſall iſin bſairreſe,
co tucc an buinne robarſa
cor de in éorairð Cluana
Tarbh ſupbáíðeoh é, ocuſ
ſall ina laim deir, ocuſ ſall
ina laim éil, ocuſ cuaille
cuilinn na coraíð tſiú. Iſi
raibé áin, ina aeir in Erinn
aon duine buíð ſepſi emeaé
ocuſ enſnaíð inár. Dóig en-
ſnaíð a aſair ann, ocuſ ríog-
daéſ a ſenaſar; ocuſ nſi
ſlán aéſ cuicé blaíðna décc
dó an tan ſin; ocuſ íré an
tſear duine ar mó do ináré
iſin caé in lá ſin hé.

Iſ annſin ro ríarð inſen
bſiam, ben inéic Ámlaib. Áſ
doig limſa, ar rí, ro benſat
na ſoil ré a ndúſſar. Cíð
ſin, ar mac Ámlaib, a inſen,
ní ſuil aéſ na ſoil acc toéſ
iſ in ſairreſe ſeð ar dual
dóib. Iſi ſeðarſa an aoiſell

their ſenſes and their faculties, Maelſeach-
lainn's de-
ſcription of
the battle,
from the
Brussels
MS.
under the ſtriking, and under
the preſſure, and under the
beating inflicted on them by
the Dal Cais and the Chiefs of
Erinn that were with them.

CX. It was then that Toirr-
delbhach, the ſon of Murchadh,
went after the foreigners into the
ſea, until the wave of a ſpring-
tide ſtruck him a blow againſt
the weir of Cluain-Tarbh, ſo
that he was drowned, and a fo-
reigner in his right hand and a
foreigner in his left hand; and the
holly-ſtake of the weir through
him. There was not of his age
in Erinn a man ſuperior to him
in generosity and in munifi-
cence. For he had the munifi-
cence of his father, and the royal
dignity of his grandfather; and
he had not completed more than
fifteen years at that time; and
he was the third man who had
killed moſt on that day in the
battle.

Then it was that Brian's
daughter, the wife of Amh-
laibh's ſon, ſaid, "It appears
to me," ſaid ſhe, "that the fo-
reigners have gained their in-
heritance." "What is that, O
girl?" ſaid Amhlabh's ſon, "the
foreigners¹ are only going into
the ſea, as is hereditary to them.
I know not whether it is the

¹ *The foreigners.* This latter taunt
is put into the mouth of Brian's
daughter, p. 193, *ſupra*, but it is evi-

dently intended here to be a part of
the reply of Amlaff himſelf.

Maelseach-
lainn's de-
scription of
the battle,
from the
Brussels
MS.

ruil forra aít ní anair pe a
mbleoḡan mareoh.

Ro ferccaiiced mac Ain-
laib fua, ocuf tucc doyn vi
sur ben piacail ara ceann.

Imtara Murchad mic Bri-
ain; ar roctain do tre cat
na ngall ocuf don ḡarrad
rin ar aon ru, amail a dub-
ramar rómian, do batar
drean do na gallaib .i. da
ccaitmiledaib nar teich ruam
aga raib a ciall ocuf a
ccuimne, ocuf dobuia leo gac
eiccenadail dfulang inár bá-
dard da mbreit. Ir ann rin
do conairc Murchad mac
Briain, Sitruic mac Lodair,
iarla Inni hore, ar lár
cata Dál cCair ga nairleac
ocuf ga natcuma, ocuf ni gab-
dair a nairmruin na a nio-
fadbair ní dó. Ocuf tucc
Murchad ruatar da ionnrai-
ḡid, ocuf tucc béim anairpect
dó ar a dilaib sur ḡerri a
cenn, ocuf a cora an aenpect
dó ar in látar rin.

heat that is on them, but ne-
vertheless they tarry not to be
milked."

The son of Amhlabh became
angered with her, and he gave
her a blow, which knocked a
tooth out of her head.

CXI. To return to Mur-
chadh, son of Brian;—when he
had passed through the battal-
ions of the foreigners, and those
champions¹ with him, as we
have said before, there was a
party of the foreigners, that is,
of their soldiers, who had not fled
before him,² who had retained
their senses and their memory,
and it seemed easier³ to them
to suffer every extremity rather
than be doomed to be drowned.
It was then that Murchadh, son
of Brian, saw Sitruic, son of
Lodar, Earl of Inni Ore, in the
midst of the battalion of the Dal
Cais, slaughtering and mutilat-
ing them; but neither their arms
nor their keen-edged weapons
could do any harm to him⁴; and
Murchadh rushed to attack him,
and dealt him a blow at once,
which cut off his head and his
legs at once on the very spot.

¹ Those champions. The MS. D. reads "the champions of the Dál Cais with him." See p. 193, *supra*.

² Fled before him. D. explains this, "who had not rushed into the sea as yet." See p. 193.

³ Easier. D. reads *no bora*, p. 192, *supra*, which perhaps ought to

have been printed *no bora*, for *ura*, as here: the comp. of *ura* or *rupur*, easy.

⁴ To him. The Irish original leaves it doubtful whether this means harm to Murchadh, or harm to Sitruic. D. gives it the former interpretation. See p. 195. The bombastic amplification of

Ír annrín tóanic Ellric, mac ríḡ Lochlann, cenn ḡaile ocuḡ ḡairccrò Lochlann, ocuḡ na nḡall uile hī ccrīorlāc, ocuḡ hī cceirt meādon cāta Dál clair, ocuḡ do rinne corḡar uile do leitcenn in cāta ḡur marb ḡo haḡbal iad. Ro déc Murchad in ní rin ocuḡ ba ḡalar cīarōde leir hé, ocuḡ ro ionpo fōr rīarḡarīna ro cāth na luīreāc ḡur marb cuīcc ḡoill décc dia ḡeir, ocuḡ a cūcc décc ele dia cīc doneoc mo rāibe lūīrīḡ, ḡo roct Ebriac mac ríḡ Lochlann. Ro fēpḡatār comlann re roile, ocuḡ íré rin comlann ar cīrōa do rōnāc rān ceat, uair ba comlann reīḡ fēócār, fūileāc, fōrḡerḡ, ocuḡ ba ḡleic ḡarb ḡlīrīreāc, annmīn, aḡḡarīb, earccarīdenīal. Ír amlāc ro ba clorōeīn Murchad ar na ionḡrmarō, ocuḡ elta deo baḡar ann ro leḡrat fūi terbach in ionbualta, ocuḡ ro ḡlurī an clorōeīn te laḡar a lāma an tí Murchad. Sellar Murchad in ní rin, ocuḡ ro la an clorōeīn uad, ocuḡ ro ḡab cennmullaac an ḡoill, ocuḡ ro fāīcc a luīrīḡ tara

CXII. Then came Ellric, son of the King of Lochlann, head of the valour and championship of Lochlann and of all the foreigners, into the bosom and centre of the battalion of the Dal Cais; and he made havoc¹ of the whole half end of the battalion, so that he slew them in prodigious numbers. Murchadh perceived this, and it was a heart-ache to him, and he turned himself obliquely upon the battalions of the mail-clad men, so that he slew fifteen foreigners on his right and fifteen others of the mail-clad on his left, until he reached Ebric [*sic*], son of the King of Lochlann. They fought a combat together, and that combat was the bravest that was fought in the battle; for it was a combat stout, furious, bloody, crimson; and it was a wrestling, rough, noisy, passionate, savage, heartless. The sword of Murchadh at that time was ornamented, and the inlaying that was in it melted from the heat of the striking, and the hot sword cleft the fork of the hand of the said Murchadh. Murchadh felt this, and threw the sword from him; and he laid

Maelseachlainn's description of the battle, from the Brussels MS.

this passage in D. (see p. 194) is a good example of the liberties taken by the ancient bards with the authors whose works they transcribed.

¹ *Havoc*. I have taken the word corḡar to be for corḡar, havoc, slaughter. Corḡar may signify a

feast, which would make no sense, except by a somewhat violent figure. D. seems to translate it by the word rīnnmarīḡ, which, on Mr. Curry's authority, was rendered "a litter;" p. 195, *supra*.

Maelseach-
lainn's de-
scription of
the battle,
from the
Brussels
MS.

cénn fear, ocus tucpat gleic
iomparcála da céile, ocus ro
éuir Murchad an gall fear
a nioit iomparcála, ocus ro
gab Murchad clóidén, ocus
ro fuit hi céile oéda in fóill
é co maét talmain tuit,
ocus ro tarraing dha, in
gall a rin rium, ocus tuc
taóall do Murchad sup éall
a inne ar, ocus sup tuit-
riot ar lár ma fadóaire.
Ro tuit epioé ocus tain ocus
tair ar Murchad, ocus nír
féo coirréim ar rin. Céit
aon ní, ar neirge do Mur-
chad ar a nell, do ben a cénn
don gall. Ocus nír do marb
Murchad co trát enge ar
na maraé, go nderbad a fa-
oiríoin ocus sup éait corp
Críost.

Iméara Brian mic Ceinne-
ide, airí Epenn, fear an
re rin. Ar eomhíochtam
do na catáil ro fceatad a
peall fear, ocus ro fórlaic
a ppatair ocus ro gab as
gabáil a ppatair ocus acc ep-
naighe tar éir an éata, ocus
ní raibe nech ina fappad aét
laidean siolla a eic féin ó
fpuilte i laidean hi Muniam.
Acbept Brian fear in níl-

hold of the top of the foreigner's
head, and pulled his coat of mail
over his head, and they fought
together a combat¹ of wrest-
ling; and Murchadh put the
foreigner down under him by
force of wrestling. And Mur-
chadh took a sword,² and thrust
it into the ribs of the foreign-
er's breast, so that it reached
the ground through him: then
the foreigner drew his knife,
and gave a cut to Murchadh,
so that he cut his bowels out,
and they fell on the ground be-
fore him. There fell a shiver-
ing, and fainting, and weakness
upon Murchadh, and he could
not stir a step therefrom. But,
at the same time, when Mur-
chadh arose from his swoon, he
cut off the foreigner's head; and
Murchadh was not dead until
sunrise the next morning, after
he had made his confession, and
received the Body of Christ.

CXIII. Now of the adven-
tures of Brian, son of Cenneide,
Chief King of Ireland, during
that time. When the combat-
ants met, his cushion was spread
under him, and he opened his
psalter, and began to recite his
psalms and his prayers behind
the battle; and there was no one
with him, but Laidean, his own
horse-boy, from whom are de-
scended the Ui Laidean, who are

¹ *Combat.* Lit., "a wrestle of wrest-
ling."

² *Sicord.* D. says "the foreigner's
own sword."

la, feg na cata ocur na compaicti go nsaibair fa mo pralma. Ro gab Brian caeca pralm, ocur caeca orda, ocur caeca pater, ocur po ionmcomairc don giolla cionnar batari na cata. Ro preccair an giolla, Atairi iad ocur ar cumareda comoluta iad, ocur po riact eac i nglotain a ceile dib, ocur niri lia linnar bein hi coill Tomair, ocur na feet caata ga terccad, ma trost beime hi ccennair, hi ccennair ocur hi ccennair-lairib leo. Ocur po riapaird Brian cionnar do bi meirge Murchad. Atá na fepair, ar in giolla, ocur meirgeda Dal Cair ma timell, ocur cinn ionda da teilecen ocur ga ndubraccaid eimece, ocur iolac corccair ocur comairme leo. Ra hatdergad a peall po Brian, ocur po gab caeca pralm ocur caeca orda, ocur caeca pater, ocur po riapaird don giolla cionnar batari na cata. Arber an giolla, hi fuil beo dume do bera aine ar neac reach a cele diob, oir torcraoair porccla na caat ceetarra, ocur in neac ar beo diob po lionair do bpaengair na pola for puairde ioir ceann, ocur coir ocur eirad, ionnar nac

in Mumhain. Brian said to the attendant,¹ "Watch thou the battle and the combatants, while I recite my psalms." Brian then said fifty psalms, fifty prayers, and fifty paters; and he asked the attendant how the battalions were circumstanced. The attendant answered, "I see them, and closely confounded are they, and each of them has come within grasp of the other; and not more loud to me would be the blows in Tomar's wood, if seven battalions were cutting it down, than are the resounding blows on the heads, and bones, and skulls of them." Brian asked how was the banner of Murchadh. "It stands," said the attendant, "and the banners of the Dal Cais around it, and many heads cut off are falling around it, and a multitude of trophies and spoils are with it." His cushion was readjusted under Brian, and he said fifty psalms, fifty prayers, and fifty paters; and he asked the attendant how the battalions were. The attendant said, "There lives not a man who could distinguish one of them from the other, for the greater part of the hosts on either side are fallen; and those that are alive are so covered,—their heads,

Maelseachlainn's description of the battle, from the Brussels MS.

¹ *Attendant.* Giolla: the boy, or servant. This word does not imply youth, as our English word *boy*. The

word *boy*, in the sense of servant or attendant, is still applied in Ireland to men of any age.

Maelseach-
lainn's de-
scription of
the battle,
from the
Brussels
MS.

ττιυδραδ αν ταταιρ αιτνε αρ
αν mac ann. Ocur po bai
as riarraide cionnar do bi
meirge Murchad. Arbert
an giolla, Ro pa rada o Mur-
chad e, ocur rannic tper na
cathib riar, ocur ata re epom
ar cclanad. Arbert Brian,
Ro clon Epe de rin, ocur gi-
dear, an ccomhar do eirid rin
Epenn an meirge rin biar a
engnain, ocur a meirgec pen
in hac aomper oib. Ro hat-
deirgar peall Brian, ocur po
hac caeca pralm, ocur .l.
orpa, ocur caeca pater, ocur
po bar por acc an iombualar
purr in re rin. Ro iomco-
maire Brian don giolla ci-
onnar bai meirge Murchad,
ocur cionnar batar na cath.
Arbert an giolla, Ir rannail
liom ainail bur i coill Tomar
ar na terear, ocur ar na
lorcar, a mionbae ocur a
hocc epoinn, ocur na reit
cath caictid ar mif as a
cater, ocur a rairge po
mora ocur a dairge dionora
ma repam.

and legs, and garments, with drops of crimson blood, that the father could not recognise his own son there." And again he asked, how was the banner of Murchadh. The attendant answered, "It is far from Murchadh, and has gone through the hosts westward, and it is stooped and inclining." Brian said, "Erinn declines on that account; and, nevertheless, so long as the men of Erinn shall see that banner, its valour and its courage shall be upon every man of them." Brian's cushion was readjusted, and he said fifty psalms, and fifty prayers, and fifty paters, and the fighting continued during all that time. Brian cried out to the attendant, how was the banner of Murchadh, and how were the battalions? The attendant answered, "It appears to me like as if Tomar's wood was being cut down and set on fire, its underwood, and its young trees; and as if the seven battalions had been unceasingly destroying it for a month, and its great trees and its immense oaks left standing."

D.

*Genealogy of the Scandinavian Chieftains named
as Leaders of the Invasions of Ireland.*Genealogy
of the Scan-
dinavian
Leaders.

To avoid confusion the following tables are numbered in continuation of the Irish Genealogical Tables, Append. B., pp. 245-249. As in the former tables, the names of females are printed in italics; the sign = denotes marriage or concubinage; s., son; dr., daughter; k. or K., king; L., lord; E., earl; sl., slain; o., obiit.

Table VI. is divided into two, (A) containing the genealogy of Olaf Hviti, (or the White,) King of Dublin; (B) the genealogy of Gormo Gamle (or the Aged), called 'Tomar by the Irish.

Table VII. exhibits the genealogy of "the Sons of Ivar," Kings of Limerick, and "the Grandsons of Ivar," Kings of Dublin and Waterford. To avoid the inconvenience of a folding sheet this table has been broken into separate genealogies, which are marked (A), (B), (C).

Table VIII. exhibits the descendants of Cearbhall, or Carroll,¹ Lord of Ossory, and Danish King of Dublin, showing his close connexion and alliances with the Norsemen. His Irish descent from Connla, called by O'Flaherty² "Ossoriorum sator," will be found in Dr. O'Donovan's "Tribes and Territories of Ancient Ossory." See Introd., p. lxxx., n. 6.

This Connla was the grandson of Crimhthann Cosgrach [the Victorious] King of Ireland, and flourished, according to O'Flaherty, about a century before the Christian era. Cearbhall was the son of Dunghal (or, as he is also called, Dunlaing, *Fragments of Ann.*, p. 129), who died A.D. 843 (841 of the Four M.) Cearbhall married a daughter of Maelsechlainn or Malachy I. (son of Maelruanaidh), King of Ireland; and his sister Lann or Flann was married to the same King Malachy, by whom she was the mother of Flann Sionna, King of Ireland, who reigned from 879 to 916. See Geneal. Table II., p. 246.

¹ *Carroll*. This name affords a good example of the process of eclipsing or dropping letters in Irish pronunciation. The name was, no doubt, at first pronounced Cerball, or Carball (the C as K); then the b became aspirated, and pronounced v; this change must have taken place before the middle of the ninth century, as appears by the Scandinavian spelling of the name, *Kiarvall*.

In more modern times the *bh* or *v* was entirely dropped in pronunciation (as the *b* in our word *doubt*), and the name is now Carroll. The same thing occurs in other languages: as in the French name for Christmas, *Natale*=Nathal=Noel. *Pater*, *Mater*, *Frater*=Père, Mère, Frère. *Festum*=Fête. *Spadum*=espée=épée, &c.

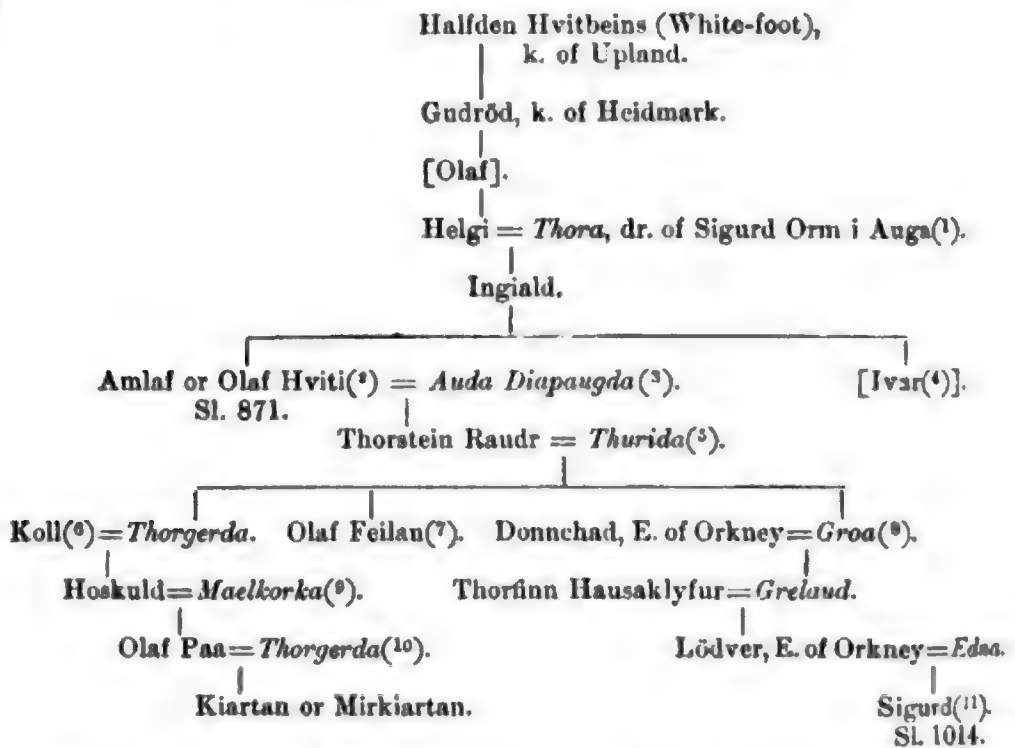
² *O'Flaherty*, *Ogygia*, p. 118-264.

TABLE VI.

GENEALOGY OF OLAF THE WHITE, KING OF DUBLIN, AND
OF GORMO GAMLE, CALLED BY THE IRISH TOMAR.

Genealogy
of Olaf the
White.

(A). *Genealogy of Olaf the White.*



(1) Sigurd Orm i Auga, or "Serpent-eye," was the son of Ragnar Lodbrök by Aslauga dr. of Sigurd Fofnisban. Landnama, p. 385. Introd. *supra*, p. vi. In the genealogy given Landnama, p. 106, an Olaf occurs as the father of Helgi and son of Gudröd, but is omitted in the Table given Scriptt. Hist. Island. tom. iii., Tab. 2. The name is therefore enclosed in brackets.

(2) Olaf Hviti, or the White; Landnama, p. 106. His arrival in Ireland is thus recorded by the Ann. Ult., at 852 = A.D. 853 (4 M. 851): "Amlaimh, or Amlaiph, son of the King of Lochlainn came to Erinn, and the Gaill of Erinn gave him hostages, and tribute from the Gaidhil." See above, Introd., p. lxix., lxx. There were "Gaill" in Ireland, as we have seen, before Olaf, who are called the "White Gentiles." Dublin was occupied by them about 837 or 838. See p. xlix., *supra*. Olaf the White is called "Amlaoibh Conung," (Fragm. of Ann., p. 127), the same name for King which we find on the Danish coins. Soon after his arrival in 852 he left suddenly, but returned in 856, *ibid.*, p. 135. The same year Ivar [Reinlaus, or the Boneless,] appears in Ireland as his ally. See Ann. Ult., 856, and Table VII. Olaf the White was slain in Ireland, (Landnama, p. 107), about 871 or 2. We do not meet with him in the Irish Annals after 870 = 871.

(³) *Auda Diapaugda* [the very rich], called *Auduna*, *Eyrbyggja*, p. 5, and Table VI. *Unura*, *Laxdæla*, p. 3. She was dr. of Ketill Flatnef (Flatnose) son of Biörn (A).

Buna. *Laxd.*, p. 3., *Eyrbyg.* p. 37, *Kristni.*, p. 189.

(⁴) This is doubtless a mistake; there is no Ivar brother of Olaf the White mentioned in the Sagas, but he is spoken of in the *Fragm. of Annals*, pp. 127-171. See *Introd.*, p. lxxix *supra*. Mr. Lindsay (*Coinage of Ireland*, p. 8), having stated that he had met with no coins of Anlaf or Olaf the White, first King of Dublin, notices certain coins "which," he says, "I am strongly inclined to think belong to his brother Ifars or Imar I., who was at first K. of Limerick, but at the death of his brother Anlaf in 870, King of the Danes of all Ireland." There is no evidence however that this Imar was Anlaf's brother, or that the Ivar who was at this time King of Dublin had ever been K. of Limerick; no doubt Ivar (Beinlaus) son of Regnar Lodbrok is the same who was K. of Northumbria and of the Danes of Ireland and Britain, *Ult.*, 872; see Table VII. A son of Olaf the White, named Carlug, is mentioned in the *Four M.*, 866 (A.D. 869), but neither does his name occur in the Sagas.

Genealogy
of Olaf the
White.

(⁵) *Thurida* was the dr. of Eyvind Austmann by *Rafertach* dr. of *Cearbhall*, or Carroll, Lord of Ossory and King of Dublin, *Eyrbyg.* p. 5, *Landnama*, pp. 4, 228. See Table VIII. Her husband Thorstein is called Oistin (or Eystein) in the *Ann. Ult.* at 874 or 875, where he is said to have been killed in Scotland "per dolum." *Landnama*, p. 107, *Laxdæla*, cap. 4. Thorstein is surnamed Raudr (the Red) in the Sagas.

(⁶) Koll is called *Dala Koll*, *Landnama*, p. 108.

(⁷) Olaf Feilan, *Landnama*, p. 13, *Kristni.*, p. 191.

(⁸) *Groa*. From her were descended the Earls of Orkney. *Kristni*, *ibid.*, *Laxd.* p. 9. See *Heimskringla* (*Saga*, vii., c. 99), Laing's transl. ii., p. 130. Her son-in-law Thorfinn was surnamed *Hausaklyfur*, or Skull-cleaver. See Table VIII. (B) No. (13), p. 302.

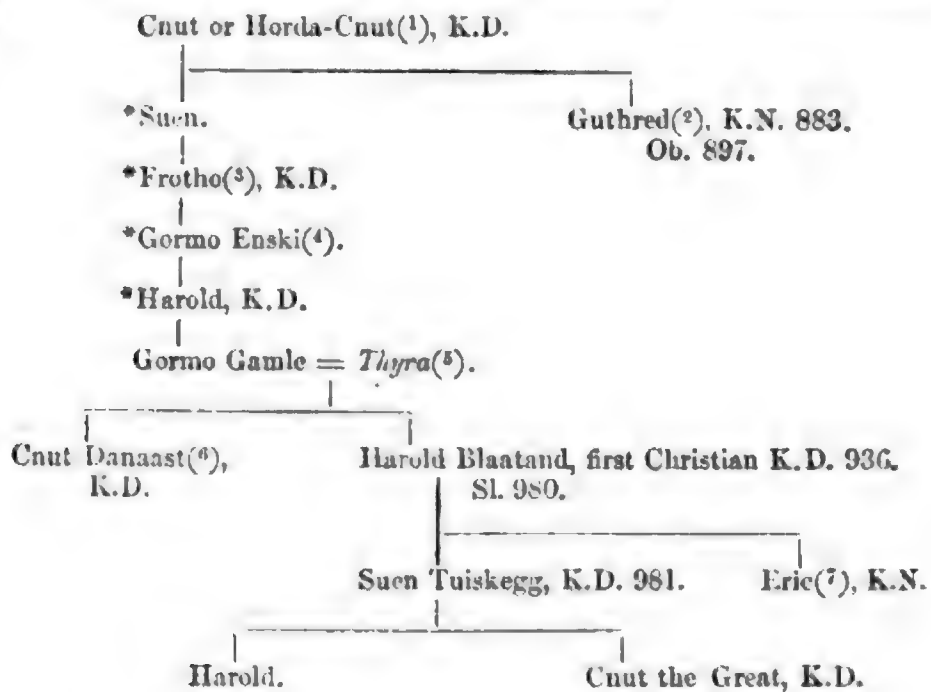
(⁹) *Maelkorka*. She was the dr. of "an Irish King," (called *Mirkiartan*, *Landnama*, p. 114, *Laxd.*, p. 37); was sold as a slave to Hoskuld by a Russian merchant. She was singularly beautiful; and being ashamed of her position, affected to be deaf and dumb, until after the birth of her son, when she betrayed herself, by being overheard conversing with him. She was probably the daughter of Muirheartach Leather cloaks, who was slain by the Danes in 943. When her son was 18 years of age, his mother, who had taught him the Irish language, sent him to Ireland, giving him a golden ring, and other things that would be recognised as hers. He arrived before his grandfather's death, (*Laxdæla*, p. 71, *sq.*), and therefore before 943. He was called Olaf Paa, or the Peacock, from his great beauty. He afterwards gave to his son the name of Kiartan or Mirkiartan (Muirheartach) from his grandfather, *Landnama*, p. 109, *Heimsk.* (*Saga*, vi., c. 88, Laing, i., p. 449), *Kristni.*, p. 191. Olaf Peacock's gifts to Gunnar were, a gold armilla, a cloak which had belonged to Mirkiartan (Muirheartach) King of Ireland [*Irakonungr*], and a bound named Sam [happy, or summer], which had been given him in Ireland. *Nial's Saga* (*Lat.*), p. 217. *Burnt Njal*, i. 223.

(¹⁰) *Thorgerda*, was the dr. of Egil-Skalagrimmson, *Egils-Saga*, p. 597.

(¹¹) Sigurd Earl of Orkney and Shetland, surnamed Digri, or the Fat, slain at Clontarf 1014. See above p. 153. *Introd.* p. clxviii. *Burnt Njal*, ii., p. 11, 327 *sq.* For the descent of his mother *Edna*, dr. of *Cearball*, see Gen. Table VIII. (B) No. (14), p. 302.

Table VI.
(B).Genealogy
of Gormo
Gamle.(B). *Genealogy of Gormo, called by the Irish Tomar.*

[K.D. signifies King of Denmark; K.N. King of Northumberland.]

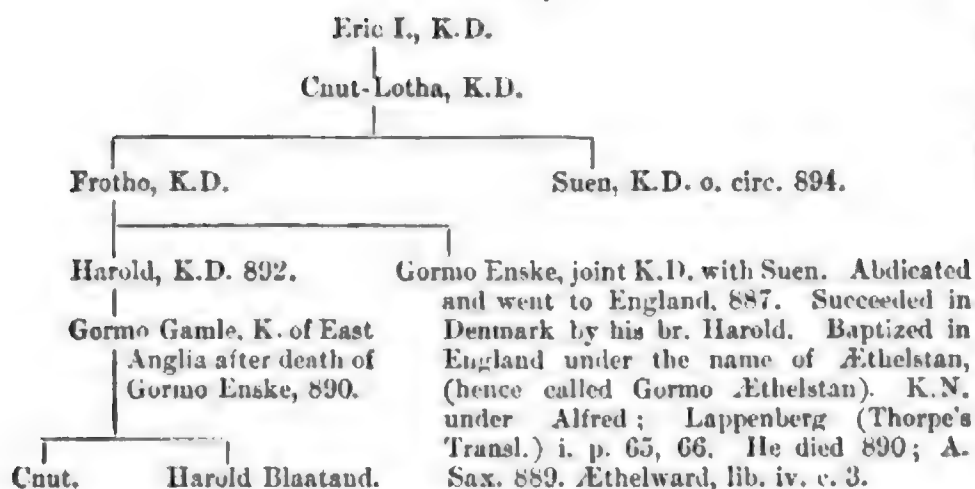


(1) In the Table given by Langebek, II., p. 415, Cnut or Horda-Cnut is made the son of Sigurd Serpent-eye, and the father of Gormo Gamle, the four generations marked with an asterisk above being omitted; see also Scriptt. Hist. Island. tom. iii., Tab. 2. Others make Cnut the grandson of Sigurd Serpent-eye, by a daughter, who had married Eric, son of Harold Klag; and retain the four generations marked with an asterisk above; see Saxo Gramm. and Series Regum XIII. apud Langebek, I., p. 66; Petri Olai Chron. Ibid. p. 112, where Cnut is made son of Eric-Barn (or the Boy) who died 892, son of Sigurd Serpent-eye by a dr. of Guttorm or Gunthram, son of Harold Klag. See Saxo Gramm. ed., Müller, p. 466. Cnut is called Lothe-knut or Lota Cnut. In the Hist. Regum Dan. by Suen Aggoston, Suen and Gormo Enski are omitted and Gormo Gamle is called Gormo Loghæ (ignavus). Langebek, I. p. 48.

(2) Guthred "ex servo factus est rex;" Simeon Dunelm. De gestis regum Angl. ad an. 883. Hist. Eccles. Dunelm. ii., 13. Monum. Hist. Brit., p. 682. 683 n. Ethelwerd (Chron. ad an. 896) says of him "Transeunte etiam anni unius decursu obiit et Guthfrid rex Northymbriorum in natalitia S. Bartholomæi apostoli Christi; cujus mausoleatur Evoraca corpus in urbe in basilica summa."

(3) Frotho is called "Victor Angliæ," by some writers. Saxo Gramm. (ed. Müller, p. 467) makes him son of Cnut.

(4) Gormo Enski, or the English, so called because he was born in England. Saxo Gramm., p. 468. We have seen that some exclude him from the above genealogy, on the ground that it would otherwise be too long. The Series Regum by Corn. Hamsfort (Langebek, I., p. 34), makes him to have been descended from Eric I., thus



The Irish records speak of a chieftain, probably the same as Gormo Gamle, Tomar mac under the name of Tomar, or Tomhair, perhaps for Thor-modr (Thor's man); they call him Mac Elgi, or Mac nAilchi, son or grandson of Enske [the English], of which Elgi or Ailchi, is a corruption. See above, p. lxiv. n. and p. lxvii. n. The arrival of Tomar Mac Elgi, at Limerick, is mentioned above p. 39, and is dated 922 (Ann. Ult.) His coming seems to have given umbrage to the Danes of Dublin, who sent an expedition against him, under their King Godfrey Ua Imhair, which was repulsed with loss, 924 (Ibid.) There was a Tomar at Dublin almost a century before, from whom the people of Dublin were called "Muinntir Thomair," or "Family of Tomar." See Book of Rights, p. xxxvi. This may have been Turgesius the reputed founder of Dublin (see Introd., p. lii.), and Tomar, probably a name given by the Irish to all Thor-worshippers. In the A. Sax. Chronicle Gormo is called Guthrum. A lord deputy of Turgesius, appointed to rule over Regnar Lodbrok's dominions, is called Gormund, Langebek I., p. 16, II. p. 281. Giraldus Cambrensis, Topogr. Hib. Dist. iii., cap. 38, says that Gurmund was supposed to be an African. This mistake may have arisen from hearing the Irish call him Dubhgaill, "a black foreigner."

(5) *Thyra* is said by some authorities to have been dr. of Æthelred K. of England; Ann. Island, p. 13; Saxo Gramm., p. 469. Others tell us that she was the dr. of Harold Klag, K. of Jotia; Scriptt. Hist. Islandor., tom. iii., Gen. Tab. 5. Her son Harold was surnamed Blaaland, or Blue-tooth, and her grandson Suen was distinguished by the appellation of Tuiskegg, Double-beard, or Furcobarbus.

(*) Cnut Danaast (Amor Danorum), is said to have been slain near Dublin, whilst besieging that city. Being engaged with his followers at nocturnal games (probably some Pagan celebration) he was struck with an arrow, but commanded his men not to desist from their games, lest the enemy should learn his danger; Saxo. Gram., p. 472. The Ann. Island., p. 13, date this event 875, the year in which Cearbhall of Ossory became K. of Dublin: p. lxxx. *supra*.

(7) Eric succeeded Olaf Cuaran as K. of Northumbria in 952, in which year "the Northumbrians expelled King Olaf and received Yric [Eric] Harold's-son;" but in 954 Eric was himself expelled, and was the last K. of Northumbria of the Norsemen; A. Sax. Henr. Huntingd. (ap. Monum. Hist. Brit., p. 746. E), Langebek II., p. 148, *n. s.* Some of the Northern historians confound this chieftain with Eric Bloody-axe, son of Harold Harfagr, (Heimskringla, Saga iv., c. 4). See Hodgson's Northumberland, vol. I., p. 151, where this error is corrected; and Lappenberg (Thorpe's Transl.) ii., p. 124.

TABLE VII.

Genealogy of the Hy Imhair. GENEALOGY OF THE HY IMHAIR, OR DESCENDANTS OF IVAR, KINGS OF LIMERICK, DUBLIN, AND WATERFORD.

The common ancestor of all these chieftains was most probably the Ivar who was King of Northumbria and Dublin in the middle of the ninth century, and may with great probability be identified with Ivar Beinlaus, son of Regnar Lodbrog. He is said to have gone to England to avenge his father's murder. The *Ann. Island.* give 861, and the *English Chronicles* 866, as the year of his arrival in England. If so he must have remained at home for upwards of twenty years, after his father's death, a delay which is not explained. But if his father had perished in Ireland, as we have some authority for believing (see p. lv. *n.* ¹), Ivar's thirst for vengeance ought to have led him in the first instance to that country instead of to England. Accordingly we find him in Ireland, in alliance with Olaf the White, some ten years at least before he appeared in England.

Exploits of Ivar Beinlaus in Ireland. The following List of his exploits in Ireland in conjunction with Olaf the White, is taken from the *Irish Annals*¹ :—

852. Olaf the White arrives in Ireland (*Ult.*, *Four M.*), and leaves suddenly. *Fragm.*, p. 127.
856. Olaf returns, *ib.*, p. 135. Victory by Olaf and Ivar over Caittill Find and the Gaill-gaedhil in the territories of Munster. (*Ult.*) See *Introd.* p. lvii.
858. Victory by Cearbhall or Carroll, lord of Ossory, and Ivar, in Aradh-tire (co. of Tipperary), over the Cinel Fiachach (Westmeath), and the Gaill-gaedhil of Leth Cuinn (the northern half of Ireland). Four thousand was the number that came with Carroll, and Ivar; (*Ult.*, *Four M.*) A great expedition in Meath by Olaf, Ivar, and Carroll.
861. Aedh s. of Niall [i.e., Aedh Finnliath, s. of Niall Cailne, afterwards K. of Ireland] with the Kings of the Gaill in Meath, plundering Meath, along with Flann, s. of Conaing [lord of Bregia in Meath]. (*Ult.*)
Carroll leads an army to assist King Malachy I. against Aedh son of Niall, and Olaf. (*Ult.*)
862. Olaf, Ivar, and Auisle (Flosi?) the three Kings of the Gaill, plunder the territory of Flann, s. of Conaing. (*Ult.*, *Four M.*)

¹*Irish Annals.* The references to the Annals are abbreviated thus:—*Ult.* means Annals of Ulster; *Four M.*, Four Masters; *Clonm.* Annals of Clonmacnois; *Fragm.* the Three Fragments of Annals, copied from ancient

sources by Dubhaltach Mac Fírbisigh, and edited by Dr. O'Donovan (*Irish Archæol. and Celtic Society*, 1860); *Cambr.* *Annales Cambriae*; *Brut.* *Brut y Tywysogion*; *A. Sar.*, Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

863. Conchobhair [s. of Donnchadh, s. of Flann Sionna] half-k. of Meath, Table VII. drowned by Olaf at Cluain-iraird [now Clonard]. (Ult., Four M.)
865. Amlaf and Auisle go to Fortrenn [in Scotland] with the foreigners of Ireland and Scotland. They plunder all Pictland and take its hostages. (Ult.)

—
Genealogy
of the Hy
Imhair.
—

Ivar is not mentioned as on this expedition, he was therefore probably now in England, where he seems to have been joined by Olaf. The invasion of Pictland may have had some connexion with the death of Domhnall Mac Ailpin, K. of the Picts, 862 (Ult.), and the succession of Constantine son of Kenneth Mac Ailpin, 863. O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 484.

866. The battle of York, in which fell Alli (Ælla), K. of the "Northern Saxons." (Ult.) In this date the English Chronicles all agree. (A. Sax. 867. Asser. 867. Sim. Dunelm. De Gestis, 867). Ethelward expressly names Ingwar or Ivar as the leader of the Northmen (866, 867).

"Auisle tertius rex gentilium dolo et parricidio a fratribus suis jugulatus est." (Ult. *Fragm.*, p. 171-173). See p. lxxii.

During Olaf's absence the Irish burnt his fort at Clondalkin and 100 heads of the chieftains of the foreigners were taken. (Ult., Four M.) See p. lxxx. n. 1.

867. Olaf's son Carlus was slain at the battle of Cill-ua-nDaigri [Killineer, near Drogheda]. (Four M. 863.) See p. 33. Carlus is not mentioned in Ult. nor in the Sagas, but his sword was preserved in Dublin to the reign of Malachy II. He was probably born of an Irish or Scottish wife or concubine. Olaf is said to have married a dr. of Aedh Finnliath; *Fragm.*, p. 151. Another of his wives was the dr. of Cinaoth (ib. p. 173), i.e. of Cinaoth or Kenneth Mac Ailpin, K. of Scotland.

868. Olaf returned to Ireland; his English troops being in winter quarters, burned Armagh with its oratories; after making great havoc, and leaving 1,000 men wounded or slain. (Ult., *Fragm.*, p. 185.)

869. Leaving their army at York for a year (Asser., *Flor. Wig.*, A. Sax.) Olaf and Ivar again united; Ail Cluath (Alclyde, the *Rupes Glotta*, now Dumbarton) was besieged by them for three months, and at length plundered. (Ult., *Fragm.*, p. 193. *Cambr. and Brut.* 870.)

- 870 or 871. Olaf and Ivar returned to Dublin from Scotland with 200 ships and a great number of prisoners, Angles, Britons, and Picts, carried off in captivity (as slaves) to Ireland. (Ult.) Hinguar and Ubba seem to have been left in command of the Danish forces in East Anglia, and Egbert in Northumbria. By these chieftains Edmund King of East Anglia was slain in battle (A. Sax. 870), and has since been regarded as a martyr. *Flor. Wigorn.* says that the King was slain on *Sunday*, Nov. 20, and if so, the year must have been 869.

On their way back to Dublin, Olaf and Ivar seem to have taken the fortress of Dun Sobhairce (now Dunseverick, near the Giants' Causeway) "quod antea non perfectum est" (Ult.), thence proceeding southwards they slew Ailioll, son of Dunlaing, King of Leinster; but possibly these exploits, although recorded by Ult. in connexion with the return of Olaf and Ivar, may have been the deeds of another body of Norsemen.

Table VII.

Genealogy
of the Hy
Imhair.

Olaf was slain somewhere in Ireland (*Landnama*, p. 197). His wife *Auda* and his son Thorstein immediately afterwards emigrated to the Hebrides, where Thorstein married *Thurida*, dr. of Eviud Austmann. (*Ibid*). The *Chron. Pictor.* (ap. Pinkerton I., p. 495), says that Olaf was slain in Scotland by Constantine, son of Kenneth Mac Alpin, in the third (or perhaps the meaning may be the fifth) year of his reign. This, if we follow the true chronology, would be 866 or 868; even the later date would be four or five years too soon. Olaf's death is not recorded in the Irish Annals, but must have taken place between 870 and 873.

873. Ivar "*Rex Nordmannorum totius Hiberniæ et Britanniae vitam finivit.*" (*Ult.*, 872=873. *Four M.*, 871=873). Ethelward says that Ivar died the same year in which St. Edmund was slain, i.e., 870 or 871. The *Fragm.* at 873, say that Ivar "died of an ugly, sudden disease, sic enim Deo placuit," p. 119. *Comp. Cornel.*, Hamsfort (*Series Regum*), ap. Langebek, I., p. 36.

In 874, on the death of Ivar, Cearbhall (or Carroll) lord of Ossory, succeeded as King of the Danes of Dublin. See above, p. lxxx., and *Geneal.* Table VIII.

For the coins supposed to belong to the reign of Ivar in Dublin and Northumbria, see Lindsay's *Coinage of Ireland*, pp. 3-10.

Halfdene,
brother of
Ingvar and
Ubba.

The English Chronicles speak of another chieftain named Halfdene, who is said to have been a "brother" of Ingvar and Ubba, (*Ethelw. lib. iv. c. 3*, A.D. 878); and therefore, if this be literally understood, a son of Regnar Lodbrok. So Mr. Hodgson Hinde, continuator of Hodgson's *Hist. of Northumberland*, i., p. 154, who gives the genealogy thus:—

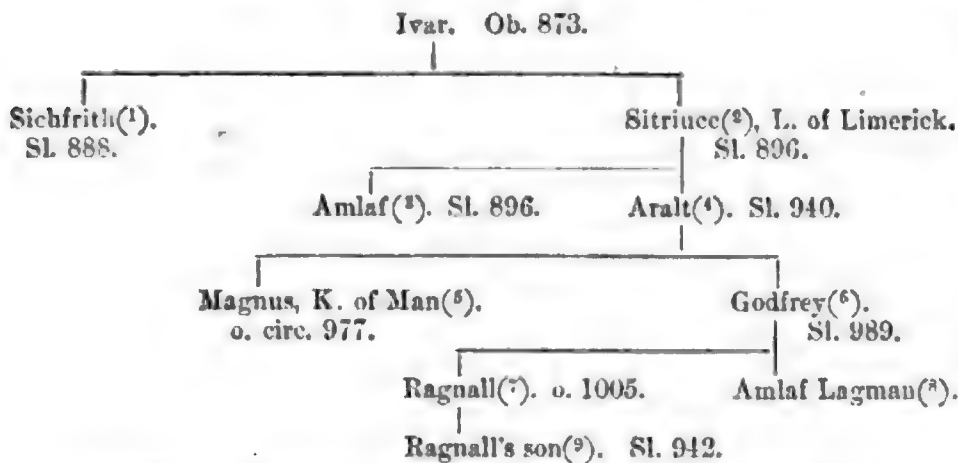
Regnar Lodbrok. Sl. 850-60.

Ingvar [or Ivar] invaded Northum- berland, A.D. 866. Died 871 [873].	Ubba. Sl. in Devonshire 871. [873].	Halfdene succeeded Ingvar 871 [873]; established himself on the Tyne 875; perished 881-2 [877].
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Bægsec
slain.

After the death of Ivar, Halfdene and his companion Bægsec seem to have become Kings of Deira and Bernicia respectively. Bægsec was slain in the battle of Reading in 871 (*A. Sax.*) In 875 Halfdene invaded Northumbria, and "harried on the Picts and Strath Clyde Britons," (*ib.*, *Ult.* 874=875). Then, having divided Northumbria amongst his followers, and commenced by their means the cultivation of the land, he sailed to Ireland, probably with a view to recover Ivar's kingdom there; but he was slain in a battle with "the White Gentiles," at Loch Cuan, now Strangford Lough, A.D. 877. (*Ult.* 876. *Four M.*, 874=877.) In the Irish Annals this chieftain is called Alban or Alband=Halfdene.

Halfdene
slain.

(A). *The Sons of Ivar (Limerick Branch.)*Table VII.
(A).Genealogy
of the Sons
of Ivar of
Limerick.

(1) Sichfrith. So his name is written, Ult. 887=888, in which year he was slain by his brother; "Sichfrith Mac Imair rex Nordmannorum a fratre suo per dolum occisus est." The old English translation of the Ulster Annals in the British Museum (Cod. Clarendon. tom. 47. Ayscough, 4795), renders the name Jeffrey; it is often written Godfrey. Much confusion has been caused by not distinguishing this name from that of his brother Sitriucc or Sitric; see p. 29 n. 2. But the error has been avoided by Mr. Hodgson Hinde, continuator of Hodgson's Northumberland (i. p. 138-154); he has fallen however into a different mistake in making the sons of Sitriucc, sons of Jeffrey or Godfrey (see p. 276). The Editor had not perceived the cause of this confusion, when he wrote the note 2, p. lxxxi. *supra*. The first Sitric, mentioned in that note, and called son of Ivar, is really Sichfrith, or Jeffrey, whom Mr. Hodgson Hinde always calls Godfrey, and who was slain 888. There is great difficulty however in the Chronology; for if Sichfrith was the leader of the party opposed to Sitriucc in 893, he could not have been murdered in 888; and if Sitriucc was in command of those who fled to Scotland in 902, he was not slain in 896. This latter Sitriucc is expressly called "Son of Ivar" (p. 29), and therefore must have been the Sitriucc No. (2) *supra*. It was Sitriucc Gale, grandson of Ivar, who fled to Scotland in 902. See Table VII. (B.) No. (2), p. 279.

(2) This Sitriucc is called "lord of the foreigners of Limerick," and father of the Aralt or Harold who in 940 (Four M., 938) was slain in Connaught, by the Conraighe of Aidhne, in the co. of Galway. Sitriucc was slain by his own countrymen, "ab aliis Nordmannis occisus," in 896 (895 Ult., 891 Four M.)

(3) This Amlaf is most probably the "Amlaimh Hua Imair," or Olaf, grandson of Ivar, who perished in a slaughter of the foreigners by the Conaille (people of Louth) and by Athleidhson of Luigne, 896 (895 Ult., 891 Four M.)

(4) Aralt or Harold is called "Aralt grandson of Ivar and son of Sitric lord of the foreigners of Limerick;" Four M. "Harold O'Hymer King of the Danes of Limerick was killed in Connaught at Rath-eyney." Clonm. 933 (A.D. 940). See No. (2).

Table VII.
(A).

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Genealogy
of the Sons
of Ivar of
Limerick.
—

(⁵) Magnus "son of Aralt, with the Lagmanns of the islands," plundered Inis Cathaigh [Scattery island at the mouth of the Shannon] and carried off Ivar lord of the foreigners of Limerick, A.D. 974 (972, Four M.) In 973, he is mentioned by Flor. Wigorn. under the name of "Maccus plurimarum rex insularum," as one of the eight "subreguli" who followed King Eadgar to Chester; after which he seems to have sailed round to Limerick. Monum. Hist. Brit. p. 578 A. Lagman seems to have been originally a title of office, (Lagmanadr, is jurisconsultus); see Olaf the Saint's Saga, (Heimskringla, Saga, vii. c. 76, 80, 81. Laing, ii. pp. 86-94). But the Four Masters speak of the Lagmans as a tribe of the Norsemen from the Insi Gall or western islands of Scotland. The first mention of them is under the year A.D. 962 (960 Four M.), when they came with the fleet of the son of Amlaibh and plundered the coast of Louth, Howth, and Inis Mac Nessain (now Ireland's Eye). They afterwards went to Munster "to avenge their brother, i.e., Oin." The son of Amlaibh who was their leader on this occasion may have been a son of Amlaf (son of Sitriucc), No. (³) *supra*, whose name is not recorded. But it is more probable that we should read Amlaf, instead of son of Amlaf, in the text of the Four M., meaning Amlaf Lagman No. (⁸). "The fleet of Lagman," taking Lagman, apparently, as the name of a man, is mentioned p. 41 *supra*.

(⁶) Godfrey Haroldson is called "King of the Insi Gall" or Western Islands of the foreigners, by Tigernach and Ult., A.D. 989, in which year he was slain by the Dalriada. The Ann. Ult. record a great battle at the Isle of Man in 986; "by the son of Harold [Mac Arailt] and the Danes" in which 1,000 were slain. This Battle is mentioned by the Ann. Cambrie at 978: "Gothrit filius Haraldi, cum nigris Gentilibus, vastavit Mon [Man], captis duobus millibus hominum;" and in Brut y Tywys. A.D. 970, (where Man is called Mon or Mona) a second entry of the same event is given under the year 986, which agrees with the date given in Ult. See also Brut. 979, 981.

(⁷) Ragnall Godfreyson is called "King of the Isles," Ult., A.D. 1004-5, in which year his death is recorded.

(⁸) Amlaf Lagman, "son of Godfrey," is mentioned above, p. 165, and Introd. p. clxxiv. "Amlaf son of Lagman," is mentioned, p. 207, as one of the heroes on the Danish side killed in the battle of Clontarf. See above No. (⁵), and Ult. 1014.

(⁹) Ragnall's-son is not named, and it is difficult to believe that the chieftain so called, and said to have been slain 942, Ult. (940, Four M.), could have been the son of the Ragnall Godfreyson, who lived to 1005. But the mention of "his islands" seems to show that this Ragnalson was of the branch of the Hy Ivar which settled in the Isles. The account of his death in Ult. is as follows:—"Dunlethglais [Downpatrick] was plundered by foreigners; God and Patrick took vengeance upon them. He [viz., God] brought foreigners across the sea, who took their islands;"—[not island, as Dr. O'Donovan, following the old translation, renders the word];—"the King escaped, but was slain by the Gaedhil [Goroił] on the main-land." Here it will be observed the King is not named. It is from the Four M. we learn that he was the son of Ragnall, which possibly may be a mistake, as it does not appear whence the Four M. derived their information; there will be no difficulty if we read Ragnall, instead of Son of Ragnall. It is possible however that the date 1005 assigned to Ragnall's death in Ult. may be wrong. The Four M. have not repeated it.

There are some names mentioned in the Annals, which from Table VII. their connexion with Limerick would seem to have belonged to (A).
this branch of the Hy Ivar. These will require a few remarks.

I. Barith is probably the same who is said to have been slain and burnt at Dublin for his sacrilege in plundering the oratory of St. Cianan, A.D. 880 (=878 Four M.) He is called "Lord of Limerick" by the Four M. at 922 (=A.D. 924). Three sons of this chieftain are mentioned:—1. Uathmaran, who landed with 20 ships in Donegal, but committed no depredation, A.D. 922 (=919 Four M.) 2. Colla, who is mentioned as in command of a fleet on Loch Ribh, 924 (=922 Four M.) 3. Elair, who fell in battle against the Ui Amhalgaidh, or inhabitants of Tirawley, 891 (=888 Four M.)

—
Genealogy
of the sons
of Ivar of
Limerick.

The Baraid or Barith, mentioned ch. xxv. pp. 25-27 is probably the same. He appears to have been connected with the White Gentiles of Dublin, and is said to have plundered all the southern coast of Ireland from Dublin to Kerry in conjunction with "Amlaibh's son," i.e., the son of Olaf the White, probably Thorstein Raudr (see Table VI.) His plunder of the caves and sepulchral chambers on this expedition is particularly mentioned (p. 25, Introd. p. lxxiv). A battle between "the Fair Gentiles and Black Gentiles," the former under the command of Barith, the latter under "Ragnall's son," is next recorded (p. 27). Who Ragnall's son was does not appear, but he fell with many of his followers in this engagement, and there is reason to think that the battle was fought not long before the year 877, when the Black Gentiles, after the death of their leader Ragnall's-son, took refuge in Scotland (see p. lxxv.) Elsewhere (Fragm. p. 173) we read of Barith marching through the middle of Connaught towards Limerick (A.D. 866). His troops are there called "Lochlanns," or White Gentiles. He met with such resistance in Connaught that he was forced to return "to the place from which they had set out;" the place however is not named. In 873, the settlement of Barith, with his fleet on Lough Ree is mentioned by the same Annals (Fragm. p. 197). These dates will square very well with the history of the Barith, lord of Limerick, who was burned at Dublin in 880; and all these adventures apparently belong to the same person. Barith probably arrived in Ireland, and took the command of the Limerick colony, soon after the death of Turgesius. At all events

Table VII. he was in possession before the sons of Ivar, whose genealogy is (A). given in the present Table.

— There is mention of another Barid, called Mac nOitir, or son of Ottar, who was slain by Ragnall of Waterford, grandson of Ivar, in a battle at the Isle of Man, A.D. 913; (see p. lxxxiv). This must have been a different Barid, not in any way perhaps connected with Limerick.

Ivar, II. The arrival at Limerick of "Ivar, grandson of Ivar, Chief grandson of Ivar, at King of the foreigners, with an immensely great fleet," is mentioned, p. 49, *supr.* This event is not noticed in the Annals, probably owing to the difficulty of fixing its exact date (see p. cii). Ivar is said to have landed at Inis Sibhtonn¹, or King's Island, the same place which had been occupied by a former party of invaders under Tamar son of Ailgi or Elgi in 922 (see ch. xxxiii. p. 39, *supr.*) He was probably the same who was carried off from Scattery island in 944, by Magnus son of Harald and the Lagmans of the isles; Four M. See No. (6) *supra*. But the Editor is not able to supply the link between him and Ivar his grandfather, or to determine whether in this case, by the word "grandson" a more remote descendant may not be intended. The Four M. at 928 and 929 (=A.D. 930, 931) mention him as in command of the foreigners of Limerick encamped at Magh Roighne², a celebrated plain in Ossory. He was therefore at Limerick before that year, and probably came with the expedition under Tomar, son of Ailgi, in 922. See Introd. p. cv, cvi.

The Dublin Danes were hostile to the party of the Limerick Danes, under Tomar, as well as to those under Ivar, which seems to favour the supposition that these were at least allies. In 923 or 924, Godfrey came from Dublin to attack the Limerick foreigners, called sons of Ailgi, but was defeated, with loss; and in 931 we read of the same Godfrey going to Magh Roighne in Ossory to displace Ivar grandson of Ivar. The curious thing in this was that Godfrey was also himself a grandson of Ivar; and

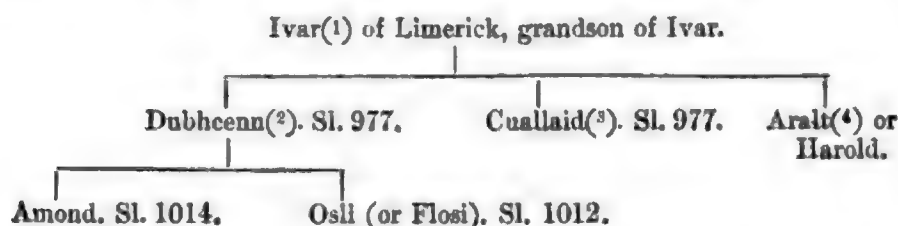
¹ *Inis Sibhtonn*. The Four M. (A.D. 965, 969) call this place Inis Ubhdonn, whence some have conjectured that its real name was given it by the Scandinavian settlers, and was Inis Odinn or Woden, corrupted by the Irish to Inis Ubhdonn and Inis Sibhtonn.

² *Magh Roighne*. An ancient fair was held here, which seems to have been suspended, owing perhaps to the disturbed state of the country, but it was renewed by Cearbhall, king of Ossory, in A.D. 861 [859 of the Four M.]

the cause of this enmity between the kindred tribes remains to be explained. Table VII.
(A).

The descendants of this Ivar, grandson of Ivar (see above p. 49. *Introd.* p. cii), are shown in the following Table:—

—
Genealogy
of the sons
of Ivar of
Limerick.



(¹) This Ivar is represented by our author (if the text, as printed, p. 103, be correct) to have been slain by Brian,—whose bitter enemy he was,—and his two sons, Dubhcenn and Cuallaid, by the O'Donnells of Corcobhaiscinn; but the reading of the Brussels MS. represents them as having been all slain together by the O'Donnells; and Tighernach (A.D. 977), whose words are copied by the *Four M.*, speaks of the sanctuary of Inis Cathaigh having been violated by Brian, “against the Gaill of Limerick, i.e., Ivar and his son Amlaf and his other son Dubheon,” but does not say that they were slain. See *Introd.*, p. cxxxv. Ivar had been active in inciting the Munster chieftains to rise against Brian, and was the head of their organization against the Dal-Cais. (See p. 71.) Mathgamhain or Mahoun had expelled Ivar from Inis Ubhdain in 967 (=965 *Four M.*) and plundered Limerick, 971 (=969 *Four M.*) See chap. liii., p. 79. The Brussels MS. states that Ivar and his sons were slain a year after the murder of Mathgamhain, i.e., in 977. This agrees with Tighernach. The murder of Mathgamhain is said to have been instigated by Ivar and his son Dubhcenn; see ch. lviii., p. 87. *Introd.*, p. cxxv.

(²) Dubhcenn, is Celtic (Blackhead), and was probably a nickname given by the Irish. His original Scandinavian name is unknown. See ch. xl., p. 48. He is called Dubheon by Tighernach (977), which is probably the misinterpretation of a contraction. His son Amond is enumerated among the slain on the side of the Danes in the battle of Clontarf (p. 207), and is there said to have been one of the two kings of Port Lairge or Waterford; “Goistilin Gall,” who is not elsewhere mentioned, having been the other. Osli, the second son of Dubhcenn, appears to have been on Brian's side. He is called “an officer of Brian and one of his high stewards,” and was slain in Meath by Flaithbheartach O'Neill, about the year 1012. *Four M.* See p. 147. *Introd.*, p. clxv.

(³) Cuallaid, is also apparently an Irish nickname. Tigern. (at 977) and *Four M.* (at 975), call him Amlaimh, or Olaf. See *Introd.*, p. ciii., n. ¹, where it is suggested that he may have been the same as Olaf Cenncairech [Scabby-head] of Limerick, who is mentioned under that name in the *Four M.* and in the *Annals of Clonmacnois*. See *Four Mast.*, 935, p. 632, note. *Introd.*, p. ciii., note ¹.

(⁴) This Aralt or Harold, after the death of his father and his two brothers, appears to have been recognised as King of the Munster Danes. Donovan, after the murder of Mahoun, made alliance with him, and both were slain by Brian, at the battle of Cathair Cuan, 978; see ch. lxiv. p. 103, and *Introd.* p. cxxxvi. We have no further mention of this Aralt mac Ivar in the *Annals*.

Table VII.
(A).

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Genealogy
of the sons
of Ivar of
Limerick.

III. In the account given of the sacking of Limerick, after the victory of the Dal Cais at Sulcoit, A.D. 968, (see ch. lii., liii., p. 76-79), we have a list of the Danish leaders slain in the town. But the names are evidently so corrupt (see p. 78, note 3), that this list gives us no real information; among them are found Manus or Magnus of Limerick, and Somarlid, names afterwards common among the chieftains of Man and the Oirir Gaedhel of Argyle; also Tolbart, for which we should probably read Torolf; and Ruamond or Redmond. Sigurd, Earl of Orkney, who was slain at Clontarf, had a son Somarlid, who may have been the Somarlid slain at Limerick on this occasion; Heimsk. (Sag. vii., c. 99. Laing ii., p. 131). The Heimsk. indeed says that Somarlid, son of Sigurd, lived not long, but died in his bed (*ibid.*, c. 100); but the Sagas are often misinformed respecting those who went to England or Ireland and never returned. In the poetical account of the victory (p. 81) Manus is called "Magnus Berna," which Keating understands as two names, Magnus (or as he reads Muiris), and Bernard.

(B). *Grandsons of Ivar (Dublin Branch).*

The Hy
Ivar of
Dublin and
Waterford.

It is not known from what son of Ivar Beinlaus the Danes of Dublin and Waterford were descended; nor does it necessarily follow that their original leaders were all brothers, or sons of the same father; some may have been first cousins only, and all nevertheless grandsons of Ivar. It has been suggested indeed, in consequence of the silence of the Annals as to their father, that they were descended from a *daughter* of Ivar, married to some Scottish chieftain; and it is certain that the Egils-Saga (cap. li., p. 266) favours this conjecture by describing Olaf the Red (i.e., Olaf Cuaran, King of Dublin and Northumbria) as "paterno genere Scotus, materno Danus, ex stirpe Ragnaris Lodbrok;" (see Robertson's *Scotland under her early Kings*, i., p. 56, *n.*) Mr. Hodgson Hinde, in the first vol. of Hodgson's *Northumberland* (p. 154), makes the Dublin Danes sons of Sichfrith (whom he calls Godfrey), son of Ivar. This is an instance of the confusion between the names Sichfrith and Sitric already noticed (see p. 271), and is the more curious because Mr. Hodgson Hinde was himself (the Editor believes) the first to detect and correct that confusion. But after having pointed out the distinction between the two brothers, he erroneously applies

to Sitric a passage in the historian Ethelward,¹ which really belongs to Sichfrith, or Godfrey, and then he adds—"Sitric is not known to have left any descendants, but Godfrey had four sons." In these words the truth is reversed. Sichfrith (or Godfrey) is not known to have left descendants. Sitric had two at least, if not three or four sons, and left a numerous posterity, who are all ignored by Mr. H. Hinde. See Table (A), p. 271.

Table VII.
(B).
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The Hy
Ivar of
Dublin and
Waterford.

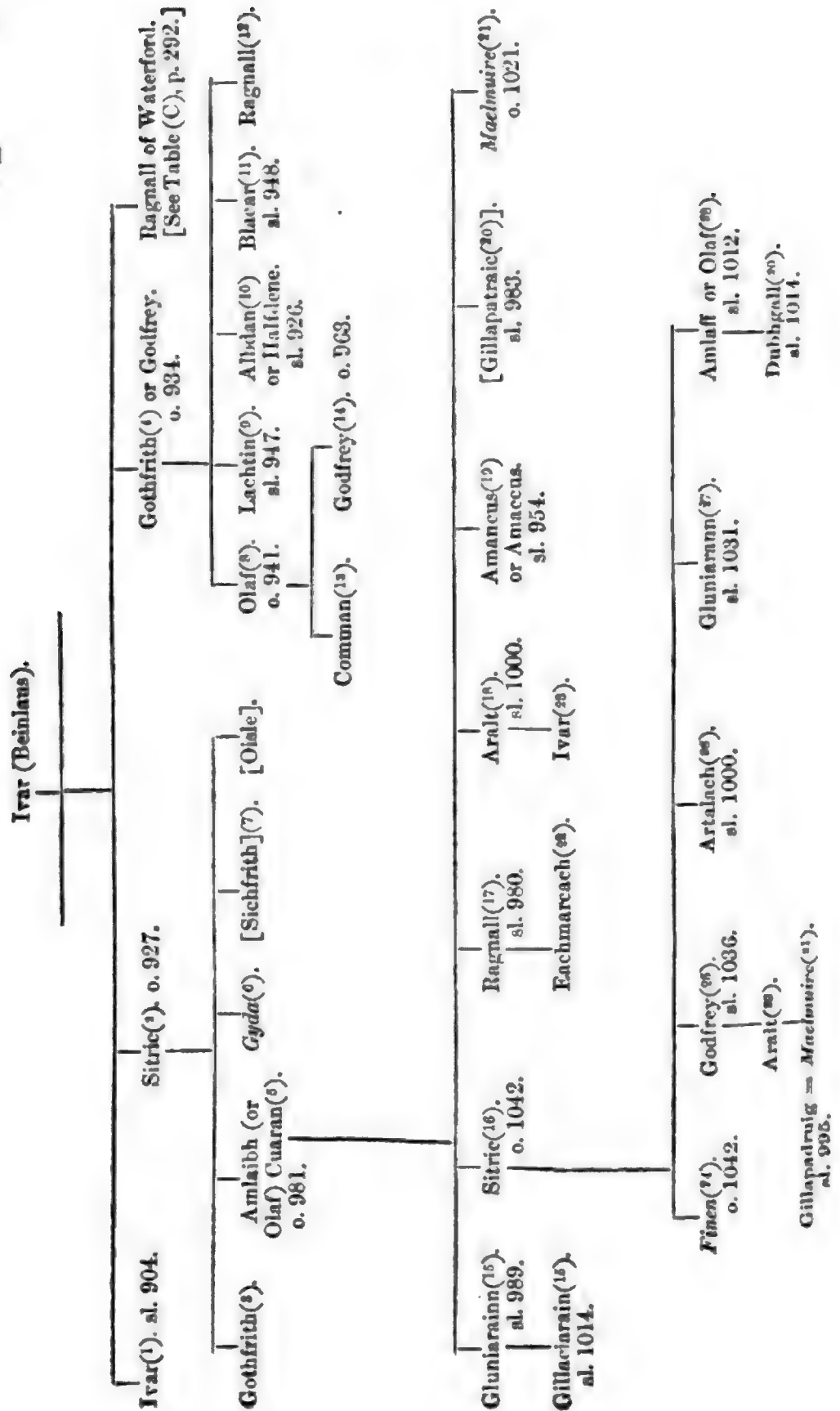
A genealogy of those descendants of Regnar Lodbrok, who had settled, or "harried" in England, is given in the notes on the celebrated Anglo-Saxon poem about the battle of Brunanburh, Langebek, tom. ii., p. 413. In this genealogy there is curious confusion; the Dublin Danes, called by the Irish grandsons of Ivar, are made sons of Guthred,² son of Horda Cnut, see Table VI., (B), No. (2), p. 266; and Ivar does not appear in their genealogy at all. Sitric, the father of Olaf Cuaran, K. of Dublin and Northumbria, is made to have had a brother, who was slain by him at 921, viz., Niall or Nigellus, "King of Northumbria." This, as Mr. H. Hinde has shown, was no other than Niall Glundubh, King of Ireland, who never was King of Northumbria, and was no Dane, nor brother of Sitric, but a genuine Irishman of the race of the Northern Hy Neill or Cinel-Eoghan (see Table I. p. 245). This Niall was slain by Sitric in a bloody battle near Dublin, in 919. See ch. xxxi. p. 35 *supr.* The mistake, however, is pardonable in a foreign author; for it has the authority of the Saxon Chron. (A.D. 921) Henr. Huntend. (Monum. Hist. Brit. p. 745, B), Simeon Dunelm. (ib., p. 686, B), and other English historians.

In the following Table no opinion is expressed as to the father or fathers of the original invaders, Sitric; Gotfrith, or Godfrey, of Dublin; Ragnall of Waterford; and Ivar, who perished in Scotland. They are generally regarded as brothers, and the Irish authorities unanimously call them all "grandsons of Ivar," or Hy Ivar.

¹ *Ethelward*. "His ita gestis, Sigferth piraticus de North-hymbriorum advehitur ardua cum classe per littora vastat his tempore in uno, vela post vertit ad proprias sedes."—Chron. lib. iv., A.D. 895. (Monum. Hist. Brit., p. 513, D). Ethelward's text seems to need some emendation.

² *Guthred*. For this mistake may be quoted the authority of the lost "Gesta Anglorum," cited by Adam.

Bremen., lib. ii. 15, where we read "Anglia autem, ut supra diximus, et in Gesta Anglorum scribitur, post mortem Gudredi a filiis ejus Analaf, Sigthric, et Reginold, per annos fere centum, permansit in ditione Danorum." Nevertheless Lappenberg, although he quotes this passage as his authority, calls the supposed sons of Guthred "Niel, Sihtric, and Regnald."

Table VII.
(B).The Hy
Ivar of
Dublin and
Waterford.

(1) This Ivar, who is expressly called "grandson of Ivar," was slain in Table VII. Fortrenn, A.D. 903 (=904 Ult.) See Reeves, *Adamn.* p. 332, 3. This was (B). about a year after the expulsion of the Danes of Dublin by Maelfinnia, K. of Bregia, and Cearbhall, son of Muiregan, K. of Leinster. They fled to Scot- The Hy land under the command of Sitriuc, "son of Ivar," who had murdered his Ivar of brother Sichfrith, the leader of the party opposed to him in Dublin. The Dublin. Ivar slain in Fortrenn was probably one of this party. See *Introd.*, p. lxxxii, and Table (A), No. (2) p. 271. Robertson, *Scotland under her early Kings*, i. p. 55, 56.

(2) Sitric, called Caech [blind, or one-eyed], by our author, and Gale [hero?] by the Four M., arrived in Dublin "with a prodigious royal fleet" in 888. See p. 29, and *Introd.*, p. lxxviii. In 902 or 903 he left Ireland and took refuge in Scotland, but returned in 917 (=915 Four M.), and settled at Cenn Fuait. See p. 35, c. xxx, and *Introd.*, p. lxxxix. In 918 he recovered Dublin, and in 919 fought the battle of Kilmasnogue (called also the battle of Dublin), where King Niall Glendubh and many other chieftains were slain. See ch. xxxi, p. 85. *Introd.*, p. xc, xci. Four M. At this battle the commanders on the Danish side were "Imhar and Sitric Gale," according to the Four M., who are the only authority for this mention of an Imhar or Ivar at the battle. Keating says that the battle was gained "by Sitric and the Clann Ivar," which is probably the true reading. The *Ann. Ult.* do not name the Danish leaders, but simply record (918=919) "a battle (bellum) gained by the Gentiles over the Gaedhil." The next year Sitric was forced to quit Dublin, "per potestatem divinam," as the same *Annals* (920) say. He seems to have gone over to Mercia, for Simeon of Durham (at 920) mentions his having plundered Davenport in Cheshire in that year. He is called King of the Northumbrians, *Sax. Chr.* 925. The same authority, and *Flor. Wigorn.* tell us that in that year he married Æthelstan's sister, but in 926 (=A.D. 927) he died—"Sitric, grandson of Imhar, King of Dubhgall and Finngall, immatura ætate mortuus est." *Ult.* 927.

(3) Gothfrith, Guthred, or Guthferth, has by some been called son of Sitric, on the authority of *Flor. Wigorn.*, who at 926 says "Cujus [Sitrici] regnum rex Æthelstanus, filio illius Guthfirdo, qui patri in regnum successerat, expulso, suo adjecit imperio." The *A. Sax.*, *Sim. Dunelm.*, and *Henr. Huntend.* at 927, mention the expulsion of Guthred, but do not call him the son of Sitric. *Huntend.* says that Guthred was the father of the Reginald, who, in 926, had acquired York, and in 943 was confirmed by the bishop. See also *Flor. Wigorn.* 943, 944. But this was Ragnall, No. (19), son of Gothbrith or Godfrey, No. (4), in the foregoing Table. Godfrey, Gothfrith or Gofraidh, son of Sitric, is mentioned by the Four M. as having escaped from the great slaughter of the Danes of Dublin at the battle of Muine-Brocain in 950, (see *Introd.*, p. xcvi, n.); in the next year, with the Danes of Dublin, he plundered Kells and several other churches of Meath; (*Ult.* 951. Four M. 949=951). If he was old enough in 950 to take the lead in battle, he could not have been son of Sitric, son of Olaf Cuaran, the hero of Clontarf [No. (16)], who lived to 1042 (Tig.) He must, therefore, have been son of the elder Sitric [No. (2)], and brother of Olaf Cuaran. He does not appear to have had any connexion with Northumbria, and must not be confounded with his father's brother or cousin-german, Gothfrith, No. (4), who is spoken of in the authorities now to be quoted.

(4) This Gothbrith, as his name is written in the *Irish Annals*, (called Gothrin,

Table VII. (B).	p. 37 <i>supra</i>), was no doubt the same as the Guthred, Guthfrith or Godfrey, supposed to have been the son of Sitric, (see preceding note), but called always "grandson of Ivar" in the Irish Annals, and therefore really Sitric's brother or cousin-german. The MS. D., of the present work, calls him "son of Ivar," but in B. he is correctly called "grandson." See p. 37, n. 2. He was one of the leaders with Ragnall of Waterford, Ottir, and Gragaban, who invaded "the men of Alba" and North Saxons in 918. (Ult.) See Introd., p. lxxxvi. Reeves's Adamnan, p. 332, n. f. He plundered Armagh and the North of Ireland in 921 (see Introd., p. xcii, Circuit of Muireheartach, p. 6), and the same year, Sitric having abandoned Dublin in 920 [see No. (2)], and Ragnall of Waterford having died in 921, Gothfrith became K. of Dublin and probably of Waterford (Ult. 920=921), for we find "the son of Gothfrith" plundering Kildare "from Waterford;" Four M. 926. In 923 Gothfrith was defeated, and many of his people slain, by the son of Ailche (Ult.); and in 927, on the news of Sitric's sudden death, he left Dublin, and succeeded as K. of Northumbria, but was there for six months only, (Four M. 925 = A.D. 927), having been expelled, as we have seen, from Northumbria by Athelstan: A. Sax. 927. In 930, Ult. (928 of the Four M.), he plundered and demolished Deare Farna, probably the cave of Dunmor, near Kilkenny (O'Donovan, note in loc.) In 931 (929 Four M.) he went to Ossory to expel Ivar, grandson of Ivar, from Magh Roighne. See Table (A), p. 274, 275. In 934 (Ult.) his death is thus recorded, "Gothfrith Ua hImair rex crudelissimus Nordmannorum dolore mortuus est." See also Four M. 932 (= A.D. 934), who call him simply "Gothfrith, lord of foreigners." The Reginald, mentioned in the foregoing note, who was expelled from Northumbria with Olaf Cuaran in 944 (A. Sax.) and confirmed by the bishop in 943, was the son of this Gothfrith. See No. (1) in the Table, p. 278.
The Hy Ivar of Dublin.	
Olaf Cuaran.	(4) Olaf or Amlaiph was surnamed Cuaran, (Quaran, or Kuaran in the Sagas), i.e. Olaf of the Sandal, for the word is Irish; (see above, Introd., p. ci, n.) He is surnamed also Olaf the Red (Rufus ¹), Egils, cap. li., p. 266. He is called by the Sax. Chron. "Anlaf of Ireland," and by Flor. Wigorn (A.D. 938) "Hibernensium multarumque insularum rex Paganus Anlafus." He is frequently distinguished both in the Irish and English Chronicles as "Sitricson;" and great difficulties have been occasioned by ignorance of the fact that Olaf Cuaran and Olaf Sitricson, are one and the same person. His history, both in England and Ireland, is also so mixed up with that of Olaf, son of Godfrey, No. (*), who was, like Cuaran, King of Dublin and Northumbria, that much additional confusion has been the result. The Irish Annals, however, assist greatly in clearing up this confusion. Upon the death of Sitric [No. (2)], in 927, "the Danes of Dublin left Ireland" (Clonm.), and Gothfrith or Gothfrith, King of Dublin [No. (4)] went over to secure his succession to the throne of Northumberland.

¹ *Rufus*. The Four M., in Dr. O'Connor's translation, (at 978), call him Amlaf of the "blood red colour," sanguinei coloris, which erroneous version has misled Mr. Robertson (Scotland under her early Kings, i., p. 63, n.), who finds in this appellation a parallel to the *Rufus* of the Egil-saga. But the real meaning of the Irish phrase

an tspannuir (translated by O'Connor "blood-red"), is "in particular," as Dr. O'Donovan has rightly rendered it. See O'Donovan's Gramm. p. 266, and Zeus., pp. 823. Dr. O'Connor's *an tspannuir* is a contracted word, which (if written in full) ought to be, as in O'Donovan's text, *an tsainnuir*.

Olaf Cuaran seems to have been there already, but was expelled on this occasion Table VII. with Gothfrith, and returned to Dublin. And now began the great effort to (B). recover Northumbria from the hands of Æthelstan. Olaf Cuaran disappears — for at least ten years from the Irish Annals, and Olaf Guthfrithson or God- The Hy freyson, on the death of his father in 934, became King of Dublin. Cuaran Ivar of was probably in Scotland during this interval, where he married a daughter of Dublin. Constantine III., son of Aedh, son of Kenneth Mac Ailpin. He was supported — and urged on to the war by his father-in-law, “a socero suo rege Scotorum Olaf Constantino incitatus,” says Flor. Wigorn. at 938, and he became so identified Cuaran. with Scotland, as the leader of the expedition, that Scandinavian authorities call him “King of the Scots;” Egils. cap. li. In 933 Æthelstan invaded and plundered Scotland both by land and sea: (A. Sax. 933. Sim. Dunelm. 934). Constantine was compelled to make peace and to give his son as a hostage.¹ Flor. Wig. 934. This victory, however, proved ephemeral, and did not interrupt the active preparations for the coming struggle, made by Constantine in conjunction with the Irish Norsemen. Meanwhile Olaf Godfreyson was not idle in Ireland. In 929 he plundered Kildare “from Port Lairge,” or Waterford harbour, that is to say, with the help of the Danes of Waterford, of whom he seems to have been then commander; (Four M. 927). In 933 he plundered Armagh, aided by the foreigners of Loch Cuan (Strangford Lough); and in alliance with Madudan,² son of Aedh, lord of Ulidia, he plundered what is now the co. of Monaghan; but was met and vanquished by Muircheartach of the Leather cloaks, lord of Ailech; (Four M. 931 = A.D. 933). In the same and following year Olaf Cenncairech (Scabby Head) of Limerick, had gained a victory in the co. of Roscommon over the chieftains of the Hy Many, and had plundered as far as Boyle to the north, and Slieve Baune to the east, (Four M. 931 = A.D. 932), continuing to harrass that county for two or three years. Olaf Godfreyson was at this time in Meath, and in 935 had taken the fortified island of Loch Gabhair (now Logore, near Dunshaughlin), and the cave of Cnoghbbhai (or Knowth) near Slane; Ult. 935. Four M. 933 (=A.D. 935). Donnchadh, king of Ireland, resenting this invasion of his territory, and taking advantage of Olaf’s absence, burnt Dublin, whereupon Olaf seems to have immediately returned thither. Meanwhile, Olaf Cenncairech, had crossed Breifne (Fermanagh and Leitrim) from Loch Erne to Loch Ribh. He arrived at the Shannon on Christmas night, A.D. 936, and remained seven months, or until the end of July in the following year. Then, on Lammas Day, 937, Olave Godfreyson came “from Dublin,” as the Four M. expressly tell us, “and carried off Olaf Cenncairech with the foreigners who were with him, after breaking their ships.” The object, evidently, was to compel Cenncairech and his followers to serve in the coming war³ for the recovery of Northumbria, and

¹ *Hostage*. The son’s name was Ceallach; Ann. Clonm. (quoted Four M. 935, p. 634, n.) He was afterwards slain at the battle of Brunanburh. The completeness of Æthelstane’s victory is evidently exaggerated. Robertson, Scotland, vol. i., p. 62.

² *Madudan*. See Dr. Reeves’s list of

the chieftains of Ulidia, No. 40. *Eccles. Antiq. of Down and Connor*, p. 355.

³ *Coming war*. The Ann. Clonm. (quoted by O’Donovan, Four M., p. 632), say “the Danes of Lough Rie [i.e. the followers of Olaf Cenncairech] arrived at Dublin”—evidently on their way to England with Olaf Godfreyson,

Table VII.	the Four M. add, (immediately after the words just quoted), "the foreigners of Dublin left their fortress and went to England." On his way to the Shannon, on this occasion, or more probably on his return, Olaf Godfreyson had plundered Clonmacnois, and quartered his soldiers there for two nights, a thing, says the annalist, hitherto unheard of, "quod ab antiquis temporibus inauditum est," Ult. 936. In 937 or 938 was fought the famous battle of Brunanburh, or Brunan-byrig. The exact site and modern name of this place is unknown, but it was probably in Yorkshire, and not far from the mouth of the Humber, where Olaf Cuaran ¹ is said to have entered (Flor. Wig.) with 115 ships; (Sim. Dnnelm.)
—	
The Hy Ivar of Dublin.	
—	
Olaf Cuaran.	

Olaf Godfreyson was certainly at this battle (Clonm.²), but it is not clear whether he or his name-sake Sitricson was the Olaf who is said in the poetical account preserved in the Sax. Chron. to have fled with the shattered remains of his troops to Dublin. It is probable that both chieftains took refuge in Ireland. The Ann. of Ulster tell us that in 938, the year after the battle of Brunanburh, "Olaf, son of Godfrey, came again (i.e., returned) to Ireland;" and, they add immediately afterwards, "Cell-cuilinn³ was plundered by Olaf Ua Imair, quod non auditum est ab antiquis temporibus." In the next year, 939, the Four M. repeat this entry: "Plunder of Cell-Cuilinn by the foreigners of Dublin;" but without any mention of Olaf Ua Imair, or any other leader of the plundering party. They appear evidently to have assumed that in the former entry Olaf Godfreyson and Olaf Ua Imair were one and the same,⁴ for they make mention of but one Olaf and omit the second plundering of Cell-Cuilinn altogether, or rather, perhaps, transfer it to their year 944 (= A.D. 946), where they distinctly mention Olaf Cuaran as the leader: their words there are, "Plunder of Cell-Cuilinn by the foreigners, i.e., by Amhlaibh Cuaran." It is remarkable that the second plundering of Kilcullen is said in both Annals to have occurred in the year in which Æthelstan died; the Ann. of Ulster, however, placing that

¹ *Olaf Cuaran.* A romantic story is related of him to which much credit cannot be given, as it seems to have been copied from a similar adventure told of Alfred. A couple of days before the battle, Olaf, disguised as a harper, entered Æthelstan's camp, and was brought before the king to display his minstrelsy. He marked well the situation of the king's tent, but Æthelstan, warned by a soldier, who had formerly served under Olaf, removed his tent to another part of the camp. In the night an assault was made, and the bishop of Shireburn with his followers were slain. The bishop had unwittingly taken up his quarters in the place vacated by the king. Olaf, finding his mistake, then rushed upon Æthelstan's tents, but was repulsed after a

sharp contest. The story is told by W. Malmesb., ii. 6, and De Gestis Pontiff, lib. ii.; Lappenberg (Thorpe's Transl.) ii., p. 115; Hodgson's Northumberland, i., p. 145; Turner, Anglo Saxons, i., 335.

² *Clonm.* Quoted by O'Donovan, Four M., 935 (p. 633, n.)

³ *Cellcuilinn.* Now Old Kilcullen, barony of Kilcullen, co. of Kildare: a place formerly of great importance and wealth, where there are still the remains of a round tower, and considerable Anglo-Norman fortifications.

⁴ *The same.* Four M. 936 (=938), p. 935. Their words are "Amhlaibh, son of Godfrey, came to Dublin again, and plundered Cill-Cuilinn, and carried off ten hundred prisoners from thence."

event in 939 (the true year being 940), and the Four M. in 946. We can per- Table VII.
haps reconcile these discrepancies by supposing¹ that the two Olafs returned (B).
together from Brunanburh in 938; and that Olaf Cuaran plundered Kilcullen —
the same year in which Æthelstan died, viz. 940; the discrepancy was probably The Hy
caused by the mistake as to this latter date, which occasioned a double entry Ivar of
of the plunder of Kilcullen under two different years. Dublin.

That Olaf Godfreyson joined in this plunder is rendered probable by the lan- —
guage of the Four M. (937 = A.D. 939) where they say, "the foreigners (Gaill) Olaf
deserted Atheliath, i.e., Amlaoibh, son of Godfrey, by the help of God and Cuaran.
Mac-Tail." As Mac-Tail was the patron saint² of Kilcullen, this seems to
prove that Olaf Godfreyson was held responsible for the sacrilege. Why the
Gaill deserted Dublin is explained by the fact that in this year Olaf Cuaran
had gone to York, followed by Olaf Godfreyson and his troops. Blacaire or
Blacar No. (11), also a son of Godfrey, was left behind to govern Dublin;
Four M. 939 (= A.D. 941). Olaf Cuaran, on his arrival at York, besieged
Hampton (Northampton), and took Tamworth; (A. Sax. 943. Sim. Dunelm.
939). King Eadmund came out to meet him at Legercester (Leicester). A battle
was prevented by the interposition³ of the Archbishops Odo of Canterbury, and
Wulstan of York. It was agreed that the kingdom should be divided,
Eadmund taking the south and Olaf the north, the boundary between them
being Watling-street (Sim. Dunelm.) In 941, Olaf, as Sim. Dunelm. calls him,
having plundered St. Balther's Church and burnt Tiningaham, in Scotland, died
there. This must be Olaf Godfreyson, for the historian adds, "Filius vero Sihtric,
nomine Onlaf regnavit super Northanhymbros." The death of Olaf Godfreyson
is recorded by the Annals of Clonmacnois at the year 934, which is really⁴ 941,

¹ *Supposing.* This supposition assumes that, in the Ann. of Ulster, Olaf Ua Imair denotes Olaf Cuaran or Sitricson, although Godfreyson was equally entitled to be so called, and that the second record of the plunder of Kilcullen is a duplicate entry of the same event, a thing not uncommon in those Annals. Also that in the Four M. the plunder of Kilcullen by Olaf Cuaran is out of its place, and really belongs to the year in which Æthelstan died, or 940. These suppositions render unnecessary Dr. O'Donovan's suggestion that the Four M., at 944 (= 946), have confounded the death of Æthelstan with that of his successor Eadmund.

² *Patron saint.* His real name was Aenghus, surnamed Mac-Tail, or son of an adze [i.e., son of a carpenter]; see Martyrol. of Donegal (11 June) p. 167. Dr. O'Donovan (Four M., 937, p. 638

n.) suggests that Mac-Tail was also patron of St. Michael le Pole's church, Dublin, "Mac-Tail" having been corrupted to "Michael," by the English.

³ *Interposition.* The A. Sax. Chron. (at 943, which is probably the more correct date), gives a different account. It tells us that Eadmund "beset King Olaf and Archbishop Wulstan," (who seems to have openly espoused the Danish cause in Leicester), and would have captured them had they not escaped from the town by night. Both stories, however, may be true; and the peace may have been effected after his escape by Wulstan, aided by Archbishop Odo, who was himself of a Danish family.

⁴ *Really 941.* There is an error of seven years in the dates of Clonm. The Ann. Cambrie, at 942, have "Abloyc [i.e., Amlaf] rex moritur;" [c for f, as usual in the Welsh dialect of Celtic].

Table VII. (B).	(quoted by O'Donovan, <i>Four M.</i> , p. 645 <i>n.</i>), showing that the compiler of those Annals so understood the English chronicles. Dunuchadh, son of Flann Sionna, was at this time King of Ireland, and on the departure of the garrison of Dublin, or perhaps a little before, for the date given is 938, he united his forces to those of Muirheartach Leather cloaks, son of Niall Glundubh (see <i>Geneal.</i> Table I., p. 245), and plundered the Danish territory around Dublin as far as Ath Trusten, a ford on the River Greece, near Athy, in the south of the co. of Kildare; (<i>Ult.</i> , 938. <i>Four M.</i> , 936 = 938). In 941 Olaf Cuaran was chosen King by the Northumbrians, and in 943, or immediately after the peace of Leicester, was received into the favour of Eadmund, and baptized, Eadmund himself being his godfather. Shortly after, Regnald, King of York, son of Gothfrith [see No. (1 ²)], was confirmed, having probably received baptism some time before, and Eadmund adopted him as his own son; <i>Flor. Wigorn.</i> <i>Henr. Huntend.</i> But this peace was of short duration. The next year (944) Eadmund subdued Northumbria, and having expelled Olaf and Regnald (<i>A. Sax.</i> , <i>Ethelw.</i> , <i>Flor. Wigorn.</i>) took Northumbria into his own jurisdiction. In 945 he reduced Cumberland, but in 946 was murdered at Pucklechurch, on the mass-day of St. Augustine of Canterbury (May 26). Eathred, his brother, succeeded to the throne, and was received by the Northumbrians, who by their "witan" and Archbishop Wulstan, gave him their oaths of fealty, A.D. 947. In the interval Olaf Cuaran appears in Ireland. The Annals describe a great plunder of Dublin by Congalach, son of Maelnithigh, in 944, a few months before that chieftain became King of Ireland. He was joined in the assault by the troops of Leinster; and the <i>Four M.</i> represent the destruction of Dublin as complete. Its houses and shipping were burned, the male inhabitants and warriors put to death, the women and boys carried off; a few men escaped in boats to Dealginis (translated by the Norsemen Deilg-ei, now Dalkey island), where the Danes had a fortress; comp. <i>Ult.</i> 944. This, it will be remembered, was the year in which, according to the English chronicles, Olaf was expelled from Northumbria. The next year we find him in Ireland. "Blacar renewed Dublin, and Olaf along with him," say the Annals of Ulster, at 945; if the old English translation ¹ be correct. But the <i>Four M.</i> , the translator of the <i>Ann. Clonm.</i> , and Dr. O'Connor understand this passage to mean that Blacar <i>was expelled</i> from Dublin, and that Olaf became king of that city in his place. In the same year some of the people or tribe of O'Canannan (whose chieftain laid claim to the throne of Ireland, see <i>Introd.</i> , p. xcvi), were slain by the actual King Congalach, in alliance with Olaf Cuaran, in Conaille Muirtheimhne
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¹ *Translation.* *Cod. Clarendon*, tom. 49 (Ayscough, 4795). The words in the original are, "Blacair do thelcudh Atha Cliath ocus Amlaip tar a eisi." The difficulty is in the word "thelcudh," which if derived from the verb "teilgim" to cast, to cast out, may signify "was expelled;" and so the *Four M.* render it "do ionnarbhadh a hAthcliath." The old English translator of *Ult.* seems to have taken it as the

consuetudinal præterite of *telcaim*, or *tealcain*, I maintain, support, sustain, restore; a word of rare occurrence, not found in our existing dictionaries. See *Book of Rights*, p. 52, line 1. It should be observed however that *Atha-Cliath*, the name of Dublin, is in the genitive case, which seems to favour the version given by the *Four M.*, and their authority is, of course, of great weight.

(co. of Louth) Ult. 944. Such sudden alliances between the bitterest enemies Table VII. were common, both in England and Ireland, in those days, and were broken, (B). even though ratified by oaths, as readily as they were made. In 946 the Danes — of Dublin, doubtless under their King Olaf, plundered Clonmacnois and other The Hy churches "of the men of Meath," from which phrase we may, perhaps, infer Ivar of that these acts of hostility were directed against "the men" and their King Dublin. Congalach, rather than undertaken for mere plunder's sake; (Ult., 945, Four M., — 943 = A.D. 945). In 947 Ruadhri O'Canannain advanced into Meath, but was Olaf met at Slane by Congalach and Olaf Cuaran, again apparently in alliance, Cuaran. unless we suppose each party to have come on its own account, both being, for different reasons, hostile to O'Canannain. If so, Olaf was no match for the double enemy; his Dublin Danes were defeated, and many of them slain or drowned.¹ The same year (Four M.), 948 (Ult.), Dublin was again plundered and Blacar slain, by Congalach, taking advantage, no doubt, of Olaf's absence, whom we find in Northumberland again in 948, the second year² of King Eadred, where he seems to have maintained himself until 952, when he was expelled by the fickle Northumbrians, and Eric, son of Harold Blaatand, made King. See Table VI. (B.), No. (7), p. 266, 267. Eric was himself driven away, and Eadred's sovereignty once more acknowledged in 954. Hoveden says that on this occasion the Northumbrians slew Amancus, No. (16), son of Olaf, and from that time forth Northumbria was governed by Earls, and not by Kings; (Savile, *Rer. Angl. Scriptt.*, p. 423).

In 953, the year after his expulsion from Northumbria, Olaf Cuaran re-appears in Ireland, and in conjunction with Tuathal, or Toole, son of Ugaire, King of Leinster, (see Introd., p. lxxxix), plundered Inis Doimhle and Inis Uladh.³ In 956 Congalach, King of Ireland, was slain by the foreigners of

¹ *Drowned.* The Ann. Ult. thus record the event: "An expedition by Ruadhri O'Canannan as far as Slane, where the Gaill and Gaedhil met him, i.e., Congalach, son of Maelmithidh, and Amlaibh Cuaran, and a victory was gained over the Gaill of Ath Cliath, in qua multi occisi et mersi sunt." This with the corresponding entry in the Four M. has generally been understood to signify that Olaf was in alliance with Congalach, which seems difficult to believe, especially as it is said that the victory was gained over the Gaill, without any mention of Congalach.

² *Second year.* So says Gaimar, *ver.* 3549—

"Quand il regnout elsecund an
Idunckes vint Anlaf Quiran."

There is confusion in the Anglo-Sax. Chron. about these changes. The Northumbrians swore fealty to Eadred in 947; took Eric to be their King in

948; expelled him and returned to their fealty the same year; received Olaf Cuaran in 949; expelled him and restored Eric in 952. Flor. Wigorn. makes no mention of Olaf, but speaks of "Ircus" as chosen King in 949, and expelled in 950. Henr. Hunten. says that Olaf was received with joy in 947, and remained King for four years, when in 952 the Northumbrians "solita infidelitate utentes," drove him away and chose "Hyrc, son of Harold," to be their King. "Hyrc," however, was also expelled in 954. Conf. Gaimar, *ver.* 3554. The Anglo-Sax. Chronicle alone mentions a double expulsion of Eric.

³ *Inis Uladh.* See Dr. O'Donovan's curious account of this place, which was near Dunlavin, co. of Wicklow; note on Four M. at their year 594. For Inis Doimhle see p. xxxvii, n. 2. *supra*. There were several places so called. See Mart. Donegal, *Index of Places*.

Table VII.	Dublin and the Leinstermen, at Tigh-Giuran in Leinster, together with Aedh Mac Aicidi, King of Teffia, and many others (Ult.) The Four M. (954=A.D. 956)
(B).	add that the Danes of Dublin were commanded by Olaf <i>Godfreyson</i> , who laid an ambuscade for Congalach and his chieftains. This is clearly a mistake of the Four M., for Olaf <i>Sitricson</i> ; Godfreyson, as we have seen, having been now dead fifteen years. Six years after the death of Congalach, or 962, we read of a certain Sitric Cam (or the crooked), probably a chieftain of some of the Scottish islands, who is described as coming "from the sea," to Ui Colgan, in the co. of Kildare; "but he was overtaken" (say the Four M.) "by Olaf, with the Gaill of Dublin and the Leinstermen, and Olaf wounded him in his thigh with an arrow, and gained the victory over Sitric Cam, who escaped to his ships after the slaughter of his people." ¹ In 964, it is recorded by the Four M. that Olaf Sitricson was defeated by the men of Ossory at Inis-Teoc, now Innistiogue, in the co. of Kilkenny, where he lost many of his men, with Bathbarr, son of Nira or Ira, a chieftain evidently foreign, but who does not seem to be elsewhere mentioned. We have no further notice of Olaf in the Annals until the year 970, when the plundering of Ceanannus (now Kells) by him, in alliance with the Leinstermen, is mentioned. He lost there a great number of his people, but carried off a good prey of cows, and gained a victory over the Ui Neill at Ard-Maelcon. The plunder of Kells, but not the victory, is also recorded in the Ann. Ult., 970; and it is curious that at the year before, the Four M. tell us of another plunder of Kells by <i>Sitric</i> , son of Olaf, aided also by the King of Leinster; but with this difference ² that Sitric was overtaken by Domhnall O'Neill, King of Ireland, and defeated. In this same year, 970, the Ann. Ult. date the battle of Cill-Mona, or Kilmoon, gained by Olaf in alliance with Domhnall, son of the late King Congalach, over the actual King of Ireland, Domhnall O'Neill. This battle is dated 973 by our author, and 976=A.D. 978 by the Four M.; see Introd., pp. xcviii, xcix. In 970 (Ult.) the celebrated abbeys, Monaster-Boice and Lann Leire, then in possession of the Danes of Dublin, were plundered by King Domhnall O'Neill. We next hear of Olaf in 978, at which year both the Four M. (975=978), and Ult. (977=978), record his having slain the two heirs to the throne of Ireland in the two royal lines of the Northern and Southern O'Neill; see Introd., p. xcix. The battle of Bithlann, gained over the Leinstermen by the Danes of Dublin in 979 (see p. 47), was probably under the conduct of Olaf, although his name is not mentioned; (Ult. 978. Four M. 976). See Introd., p. c.
—	
The Hy Ivar of Dublin.	
—	
Olaf Cuaran.	

The last act of Olaf's life, as a warrior, was the battle of Tara, fought in 980, against Malsechlainn, or Malachy II., who afterwards, but in the same year, became King of Ireland. Olaf had called in the aid of the warriors of the islands, but was nevertheless defeated with great loss (see Introd., p. c). His

¹ *People*. Four M., 969=962. The above is the correct translation of this passage, which has been strangely mistaken by Dr. O'Donovan, who omits an important clause in the text, and makes the Annalists say that Olaf was wounded and fled to his ships, instead of Sitric Cam.

² *Difference*. Were it not for this difference we might reasonably suspect here a duplicate entry of the same event, "Sitric, son of Olaf," being an error in the text of the Four M. for "Olaf, son of Sitric." Such duplicate entries are common in the Annals.

son Ragnall [No. (17)], was slain in the battle, with Conmael or Conamhal, probably one of the leaders from the islands, and all the nobles or chieftains of the Dublin foreigners [see p. (47)]; Ult. 980. Malachy followed up his victory, aided by Eochaidh, King of Uladh,¹ by a lengthened siege of Dublin, which ended in the complete subjection of Olaf. The result is said to have been a deliverance from "the Babylonian captivity of Ireland," which was "inferior only to the captivity of hell" (Tig., Four M.); and the language of the Annals implies that Olaf, before this defeat, had acquired throughout the country an absolute sway. See Tighernach's account, quoted Introd., p. ci, n. 2. Four M. 979=980. Nevertheless in 983 (Ult., Tig.), we find Gluniarainn [No. (15)], son of Olaf, in alliance with King Malachy, against Dombnall Claon, King of Leinster, and Ivar of Waterford. See Introd., p. cxlii, n. 1. This circumstance indicates perhaps some dissension among the sons of Olaf in Dublin, and may account for the despair which led the aged chieftain to retire "on a pilgrimage" (as our author says, p. 47), to the society of St. Columba in Hy, where he died in 981.

Mr. Lindsay notices but one coin of Olaf Cuaran (whom he calls Anlaf IV.) Coinage of Ireland, p. 10, Plate I., No. 3.

(6) *Gyda* had been married to "a great earl" in England, whose estates she inherited. On his death a "Thing" was assembled, "that she might choose a husband." She chose Olaf Tryggvesson, who was accidentally present; they were married and lived "sometimes in England, sometimes in Ireland." *Heimskr. Saga* vi., c. 33, (Laing's transl. i., p. 399; see also c. 52, where Olaf Cuaran is erroneously called "his wife's father," instead of *brother*, ib. p. 417).

(7) Sichfrith and Oisle are put down in the foregoing Table as sons of Sitric Ua Inhair, on the authority of the Ann. of Clonmacnois (quoted by O'Donovan, Four M., 935, n. p. 633), where we are told they were both slain at the battle of Brunanburh. These Annals, however (of which we no longer possess the original), are not very much to be depended upon, and, therefore, the names of Sichfrith and Oisle are printed in parentheses as doubtful.

(8) See what has been said on the history of this Olaf, under No. (5).

(9) Lachtin is mentioned as "son of Goffraith," by our author, ch. xxxvii., p. 48, where his death is alluded to as a mode of dating the battle of Mulo Broccain. He appears to have been slain in 947. Intr. p. xvcii.

(10) Albdan, Alphthan, or Halfdene, son of Gothbrith, is mentioned, Ult. 926, as in command of the fleet of Loch Cuan (Strangford Lough), which was stationed at Linn-Duachaill, on the 4th of Sept.; but on Thursday, 28th Dec., of the same year, Muirheartach Leather-cloaks, son of Niall Glundubh, defeated him at the Bridge of Cluain-na-Cruimther (a place now unknown), where "Alphthan, son of Gothbrith," was slain, "cum magna strage exercitus sui." The half of the army that escaped slaughter were shut up for a week at Ath-Cruithne, until Gothbrith, Halfdene's father, came from Dublin to their relief; (Ult., Four M.) See O'Donovan's *Circuit of Ireland*, p. 6.

(11) Blacair, or Blacar, has already been mentioned under No. (6), p. 284. He remained in command of the garrison of Dublin, when the two Olafs went to England in 941. Here he had to sustain the inroad of Muirheartach Leather-cloaks, to whom he was forced to give "Sitric, lord of the foreigners of Dublin,"

¹ King of Uladh. See Dr. Reeves's *Eccles. Antiq. of Down and Connor*, list of the Kings of Uladh, No. 44. p. 355.

Table VII.
(B).
The Hy
Ivar of
Dublin.

Table VII.
(B).The Hy
Ivar of
Dublin.

as a hostage; O'Donovan, *Circuit of Ireland*, p. 9, sq. This was probably Sitric the son of Olaf Cuaran [No. (16)], who must have been then a boy of about 11 or 12 years of age. Blacar was probably not sorry to get rid of his claims to the crown of Dublin by giving him up; but the hostages were well treated, and before the end of the year surrendered to Donnchad, King of Ireland. In 942 Blacar, with "the gentiles of Dublin," plundered Clonmacnois and Kildare, (Ult., Four M.); and in 943 (241 of the Four M.), on Sunday, the 26th of Feb., Muirheartach was slain by Blacar at Glassliathan, near Cluain-cain (now Clonkeen), near Ardee, co. of Louth; (Ult., Four M.) In 945 (if the Four M. have rightly interpreted the Ann. Ult.) Blacar was expelled from Dublin (see p. 284), and Olaf Cuaran took his place. In 948 he was slain (in the battle of Dublin, Four M.) by Congalach, King of Ireland, with 1,600 men killed or wounded, the same year in which Olaf Cuaran returned to Northumberland. (Ult.) See p. 285.

(12) See what has been said of Ragnall, son of Gothfrith, under Nos. (3) and (4). He became King of York in 923. Henr. Hunt. (ap. Monum. Hist. Brit., p. 745, B.) The date of his death does not seem to be on record.

(13) Comman is mentioned in Ult., at the year 960, "a defeat given to Comman, son of Olaf, son of Gothfrith, at [the river] Dubh." Dr. O'Connor, in his translation of the Ann. of Ulster, has entirely misunderstood this passage, not knowing that the Dubh (now the Duff), was a river on the confines of Fermanagh and Leitrim, running from Lough Melvin to Donegal Bay.

(14) The death of "Gofraidh, son of Amlaimh," or Olaf, is recorded at the year 963. (Ult.) The Ann. Clonm., at 957 (= 963), have "Godfrey Mac Awley, a very fair and homesome man, died;" (quoted by O'Donovan, Four M. 961, p. 684, n.) See Dubl. Ann. Inisf. 961.

(15) Glun-iarainn (Iron-knee) was the son of Olaf Cuaran by *Donnfaith*, daughter of Muirheartach. Leather-cloaks (see Introd. p. cxlvii, n. 3), who had been first married to Domhnall (son of Donnchad, King of Ireland, Table II., p. 246), by whom she had Maelseachlainn, or Malachy II; so that Gluniarainn was Malachy's brother on the mother's side, which may account for his being found in Malachy's army, notwithstanding the decisive overthrow given to his father Olaf at the battle of Tara. The Ann. of Tigern. at 983, three years after that battle, speak of his having joined Malachy, and gained a victory over Domhnall Claon, King of Leinster, and Ivar of Waterford, (Ult. 983, Four M. 982). In 989 he was slain by Colbain, his own slave, who was drunk at the time; (Tig., Ult., Four M.) Gillaciarain, son of Glun-iarainn, son of Olaf, is mentioned in the present work (p. 165) as one of the leaders of the Dublin Danes at Clontarf; and again, p. 207, as having been slain in that battle. In Ult. 1014 he is called "righdomhna," or heir apparent of the foreigners. Comp. Four M. 1013.

Sitric
Silken-
beard.

(16) Sitric was the son of Olaf Cuaran by *Gormfaith*, sister of Maelmordha, king of Leinster, who was afterwards successively the wife of Malachy II., and of Brian Borumha, and repudiated by both (Introd., p. cxlviii, n. 3). Sitric was called Silkiskegg, or Silken-beard, by the Norsemen (Gunlaug., p. 99). In 994 he was expelled¹ from Dublin (Ult.); the Four M. say, "Ivar was

¹ *Expelled.* Dr. O'Connor translates | ten years afterwards. He mistook *vo* this "occisus est," which he ought to | *mnarba*, or *vo mnarba*, "was have seen was wrong, because of | expelled," for *vo marba*, or *vo* Sitric's part in the battle of Clontarf, | *marba*, "was slain."

expelled from Dublin by the prayers of the saints" (992=A.D. 994): and in the following year "Sitric, son of Olaf, was expelled from Dublin." The Ivar here mentioned was, doubtless, Ivar of Waterford; for Tigern. says, An. 995:—"Ivar in Dublin after the son of the son of Olaf," where we should probably read "son of Olaf;" for the Annalist adds—"Ivar iterum insecutus evasit, et Sitric in locum ejus." We may reconcile these statements by supposing that Ivar of Waterford drove Sitric from Dublin in 994, but at the close of the following year was himself expelled, and Sitric restored. In 996, the Four M. say, "Ivar came to Dublin after [i.e. in succession to] Sitric, son of Olaf," and shortly after, in the same year, "Ivar fled again from Dublin, and Sitric took his place." This may be a duplicate entry, but however that be, the contest ended in the year 1000, when Tigern. records the death of Ivar of Waterford. In 999, the year before his defeat at Glenmama, Donchadh, son of Domhnall Claon, K. of Leinster, was taken prisoner by Sitric and his ally Maelmordha Mac Murchada, his mother's brother; (Ult.) Sitric's history from his defeat at Glenmama, A.D. 1000, to Brian's victory at Clontarf, will be found in the foregoing pages. See Introd., p. cxlviii. sq. Sitric was married to Brian's daughter, and his sister *Maelmuire* No. (21), (who lived to 1021, Four M.) was married to King Malachy II. Dr. O'Donovan (not in loc.) remarks, "No wonder that he did not join either party at the battle of Clontarf." But when he set forth to enlist such ferocious warriors as Brodar and Sigurd Lödversson to join him against Brian, and when he himself held the garrison of Dublin for the Danes, this was surely joining very decidedly the party opposed to Brian and Malachy. That Malachy regarded Sitric as an avowed enemy is evident from the fact, that in 1015, the year after the battle, he and his auxiliaries attacked Dublin, burned "all the houses outside the fortress," and then plundered *Ui Cennsealaigh*. See Introd., p. cxvii. It does not appear that in this attack any damage was done within the fort, and Sitric seems to have held his ground. In 1018 he blinded Braen or Bran (ancestor of the *Ui Brain* or O'Byrne of Leinster), son of his uncle and ally, Maelmordha, King of Leinster. Bran, being thus blinded, was incapacitated for the throne. He afterwards went abroad, and died in the Irish monastery of Cologne, 1052. (Ult. Four M.) In 1019 Sitric and the Danes of Dublin plundered Kells, in Meath, carried off spoils and prisoners, and slew many people in the body of the church; (Four M.) In 1021 Sitric and the Dublin foreigners were vanquished with great slaughter by Ugaire, son of Dunlaing, King of Leinster, at Dergne Mogorog, now Delgany, in the county of Wicklow; (Ult. Four M.) In 1022 the Four M. record two defeats of the Dublin Danes, one by King Malachy, who died the same year, and another at sea, by Niall, son of Eochaidh, King of Ulidia. In neither of these, however, is Sitric's name mentioned. Ult. and Tig. record the naval victory alone. In 1027 Sitric, in alliance with Donnchadh, K. of Bregia, made an inroad into Meath, but was repulsed; (Tig. Four M.) In 1028 he went to Rome on a pilgrimage, and according to Tighearnach, returned the same year.* In 1030 *Gormflaith*, Sitric's mother, died. In 1031 (Ult.) we read that Ragnall, son of Ragnall, son of Ivar of

* Same year. The Annals of Ulster say that "Sitric son of the son of Olaf," went to Rome this year. But this is the mistake which so often occurs, for "Sitric, son of Olaf," as in Tigern. and Four M. Neither Ult. nor Four M. mention the date of Sitric's return from Rome.

Table VII. Waterford, was slain at Dublin, by treachery; and again, at 1035 (Ult.) (B).
 —
 The Hy Ivar of Dublin.
 —
 Sitric Silken-beard.

that he was slain at Dublin. The same Ragnall cannot be intended, and it is most probable that in the case of the former entry, the true reading is that preserved in Tighernach, at 1031, "Ragnall, son of *Radnall*, daughter of Ivar, King of Waterford, was treacherously slain at Dublin." The same year, according to this Annalist, Sitric plundered Ardraccan, and carried off oxen and captives: this plundering is dated 1035 in Ult., and connected with the second entry of the death of Ragnall, a clear proof that the two entries have been confounded. In 1032 Sitric gained a battle at the mouth of the Boyne, over the Conaille,¹ the Ui Tortain, and the Ui Meith; (Four M.) In 1035, according to Tighernach, Sitric left his kingdom (probably for the sake of religious retirement) and went across the sea, leaving his nephew, Eachmarcach, No. (22), King of Dublin. It is not said where he went to, and the next notice of him in the Annals is his death, in 1042, in which year his daughter, *Finen*, No. (24), who seems to have been a nun,² died also; (Tig., Four M.)

During Sitric's reign, the Danish bishopric of Dublin had been established, and it is said that in 1038, Donat, the first bishop, obtained from him a grant of certain *voltæ*, or vaults, in one of which St. Patrick was said to have celebrated Mass. Upon these the bishop built his cathedral, dedicated to the Most Holy Trinity, and now called Christ Church. The vaults still remain, forming a crypt under the cathedral, but are now filled with rubbish, and lie in a disgracefully neglected state. No record of this foundation by Sitric occurs in the Irish Annals; and the story rests upon a late and very legendary document preserved in the Black Book of Christ Church, and printed in the *Monasticon Anglicanum* (ed. Caley, Ellis, and Bandinel, vol. vi., p. 1148.)

Sitric, son of Olaf Cuaran, is the Sitric who is called by Mr. Lindsay, Sitric III. (Coinage of Ireland, pp. 7, 8, 10, Plate I., and Suppl. Plate I.)

(¹⁷) Ragnall, son of Olaf Cuaran, was slain at the battle of Tara, 980; (Tig. Ult.) See above, p. 47. Introd., p. c. The Annals of Ult. and of Tighern., at 1075, record the death of a Godfrey, whom Tig. calls simply, "King of the Gaill;" but in Ult. he is said to have been K. of Dublin, and to have been "s. of Olaf, or s. of Ragnall." He can scarcely have been the son of Olaf Cuaran, who was dead ninety-four years in 1075. He must therefore have been the son of this Ragnall, or else of Olaf, son of Sitric Silken-beard; No. (26). In this uncertainty his name has been omitted in the Table.

(¹⁸) Aralt, or Harold, called Righdomhna, heir apparent, or eligible to the throne of his father, was slain at the battle of Glenmama, A.D. 1000. See p. 111. Introd., p. cxliv.

(¹⁹) Amancus, or Amaccus (? Magnus) is called son of Olaf, by Hoveden, who tells us that when his father Olaf was expelled from Northumberland, in 954, the Northumbrians slew Amancus. See No. (3), p. 285.

¹ *Conaille*. The Conaille, or Conaille Muirtheimhne, were seated in the co. of Louth; the Ui Tortain, near Ardraccan, in Meath; and the Ui Meith, in the co. of Monaghan.

² *A nun*. Dr. O'Donovan understands the Four M. to call her *Cailleach*-

Fionain, as if that was her name. *Cailleach*, signifies a nun, and Dr. O'Connor translates "*Monacha Finiani*," a nun of St. Finian. Tighernach calls her "*Cailleach Finen*:" the nun *Finen*. The Ann. Ult. do not mention the death of Sitric or of his daughter.

(²⁰) This name is put in brackets, because it occurs only in a doubtful reading of the Dublin MS. of the Ann. Ult. at 982, al. 983. "A battle gained by Maelsechnaill, son of Domhnall, and Gluniarainn, son of Olaf," [see No. (¹⁵)] —
 "over Domhnall Cloen, King of Leinster, and over Imhar of Waterford, in which fell many, both drowned and slain, together with *Gillapatraic, son of Olaf*, Gillapatraic, son of Imhar, and others." The words in italics do not occur in the corresponding record in Tighernach and the Four M., nor in Dr. O'Connor's text of the Ann. Ult. In the old English MS. Transl. of Ult. (Ayscough, 4795), the names of Gluniarainn, son of Olaf, and of Ivar of Waterford, are omitted, and Gillapatrik, son of Imhair, is called "Patrick, son of Anlaiv of Waterford." The whole entry is as follows: "An overthrow by Maoilsechnaill M'Donell upon Donell Claon, King of Leinster, where a great number were drowned and killed, together with Patrick M'Anlaiv of Waterford." There was therefore evidently some confusion in the ancient MSS. of these annals in this place.

Table VII.
 (B).
 The Hy
 Ivar of
 Dublin.

(²¹) *Maclnuire*, dr. of Olaf Cuaran, was married to King Maelsechlainn, or Malachy II., and died 1021; (Four M.) See No. (¹⁶), p. 289.

(²²) Eachmarcach became K. of Dublin when his Uncle Sitric abandoned his kingdom, and went across the sea, in 1035. See No. (¹⁶), p. 280. In 1038 Ivar, [No. (²³)] son of Aralt, or Harold, displaced him (Tig.), and in 1046 Ivar was expelled, and Eachmarcach restored; (Four M.) In 1052 Diarmaid (son of Dunchadh, surnamed Mael-na-mbo), plundered Fine-gall, the Danish territory north of Dublin. Several skirmishes took place around the city, in which many fell on both sides, "and Eachmarcach, son of Ragnall, went over seas, and the son of Mael-na-mbo assumed the kingship of the foreigners after him;" (Tig., Four M.) In 1061 Murchadh, son of Diarmaid, son of Mael-na-mbo, "went to Man, and took tribute from thence, and defeated the son of Ragnall," meaning Eachmarcach; (Tig., Four M.) Mr. Lindsay thinks that one coin of Eachmarcach has been found. Coinage of Irel., p. 15, Plate 2, (26).

(²³) For all that seems to be known of this Ivar, Harold's son, see No. (²²).

(²⁴) See No. (¹⁶), p. 290.

(²⁵) Goffraigh, or Godfrey, son of Sitric [Olaf's son], was slain, according to Tighernach, by Gluniarainn in Britain, 1036. But who this Gluniarainn was is not said.

(²⁶) Tighernach states that this Artalach, son of Sitric, was slain at the battle of Glenmama, A.D. 1000 (Tig. 998); but he is not mentioned in the present work, nor by Ult. or Four M.

(²⁷) Gluniarainn, son of Sitric, was slain in 1031 by the people of South Breagh. (Tig., Four M.)

(²⁸) The Four M. tell us that this Olaf, son of Sitric, was slain in 1012. (See Introd., p. clxxiv., n. 2.) Their words are,— "A great fleet of the foreigners came to Munster, and burned Cork. But God soon avenged the deed upon them; for Amlaoibh, son of Sitric, i.e. son of the lord of the foreigners, and Mathgamhain, son of Dubhgaill, and many others, were slain by Cathal, son of Domhnall, son of Dubhdabhoirenn." As Mathgamhain is here mentioned as one of the Danish chieftains slain, it is probable that he was the son of Dubhgaill, No. (²⁹), and therefore a grandson of Olaf Sitric's son, No. (²⁸). This Dubhgaill was slain at Clontarf; see pp. 165, 207; Introd., pp. clxxiv., cxci., n. The Cathal by whom the burning of Cork was avenged was the son of the Domhnall (son of Dubhdabhoirenn, or Davoren), who afterwards led the forces of Desmond

Table VII. at the battle of Clontarf. See Gen. Table, IV., No. 21, p. 248; Introd., p. (C). cxlii.

— (20) This Aralt (Harold), son of Gofraidh, or Godfrey, is mentioned in the Book of Lecan (fol. 196, *b.a.*), in a remarkable list of the eminent women of Ireland, where he is said to have been the father of *Maelmuire*, wife of Gillapatrik, K. of Ossory, who was the mother of Donnchadh, King of Leinster and Ossory. (See No. 38 of the Genealogy in O'Donovan's Tribes of Ossory, p. 12.) Gillapatrik is mentioned in the present work (p. 107) as having been put in fetters by Brian, and his son Donnchadh, after the battle of Clontarf, resisted the passage of the shattered forces of the Dalcais through his territory. See p. 217, and Introd., p. cxiv. Gillapatrik was slain in 996 (Tig.), by Donovan, son of Ivar of Waterford (see Gen. Table V., No. 25, p. 249), and Donnchadh died in 1039, (Tig.)

(20) See what is said of this Dubhgall under No. (28).

(31) See No. (19).

(C). *Grandsons of Ivar (Waterford Branch).*

Early settlement of the Danes at Waterford.

The ancient native name of Waterford was Loch Dacaeach, which is supposed by some to be taken from the name of a woman named *Dacaeach*; see Introd., p. lxxxiv. n. 1. The harbour was afterwards called Port Lairge, from Laraig, probably a Danish chieftain, who is mentioned by the Four M. as having plundered Teach Moling (St. Mullin's, co. of Carlow), "from the sea" in 951 (=A.D. 953). But the Danish name of the town is that which it still bears, Vedrafiordr, or Waterford, meaning Weather-haven. The Norsemen, attracted no doubt by the excellence of this harbour, appear to have made a settlement at Waterford at an early period, possibly about the same time when the Black Gentiles appeared at Dublin, or 852. It is the only place in Ireland mentioned by name in the Lodbrogar Quida, or Death-song, attributed to Regnar Lodbrog, a composition which, though not the genuine production of that hero, is of some antiquity. A barony forming the western side of the harbour, still bears the name of Gaultier (Gall-tire) "the foreign country," where in all probability the Gaill first settled; see p. 27, n. 12. The Waterford Danes are first mentioned in the Annals A.D. 891, and the following is an abstract of the principal facts recorded respecting their settlement there:—

The Four M. at their year 888 (=A.D. 891) mention a victory by Riagan, son of Dunghal of Ossory [brother of Cearbhall], over the Gaill of Port Lairge [Waterford], Loch Carman [Wexford], and Teach Moling [now St. Mullins]; Introd., p. lxxvi., n. So that there was then a regular settlement of Norsemen in that district. At 910 (=913), they tell us that "Gaill arrived in Ireland, and

took up at Port Lairge;" and at 912 (= 915), "a great new fleet of Gaill came to Table VII. Loch Dacaoch, and put a stronghold there;" at 913 (= 916), "great and frequent (C). reinforcements of Gaill continued to arrive at Loch Dacaoch;" and at 914 — (= 917), "the Gaill of Loch Dacaoch still continued to plunder Munster and The Hy Leinster." Similar notices, in nearly the same words, occur in Ult., and it will be Ivar of Waterford. observed that they imply the existence of a former settlement of the foreigners at Waterford, as well as at Wexford; but the names of the leaders are not mentioned.

Our author, at a date which corresponds to A.D. 915, records the arrival of Haconn a fleet at Loch Dacaoch, or Waterford harbour, under the command of Haconn and Cossa- and Cossa-nara, who plundered Munster, but were defeated and apparently nara. destroyed by the native chieftains. See p. 27, and Introd., p. lxxvii

The arrival of Ragnall, grandson of Ivar, with large reinforcements to the Ragnall. Danes of Waterford, is next mentioned (ch. xxviii., p. 31). See what has been already said on the history of this chieftain, Introd., p. lxxxiv., lxxxi. He appears to have arrived 916, and died 921 (Ult.), when Gothfrith or Godfrey of Northumberland (Table VII. (B), No. (1), p. 278) seems to have succeeded as K. of Waterford; after whose departure to England, in 926 or 927, his son Olaf took the command at Waterford, as well as in Dublin. See Table VII. (B), No. (2), 273, and No. (1), p. 280.

Another chieftain, whose name is connected with the Danes of Waterford, is OttirDubh. Ottir, or Ottar, called Ottir Dubh, or the black, by our author. He appears to have accompanied Ragnall, in 916 (ch. xxviii.), and shortly afterwards, having gone to seek reinforcements, to have returned with 100 ships (ch. xxxv.), to Port Lairge, to complete the subjection of Munster. The names of several chieftains¹ are enumerated (ch. xxxvi.) who seem to have followed in his wake. At all events, they are said to have settled in Munster, and to have assisted in the plunder and devastation of the whole province. They were most probably the "innumerable hordes" who are said by our author to have followed Ragnall and Ottir to Waterford. There is, however, some difficulty about Ottir. Two chieftains of the name seem to be mentioned. One is said to have been banished with Ragnall from Munster, and to have fled to Scotland, where they were defeated and both slain in a battle against Constantine III., King of Scotland, in 917 or 918 (ch. xxix., p. 35). The other Ottir, called Dubh, whose arrival is not dated, appears to have succeeded in establishing his sway over the south of Ireland, and bringing into subjection all Munster. There is reason, however, to suspect some inaccuracy in the account given by our author of the battle in Scotland. Ragnall certainly was not killed there, and the Annals of Ulster do not say that either of the two chieftains was slain. See Introd., p. lxxxvi., and the remark made on the readings of the MS. L., p. 235.

We have no evidence that Ragnall left any sons—none, at least, are named in the Annals; for the "Mac Ragnall," of whom we sometimes find mention, was most probably the son of a Ragnall of a different branch, see Table VII.,

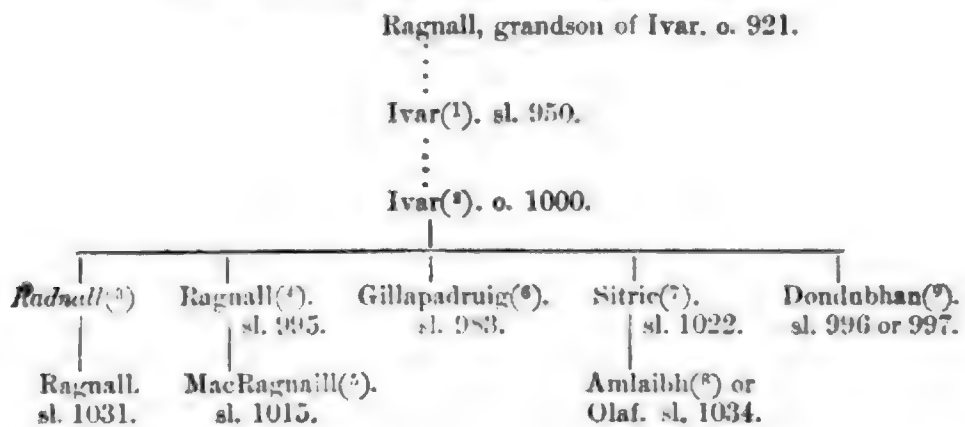
¹ *Chieftains.* An Ottir Dubh is mentioned as having fallen on the Danish side in the battle of Clontarf. See p. 207. This may have been the grandson of the Ottir Dubh who arrived in Waterford about 916; and

we recognise among the slain on that occasion, the sons or grandsons of several of the "commanders of fleets," whose names are to be found in the list of arrivals given, chap. xxxvi.

Table VII. (A), No. (3), p. 272; or else the son of a later Ragnall; see No. (5) of following (C).
 —
 Descendants of Ragnall of Waterford.

There is, therefore, a considerable blank in the genealogy of this Waterford branch of the Hy Ivar, between the Ragnall, grandson of Ivar, who was undoubtedly the founder of the Waterford dynasty, with Sitric and Godfrey of Northumberland, and the two Ivar's Nos. (1) and (2) who appear at the beginning and close of the tenth century. This defect is denoted by the dotted lines in the following Table.

Descendants of Ragnall of Waterford.



(1) The Four M. (948) tell us that Ivar "tanist," or next in succession to the throne of the Foreigners, was slain at the battle of Muine-Broccain, A.D. 950. He is not mentioned, however, in our author's account of the battle, ch. xxxvii., nor by Ult. As there appears to have been no other Ivar, at this date, who could be called "tanist of the foreigners," it is probable that he belonged to the Waterford branch. But the Editor is unable to supply the links of his descent from Ragnall.

(2) This Ivar is called "Ivar, grand-son of Ivar," by our author, p. 207; but we cannot infer that he was the grand-son of the Ivar last mentioned, although the dates would not be inconsistent. The Danes did not usually give the father's name to the son, but this rule is not without exceptions. In 969 (Four M. 967), Ivar, King of Waterford, was in alliance with Mathgamhain, or Mahoun, brother of Brian Borumha, to repel an invasion into Leinster and Ossory, made by Murchadh, son of Finn, lord of Offaly. A common cause had then united the Waterford Danes with the "men of Munster," the two Ely's, (in King's County and Tipperary; see B. of Rights, p. 78, n.), the Deisi, and the King of Ossory. In 982 (981, Four M.) Ivar plundered Kildare (Ult.) In the following year he took the side of Domhnall Claon, one of the claimants for the crown of Leinster, but was defeated by Malachy II., K. of Ireland, and the Danes of Dublin. In this battle his son Gillapadruig was slain. See Table (B), No. (20), p. 291. Between the years 994 and 1000 a contest was carried on with varying success between Ivar of Waterford and Sitric, son of Olaf Cuaran, for the possession of Dublin. See Table (B), No. (16), p. 289. In the year 1000, according to Tighernach, Ivar died. See Brut y Tywys, 1001, where the death of "Iuor Porth Talarthi" (Ivar of Port Lairge) is recorded.

(3) The names of Radnall, and her son Ragnall, are here inserted on the authority of Tighernach, 1031. See Table (B), No. (16), p. 290.

(⁴) Ragnall, son of Ivar, "was slain by Murchadh," (Ult. 994), his father Table VII. Ivar being then in possession of Dublin, although he was expelled the same or (C). following year; (Tigh. 995).

(⁵) This son of Ragnall is not named. But the Four M. record his death at Descend- 1014(=1015) thus—"Mac Ragnall, son of Ivar, Lord of Port Lairge, was slains of slain by the Ui Liathain;" a tribe seated on the borders of Cork and Waterford Ragnall of in the present baronies of Barrymore, Kinnatalloon, and Imokilly (co. of Cork), Waterford. Coshmore and Coshbride (co. of Waterford).

(⁶) Gillapadruig was slain, fighting against Malachy II., K. of Ireland, in 983; (Four M.) See No. (¹).

(⁷) Sitric, son of Ivar, King of Port Lairge, according to Ult., was slain 1022. In Tig. at the same date there is a corresponding record, but Dr. O'Connor's text is evidently wrong. He reads, "Mac Cerbhaill, King of Eile, was slain by Sitriuc. Imhair, King of Waterford, was slain by the King of Ossory." The name *Imhair* being in the gen. case, clearly indicates some error. The Four M., the Ann. Clonm., and the old English version of Ult., all agree in what is beyond doubt the true reading, "Sitric, son of Imhar, lord [king, Tig.] of Port Lairge, was slain by the lord [king, in Tig.] of Ossory." In Ult., however, it is not said by whom Sitric was slain. This was the year in which Malachy II., called by the Annalists "Maelsechlainn Mór," or "the Great," died.

(⁸) The following curious entry relating to this Olaf, son of Sitric of Waterford, is given by the Four M. at the year 1029:—"Olaf, son of Sitric, Lord of Gaill, was taken prisoner by Mathgamhain O'Riagain, Lord of Bregia, who exacted as his ransom 1200 cows, and seven score British [i.e. Welsh] horses, and three score ounces of gold, and the sword of Carlus, and the hostages of the Gaidhel, whether of Leinster or of Leth Cuind, and sixty ounces of white silver, as his fetter ounce, and four score cows for word and supplication, and four hostages to O'Riagain himself for peace, and the full value for the life of the third hostage." A similar account is given by Tigern. and Ult. Tigernach's words are as follow:—"Olaf, son of Sitric, King of Gaill, was captured by Mathgamhain O'Riagain, King of Bregia, until he had received 200 oxen, and six score horses, and the sword of Carlus, and the son of Anfer Rot who was in captivity," so Dr. O'Connor renders *Mac Anfer rot nergaib*. There is, probably, a misreading; *rot*, is certainly not a proper name, but a verbal prefix, or a prefix with infixed verb; perhaps we should read, *rot in ergabail*, "who was in captivity." The sword of Carlus was carried away from Dublin by Malachy II., in 996: it appears from the foregoing entry that the Waterford Danes had recovered it. In 1034 Olaf, son of Sitric, was slain by the Saxons on his way to Rome (Tig., Ult., Four M.); he was, therefore, at that time a Christian.

(⁹) Dondubhan, or Donovan, was the grandson of Donnabhainn, chief of Hy Cairbre, by a daughter, whose name is not on record, but who was married to Ivar of Waterford; see Geneal. Table V., No. 25, p. 249. This Dondubhan or Donnabhainn, son of Ivar, was slain in 996, by the Leinstermen; (Tig.) The Four M. record his death at their year 995 (A.D. 997) thus: "Diarmaid, son of Domhnall, lord of Ui Ceinnsealaigh, was slain by Dondubhan, son of Ivar, through treachery. Gillapadruig, son of Donnchadh, lord of Ossory" [see Table (B), No. (¹⁰), p. 292], "was slain by Dondubhan, son of Ivar, and by Domhnall Mac Faolain, lord of the Deisi. Dondubhan, son of Ivar, was slain by the Leinstermen afterwards, viz., by Cuduiligh, son of

Table VII. Cinaedh, of the Ui Failge, at the end of a week, in revenge for Diarmaid, son of Domhnall."

— We find mention of Oisill, son of Ivar (p. 207, of the present work), where, in the list of the slain, on the Danish side, at the battle of Clontarf, we have "Oisill and Ragnall, the two sons of Ivar, grandson of Ivar." This seems to imply that Ivar [see No. (2)], the father of these sons, was himself son of an Ivar, unless we interpret grandson of Ivar as signifying only *descendant*. But the Ragnall, son of Ivar, mentioned in the present Table No. (4), was slain in 994, ten years before the battle of Clontarf. There is, therefore, probably some mistake, for which reason the name of Oisill has not been given in the Table.

There seems, however, to have been an Ivar, and a Ragnall Ua Ivair, in the first half of the 11th century, who do not appear in the foregoing Table, p. 294. It is probable that this Ragnall may have been the Ragnall, son of *Rudnall*, daur. of Ivar of Waterford, No. (1) of the Table p. 294; and that his death, dated 1031 by Tig., has been entered under 1035 by Ult. and Four M. We have seen that in these latter Chronicles there are indications of some confusion in their record of the death of Ragnall and the plunder of Ardbraccan, which Tig. enables us to correct by giving 1031 as the true date of Ragnall's death and of the plunder of Ardbraccan and burning of Swords,—all which events belong to the same year: so that whether we make that year 1031 or 1035, the same Ragnall must be intended. See Table (B) No. (10), p. 290. At the year 1035 (Four M.) there is the following entry, which occurs also at the same date in Ult. We quote from this latter authority,—“Ragnall, grandson of Ivar, lord of Port-Lairge, was slain at Dublin by Sitric, son of Olaf. [Ard Breccain was plundered by Sitric, son of Olaf.] Sord of Colum-cille was plundered and burned by Conchobhair Ua Maelsechlainn, in revenge:”—meaning evidently in revenge for the plunder of Ard-Breccain; but the Four M., by omitting the clause within brackets, represent the burning of Swords, as if it were in revenge for the slaying of Ragnall, with which it could have had no connexion.¹

In 1037 we read in Tighernach that “Cu-Mumbain Ua Rabann, or O’Rubann, King of Port-Lairge, was slain;” Ult. and Four M. add, a suis occisus est, slain by his own people: they call him also, not Cu-Mumhan [Hound of Munster,] as in Tig., but Cu-ionmhain, or Cu-inmhain [Beloved Hound]. This may not have been his real name, but a soubriquet substituted for his name. Waterford, in this year, was burned and plundered by Diarmaid, son of Donnchadh, called Mael-na-mbo, [Chief of the Cows], King of Leinster, of the race of Enna Cennselach, K. of Leinster in the fourth century: and the Four M. (the only authority for the fact) tell us, in the same year 1035, that “Ivar was treacherously slain by the Gaill of Port-Lairge.”

The list of the slain at Clontarf, given in the present work (p. 207), mentions Goistilin Gall, and Amond, son of Dubhginn, “two kings of Port-Lairge,” as having fallen on the Danish side in that battle. Amond or Hamund, as we have already remarked, may have been a grandson of Ivar of Limerick. See Table (A), p. 275. But of Goistilin Gall we seem to have no other mention.

¹ No connexion. Swords was in Meath, the territory of Conchobhair, in Meath, the territory of Conchobhair, who was the great grandson of Mael-sechlainn, or Malachy II.

TABLE VIII.

Descendants of Cearbhall, Lord of Ossory and Danish King of Dublin.

The Landnamabok (p. 4) names Cearbhall, or Kiarvall (K. of Dublin from A.D. 872 to 887), as one of the principal sovereigns of Europe, at the time when Iceland was peopled by the noblemen and others who fled from the tyranny of Harold Harfagr. Iceland had been known to the Irish long before that time, (more than 100 years, according to one reading); and the earlier settlers had found men in the island "whom the Norwegians called *Papæ*" [i.e., priests or bishops], professing Christianity, and who were believed to have come by sea from the West. By them were left behind (for they appear to have been driven out by the newcomers), "Irish books, bells, pastoral staffs, and other things, which seemed to prove that they were Westmen" (i.e., Irishmen) who had formed a religious community in the island. Prolog. Landnama, p. 2.

Ingulf and Leif, who were distant cousins, were the first Norwegians who visited Iceland with a view to colonization, about the year 870. They spent there a winter, and returned to Norway. Ingulf then commenced preparations for another voyage to Iceland, while Leif set off on a piratical excursion to Ireland. There he entered a subterraneous cavern, which was quite dark, but as he advanced (probably carrying a light), he noticed the flashing of a sword in the hands of a man at the end of the cave. The man was slain; and the sword, with great wealth, which was found in the cave, carried away. Leif then plundered or "harried" (*heriade*) in other parts of Ireland, and amassed great booty, with which, and ten slaves, he returned to Norway. There he married *Helga*, Ingulf's sister, and all set sail for Iceland. Leif took the name of Hiör-leif or Sword-leif, from his adventure with the Irishman in the cave. This was the 12th year of Harold Harfagr, or A.D. 874, (Carroll being then King of Dublin). On the voyage they were in want of water, but the Irish captives made a mixture of butter and meal, which had the effect of quenching thirst, and which they in their own tongue called *Mynthak* [min, meal or flour; mntach, made of flour]. Rain coming on, and the *Mynthak* not being wanted, it became mouldy and was cast into

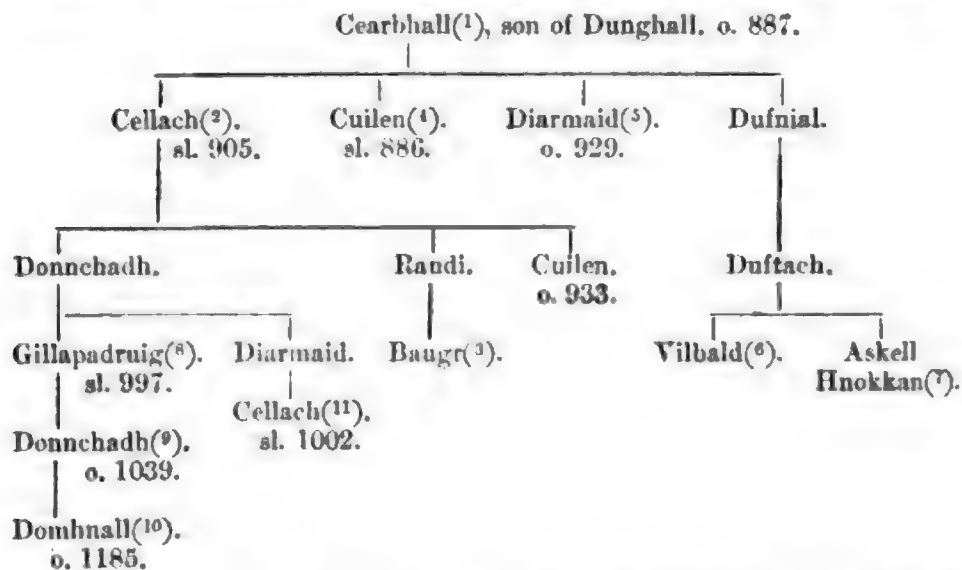
Table VIII. the sea. They found it afterwards on the shore, at a place to (A).

Descendants of
Cearbhall
by his sons.

which they gave the name of Mynthaks-eyri. Hiör-leif gave his own name to Hiörleifs-hofdr, where he settled; but was soon after murdered by his Irish slaves, acting under the command of one of them named Dufthak (Dubhthach), who was probably a man of higher rank than the rest in his own country. The slaves fled to the small islands south of Iceland, carrying with them the women and property. Here they were pursued and taken by Ingulf, who slew them all. The place where their leader fell was called Duftaksker, and the islands received the name of Vestmanna-eyer [Westmen, or Irishmen's islands]. Landnama, Part I., chap. 3-7.

This ancient connexion between Ireland and Iceland was kept up by the descendants of Cearbhall, or Carroll, as the following Table will show. It is divided into two parts—(A) contains the genealogical history of his sons; (B) that of his daughters.

(A). *Descendants of Cearbhall, or Carroll, by his Sons.*



(¹) Cearbhall had married a daughter of King Maelseachlainn, son of Mael-ruanaigh (Malachy I.), who had himself married *Lann*, or *Flann*, Cearbhall's sister, daughter of the same father Dunghal, or as he is also called Dunnal. *Fragm.*, p. 129. Cearbhall died A.D. 887 (885, Four M.) See above, p. 263.

(²) Cellach is called Kiallak, *Landnama*, p. 334. His brother Diarmaid having been driven from Ossory, 903 (900, Four M.), Cellach succeeded to the throne, but was sl. 905 (903, *Ibid.*) His son Cuilen was K. of Ossory, and died 933, *Ult.*, where he is described as "optimus laicus."

(³) This Baugr, or Baugus, was settled at Flotshlid in Iceland, and was foster brother of Ketel Hæng. It is not necessary to give here the names of

his children and grandchildren, as they played no part in Irish history. They will be found Landnama, loc. cit. Table VIII. (A).

(4) Cuilen, s. of Cearbhall, was slain by the Norsemen in 886 (884 Four M.) —
The Four M. have quoted a quatrain written on his death, which implies that he was a Christian. *Maelfebhail*, daughter of Maelseachlain, the same probably who was married to Cearbhaill, died the same year. Whether or not she was the mother of Cuilen is unknown. Descendants of Cearbhall by his sons.

(5) There are no records of the descendants of this Diarmaid. In 897 (894 Four M.) he is said to have restored and celebrated the Fair of Tailtin or Telltown. He seems to have succeeded his father as K. of Ossory, but was driven out, A.D., 903, when his brother Cellach was made King. See above, No. (2). He died 929 (Four M. 927).

(6) Vilbald came from Ireland, where he appears to have been born, to Iceland, in a ship called Kuda [Cutác, fierce, furious], from which the river at which he landed was called Kuda-fljots. See Landnama, p. 312., where his father's name is erroneously spelt Dofnak: it is afterwards (ib., p. 350) more correctly written Dufthak, the Irish Dubhthach. His grandfather is called Dufnial, i.e. Dombuall, or more probably Dungall, which was a name in the family.

(7) Askell Hnokkan, of Askells-höfda, settled in Iceland, Landn., p. 350, where his descendants are given.

(8) Gillapadruig, lord of Ossory, was slain by Donovan, son of Ivar, King of the Danes of Waterford, 997 (995 Four M.) Another entry of his death occurs Four M. 997 (A.D. 999). Tig. gives 996 as the date of his death. He was taken prisoner and put in fetters by Brian, p. cxi. and p. 107, *supra*. O'Donovan, Tribes of Ossory, p. 12.

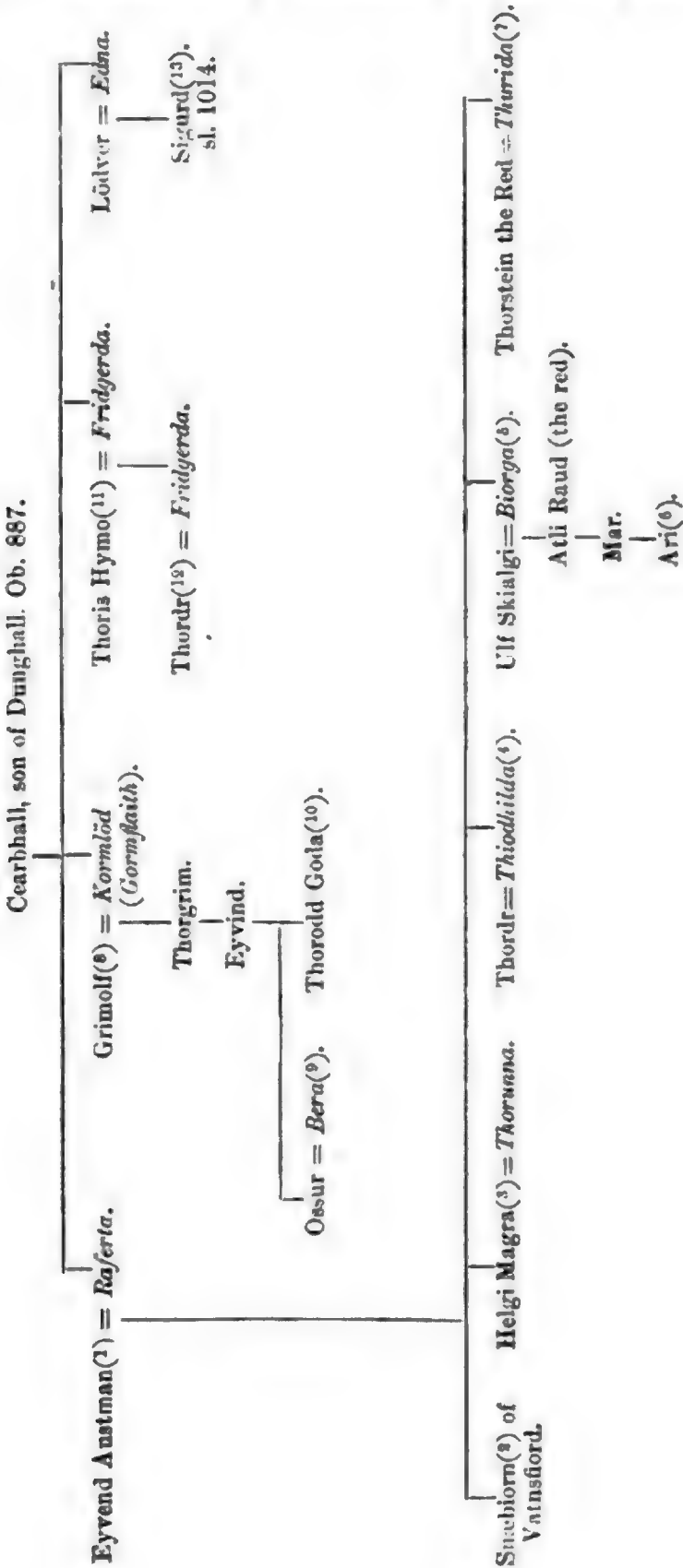
(9) This Donnchadh is mentioned, ch. cxxi. p. 215, *supra*. He is called "Lord of Ossory and of the greater part of Leinster" by the Four M., who record his death "after long illness," in 1039. He was ancestor of the family of O'Donnchadha, now anglicized Dunphy, or O'Dunphy, (Topogr. Poems, p. 77, and note 382), although in other parts of Ireland the same name is anglicized O'Donoghue and Donoghy.

(10) Domhnall, founder of the Cistercian abbey of Jerpoint, co. of Kilkenny, 1180, died 1185. Archdall erroneously calls him Donough O'Donoghue, instead of Domhnall Mac Donchadha [or Mac Dunphy]. Monast. Hibern., p. 355.

(11) Cellach is called "lord of Ossory" by the Four M.; who record (1002) that he was in that year slain by Donnchadh, son of his father's brother, Gillapadruig.

Table VIII. (B). *Descendants of Cearbhall by his Daughters.*

—
Descendants of Cearbhall by his daughters.



(¹) Eyvind Austmann, or Ostmann, so called because he had come to the Table VIII. Hebrides from Sweden; see Landnama, (part iii., c. 12), p. 228, where his history and genealogy will be found. (B).

(.) Snæbion. For his history and descendants, see Landnama, p. 159. Descendants of

(²) Helgi Magra, or the Lean, was born in the Hebrides, but his father and mother being obliged to go on some mercantile or piratical expedition, were forced to leave the child there. On their return, two years afterwards, they found him so reduced for want of proper food, that they could not recognise him. They therefore called him "Helga hinn Magra," the Lean, and took him to Ireland, where he was educated. He married *Thorunna Hyrna* (the Horned), daur. of Ketill Flat-nose, lord of the Hebrides, and of *Inguilda*, daur. of Ketill of Ringarikia. Landnama, p. 228, 229. Eyrbygg. cap. i., p. 5. by his daughters.

(⁴) Thiodhilda married Thodr, or Thordus, a viking's son, said by many to have been really a son of King Harold Harfagr. See Landnama, p. 149, where his descendants are given.

(⁵) Biorga, married Ulf Skiallgi, who had escaped from the tyranny of Harold Harfagr, and colonized Reykianes in Iceland. Landnama, p. 132.

(⁶) Ari Marson was one of the earliest discoverers of America, A.D. 983. In a voyage westwards he was driven out of his course, and either wrecked or forced to land on "Hvitra Manna land" (White-man's land), called also "Irland er Mikla" (Great Ireland). There, Ari, having no means of returning, and being honourably received by the Christian settlers (probably Irish), became himself a Christian, and was baptized; "Rafn of Limerick, who had resided for a long time in Limerick, in Ireland, first brought news of this." Landnama, p. 133. "White-man's land" is supposed to be that part of the coast of North America, which extends southwards from Chesapeake Bay, including North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida; Antiq. American., p. xxxvii., and p. 208, sq. As the distance of White-man's land is described as "sex dagra sigling vestur fra Irlandi" (six days' sailing westwards from Ireland), it is probable that Ari had sailed from Ireland.

(⁷) Thurida was married to Thorstein Raudr, or the Red, son of Olaf the White, K. of Dublin. See Table VI. No. (5), p. 264. A Genealogical Table of his descendants is given, Kristni, p. 191.

(⁸) Grimolf had settled at Agde, in Iceland, where he and his family inherited the property of his brother Alfr; Landnama, p. 374-5. See his Genealogy, Gunnlaug. p. 315.

(⁹) Bera was the daur. of Egil-Skallagrimson; Egila., p. 599; Landnama, p. 375.

(¹⁰) Thorodd, called Goda, or the Prætor. For his Genealogy, see Gunnlaug., p. 315; Landnama, p. 375.

(¹¹) Thoris is called Hymo, or according to another reading, Hyrno. Landnama, p. 219.

(¹²) Thodr or Thordus, of Höfda-strond, called Höfda-Thodr, from Höfda, the place where he had his house. His descent from Ragnar Lodbrok is thus given, Landnama, p. 218, 219.

Ragnar Lodbrok.
|
Biörn Ironside.
|
Asleik.
|
Harold Hrygg.
|
Biörn Byrdusmiör.
|
Thodr.

Table VIII. He is said to have had nineteen children by his wife *Fridgerda*, granddaur.
(B). of Cearbhall. Ibid.

—
Descend-
ants of
Cearbhall
by his
daughters

(¹³) Earl Sigurd's paternal descent is given, Table VI. (A), p. 264 No. (11). He was surnamed Digri, the Gross, or the Fat. His father Lödver (Ludovicus) was the son of Thorfinn Hausaklyfur (or Skull-cleaver,) son of Einar or Torf-einar, son of Rögnvald, Earl of Möre, ex concubina. See Scripta Hist. Islandorum, vol. iii., Geneal. Tab. I.; Landnama, part iv., c. 8, p. 301, 302; Heimsk. (Saga iii., c. 22 Laing's Transl. i., p. 291). *Edna*, his mother's name, is probably the Irish *Eithne*. Sigurd married *Doda*, or *Donada*, daur. of Malcolm II., King of Scots, son of Kenneth II. By her he had a son, Thorfinn, who was but five years old at his father's death, and was sent to his grandfather, King Malcolm, who created him Earl of Caithness and Sutherland. Sigurd by a former wife had four sons, Sumarlid, Brusi, Einar Rangmudr (or Wrymouth), and Hund (the Hound). Hund was taken by Olaf Tryggveson as a hostage for Sigurd's becoming a Christian, and introducing Christianity into his dominions. He died in that captivity. Heimsk. (Saga vii., c. 99. Laing, ii., 131).

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ERRATA.

- p. lxix, line 11, for *Maelseachlinn*, read *Maelseachlainn*.
lxxv, note, col. 1, line 6 from bottom, for *Suanloag*, read *Suanloga*.
lxxxvii, note, col. 2, line 2 from bottom, for *Cathach*, read *Carthach*.
xciii, note, col. 1, line 7 from bottom, for *Eochadh*, read *Eochaidh*.
c, note, col. 1, line 6 from bottom, for *Oighialla*, read *Oirghialla*.
cviii, note, col. 2, line 27 from bottom, for "920," read "907, 8."
cxii, note, col. 2, last line, for "920," read "907, 8."
cxiv, note, col. 2, line 2 from bottom, for *Cenneideigh*, read *Cenneidigh*.
cxv, line 3, for *Legh Mogha*, read *Leth Mogha*.
— line 24, for "the present county of Kerry," read "in the present county of Kerry."
clxxiv, note, col. 2, line 12 from bottom, for "Dalaradia," read "Dalriada."
p. 21, line 10, for "Laighen," read "Laighin."
135, line 10, for "Gall," read "Gaill."
177, line 10, for "Ferghail," read "Ferghal."

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